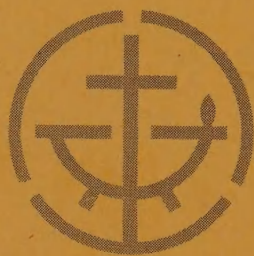


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THE ARK, THE EPHOD, AND THE "TENT OF MEETING"

(Continued from Volume XVII)

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, Hebrew Union College

VII

THE EPHOD

We suggest tentatively that the generic name for the ancient Israelite tent-sanctuary, with its betyls or divine images, was אֶפֹּד. We must now test this hypothesis.

Basing himself upon the fact that for אֶרֶן הָאֱלֹהִים in I Sam. 14.18 *G* read הָאֶפֹּד, Arnold,¹⁹⁰ contending that the reading of *MT* was correct, sought to prove that in every case throughout the entire Bible where *MT* reads אֶפֹּד or הָאֶפֹּד it should be emended to אֶרֶן or הָאֶרֶן or some corresponding construct connection of אֶרֶן, and that אֶרֶן was the generic term for the specific class of cult-objects in question.¹⁹¹ Arnold's hypothesis has not found general acceptance; and indeed it could not have been accepted, for the weight of evidence is overwhelmingly against it. But undoubtedly Arnold was on the right track in contending that there must have been some generic name for this class of objects; and if he had reversed his argument and reached the conclusion

¹⁹⁰ *Ephod and Ark: Harvard Theological Studies*, III (1917).

¹⁹¹ Actually אֶרֶן in the sing. absolute state occurs only twice in the entire Bible, II Ki. 10.12; II Chron. 24.8, and in both passages designates the box or chest which Joash set up in the Temple to receive contributions for rebuilding the Temple. Actually therefore, contrary to Arnold's conjecture, אֶרֶן is used nowhere in the Bible to designate a class of cult-objects, of which the ark at Shiloh was merely one example. On the other hand, אֶפֹּד is used in Jud. 8.27; 17.5; 18.14; I Sam. 2.28; 14.3 (?); 23.6 (?); Hos. 3.4 in just this generic sense.

that אֵפֹד was this generic name, and הָאֵרֹן was really the proper name of one specific and outstanding object of this class, he would undoubtedly have been happier in his conclusion.

As is well-known, in the biblical writings אֵפֹד designates three different objects.¹⁹² In the Priestly Code it is an outer garment of peculiar character, worn by the high-priest, to which the breast-plate, in which were the 'urim and tummim, was attached. In four passages, I Sam. 2.18; 22.18;¹⁹³ II Sam. 6.14; I Chron. 18.27, it is used in connection with כֹּרֶם to designate a garment of the simplest and most primitive type, a small piece of cloth apparently, girded about the waist, serving as a kind of apron, and really leaving the wearer practically naked, worn by priests or persons functioning as priests.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² Cf. Sellin, "Das israelitische Ephod," *Nöldeke Festschrift* (1906), 699 ff.; Arnold, *op. cit.*, 7-9.

¹⁹³ Although the term, אֵפֹד כֹּרֶם, in I Sam. 22.18 is supported by all the versions except *GB*, which omits כֹּרֶם, I believe that the original read merely אֵפֹד, and that כֹּרֶם is here a gloss. Note that in I Sam. 2.18; II Sam. 6.14 the verb used with אֵפֹד כֹּרֶם is חָגַר, "gird," which is precisely what we would expect. On the other hand, the term, נֶשֶׂא אֵפֹד (without the article) is used in I Sam. 14.3 in the connotation, "a priest," more specifically "a priest" of the sanctuary at Nob, just this is the meaning required in I Sam. 22.18. But if then כֹּרֶם be a gloss here (so also Arnold, *op. cit.*, 125, note 1), and since, moreover, I Chron. 18.27 is based directly upon II Sam. 6.14, it follows that actually in the entire Bible we have only two authenticated instances of the אֵפֹד כֹּרֶם; but they are so well authenticated that there is no reason whatever to question the existence and use of such a cult-garment in ancient Israel. It is significant that the last mention of the אֵפֹד כֹּרֶם is in connection with David. None the less Ex. 20.26 evidences that until at least the middle of the ninth century B. C., i. e. until 841 B. C., the time of the composition of the *debarim*-section of the Book of the Covenant (cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 115-119; "Amos Studies, III," 225-240) the priest of Yahweh functioned regularly at the altar in some kind of a simple cult-garment similar to the אֵפֹד כֹּרֶם, which left his private parts exposed, at least from below. Ultimately, as Ezek. 44.18 and Ex. 28.42; Lev. 6.3 (P) evidence, advancing culture provided for the wearing of a trouser-shaped under-garment by the priest who functioned at the altar.

¹⁹⁴ No doubt closely related to the Old Assyrian *epādātum*, a simple garment worn by both men and women (cf. Albright, in *BASOR*, 83 [Oct. 1941], 39 f. and note 10 on p. 40), and practically identical with the Arabic *izār*, the garment of primitive simplicity donned by the pilgrim to Mekka, the moment he enters the sacred territory (cf. Wensinck, *Some Semitic Rites of*

Elsewhere אֶפֶד seems at first glance to designate something made out of metal, usually precious metal, and which was an object of worship by the people. Accordingly the majority of scholars have assumed, though somewhat gratuitously it will appear, that the ephod was an idol. However, Sellin has demonstrated quite convincingly that the ephod cannot possibly have been an idol.¹⁹⁵ What then might it have been?

The ephod plays a significant role in three important episodes in biblical history, all of them belonging to the period antedating the establishment of the kingdom by David. This suggests quite naturally that the ephod was an object of primitive cultic significance in Israel, and that, after the establishment of the kingdom, its role steadily declined and eventually died out completely.

The first, and perhaps the most illuminating, instance of the ephod is in the well-known story of Micah, the Ephraimite, and the migration of the Danites, in Jud. 17–18. As is now generally recognized, these chapters contain two main strata, the major and older of which designates the cult-object of Micah as אֶפֶד וְתַרְפִּים, while the secondary source designates it as פֶּסֶל or פֶּסַל וּמַסֵּכָה.¹⁹⁶ Despite this duplication of terms in both strata the narrative tells clearly that only one, single cult-object is involved. The repeated designation of this cult-object in the secondary stratum as פֶּסֶל, establishes with certainty that this cult-object was an image or idol; and correspondingly תַּרְפִּים, of the primary stratum, always designates an idol or idols. It is true that מַסֵּכָה, the second term, linked with פֶּסֶל in the secondary stratum, also designates an idol, a molten image, made usually of gold or silver. But this does not justify the inference that correspondingly אֶפֶד must likewise designate an idol. The constant association of אֶפֶד with תַּרְפִּים may well indicate that, since the תַּרְפִּים were certainly idols,¹⁹⁷ the אֶפֶד was some other object regularly associated with

Mourning and Religion, 65 f.). It was actually not much more than a girdle, so that the person wearing it was practically naked (II Sam. 6.23).

¹⁹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 706–711.

¹⁹⁶ In *MT* of 18.20, 30, 31 only הַפֶּסֶל; in 17.4; 18.14, 17, 18 מַסֵּכָה, though in 18.17, 18 the two words are separated by intervening words.

¹⁹⁷ Whereas *G* usually renders תַּרְפִּים as τὸ θεράφειν, in Gen. 31.19, 34, 35 its rendering is τὰ εἰδωλά. *V* renders תַּרְפִּים throughout Jud. 17–18 and also in Hos. 3.4 *teraphim*, but elsewhere regularly *idola*.

them; and if so, then what could it be more probably than the housing of these idols, the tent-shrine in which they regularly reposed?

Jud. 18.14, 22 indicate that Micah was no ordinary person, but was rather the head of a settlement, probably composed of his own clan, which consisted of a number of houses. Among these was one particular structure, called a **בית אלהים**, i. e., a sanctuary, in which the **אפוד ותרפים** were deposited by Micah.¹⁹⁸ This seems to have been also the house in which the young Levite, Micah's priest, resided.¹⁹⁹ Obviously the relationship of this priest to the **אפוד ותרפים** is precisely the same as that of Samuel to the ark in the sanctuary at Shiloh.²⁰⁰ He is the interpreter of the oracle of the **אפוד ותרפים**²⁰¹ and so must remain constantly in proximity to the cult-object, so that he might always be ready to receive the oracle, whenever the deity would choose to speak.

The possession of this particular cult-object is manifestly the source of Micah's power and authority within his clan, as well as the source of the power and dignity of the clan itself; for when it is stolen by the migrating Danites, Micah gathers his clansmen in an earnest resolve to recapture his idol; and when challenged by the Danites, Micah accuses them of having stolen his gods, and then he adds, very significantly, with them gone "what have I left?"²⁰² Obviously the **אפוד ותרפים** played for Micah and his clan precisely the same role which the pre-islamic *kubbe* played for the Arab chieftain and his clan or tribe.

Moreover, the eagerness of the Danites to acquire possession of this cult-object is of more than passing significance. They were in process of migration from their original home to the south-west of Ephraim, and were seeking a new home in the far north of Palestine. The implied historic background of this incident is clear. The Danites were the first Israelite tribe to come into actual conflict with the Philistines. They had not participated in the

¹⁹⁸ Jud. 17.5. On the other hand, 17.4, from the secondary stratum, states that the **פסל ומסכה** was deposited in the house of Micah himself.

¹⁹⁹ Jud. 18.14-15.

²⁰⁰ I Sam. 3.3 ff.; cf. *HUCA*, XVII (1942-1943), 234.

²⁰¹ Jud. 17.10.

²⁰² Jud. 18.24.

Battle of Taanach²⁰³ and apparently had had little or no part in the federation of the tribes of Central Palestine and had as yet developed little sense of kinship with them. Accordingly they seem to have had to cope with the Philistines entirely alone, unaided by the other tribes of Israel. This struggle between Dan and the Philistines provides the historical setting of the Samson-myth.²⁰⁴ But despite the statement of Jud. 16.30, it is patent that in this struggle, probably protracted over quite a number of years, the Danites were eventually worsted²⁰⁵ and, finding themselves unable to maintain a dignified and independent existence in their original place of settlement in southwestern Palestine, they resolved upon the quite desperate procedure of migration in search of a new home. A further implication is that, in their unsuccessful and even catastrophic struggle with the Philistines, they had even lost their tribal god or gods, however these may have been represented. The Philistines had probably captured these, just as a generation or so later, as they pushed northwards and northeastwards through Palestine, they captured the ark of Ephraim, and as, in turn, their own gods were eventually captured by David.²⁰⁶ The Danites were left therefore in forlorn plight. Without either tribal gods or tribal home they were indeed desperate. Hence their migration in search of a new place of settlement; and hence likewise the eagerness and lack of scruple with which they stole the idol of Micah and thus acquired for themselves a new tribal deity and also, in the person of the young Levite, a new tribal oracular priest. The further implication of the narrative seems to be that it was the אפוד ותרפים which guided these Danites upon their migration onwards and ultimately gave them victory over the original inhabitants of Laish. In other words, it would seem that for these migrating Danites the אפוד ותרפים played precisely the

²⁰³ Jud. 5.17.

²⁰⁴ Note that, according to Jud. 16.31, the grave of Samson was located in that very district from which, according to Jud. 18.2, 11, these six hundred Danites migrated.

²⁰⁵ And perhaps even almost decimated; for the implication of the narrative of Jud. 18 seems to be that these six hundred men were all that were left of this once powerful tribe after its struggle with the Philistines.

²⁰⁶ II Sam. 5.21; cf. above, note 138.

same role which the ark did for Ephraim originally and ultimately for the federated tribes of Central Palestine, which the *kubbe* did for pre-islamic Arab clans and tribes, and which the 'otfe does for present-day Bedouin tribes.

In Jud. 8.27 the ephod which Gideon made and set up in Ophra, his home city, functioned in quite similar manner. The reference to the ephod here is brief. Gideon made the ephod out of the gold which had been taken by him and his followers as booty from the conquered Midianites. It became an object of worship, so the text says, by all Israel. No more than this; and yet the narrative says very much.

Merely the ephod is mentioned here as having been made by Gideon, and there is no record whatever of teraphim. Yet almost invariably teraphim are associated with the ephod; and there is no good reason to doubt that this ephod too had its teraphim. The occasion of the making and setting up of this ephod was of deep significance. The conquest and annihilation of the Midianites had terminated a great tribal danger, which had obviously for many years affected all the clans of Manasseh, and not improbably had threatened more or less directly other neighboring clans and tribes. It is quite comprehensible therefore that, as Jud. 9.22 f. states, these various clans should have gathered at Ophra and invited Gideon to become their king. According to the narrative Gideon declined their invitation. In all likelihood the influence of the nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, none too far removed in point of time, was still too strong upon Gideon to permit him to regard the institution of kingship, with its absolute power and authority, with sympathy. None the less it is clear that thereafter Gideon continued to exercise until the day of his death a certain, large authority over his own tribe and at least over the immediately adjacent clans in addition, an authority which represented that of the tribal chieftain *par excellence*, and in some respects no doubt, as the attempt of his son, Abimelech, to make himself king in Shechem would seem to suggest, approximated that of a king of a little Palestinian city-state or tribal group. In fact, as Jud. 6.35; 7.23 f.; 8.1-3 indicate, Gideon's authority extended not only over Manasseh, but also over Asher, Zebulun and Naphtali, north of the Valley of Jezreel,

and even over Ephraim.²⁰⁷ The procedure of these tribes in inviting Gideon to become their king after the termination, through his military prowess and leadership, of the Midianite danger, was almost exactly comparable to the invitation of the Northern tribes to David to become their king and military leader in the face of the great, common Philistine danger approximately a century later.²⁰⁸ There is therefore no good reason to question the historical correctness of this record.

Obviously the ephod of Gideon, made out of the booty won in the Midianite victory and set up in Ophra, and undoubtedly in immediate proximity to Gideon's own house, was the symbol of his high authority over his own tribe and over the other tribes federated with or dependent upon him. It too played the same role as the ark, the *kubbe* and the *'otfe*. And, again like the ark, it was a cult-object of intertribal character, short-lived though this seems to have been.²⁰⁹

That Gideon's procedure in erecting this ephod at Ophra conformed to firmly established principles of primitive Semitic life is beyond all question. His victory over the Midianites had been decisive indeed, in that it effectually freed both his own and neighboring clans and tribes from a grave danger, which threatened to overwhelm them all. No doubt through these long pro-

²⁰⁷ An authority over Ephraim, however, it is clear, which this proud and contentious tribe, always intensely jealous of its leadership in the federation of the tribes of Central Palestine (cf. Jud. 12.1-6), was inclined to dispute, and which Gideon was able to enforce only through the exercise of extreme tact and diplomacy.

²⁰⁸ II Sam. 5.1-2.

²⁰⁹ This seems to have endured only during the remainder of the life of Gideon (cf. Jud. 8.33). The murder of all the remaining sons of Gideon except Jotham by their half-brother, Abimelech (Jud. 9.5), the historicity of which there is not reason to doubt, and then the quickly ensuing fiasco and death of Abimelech obviously put a speedy end to the family of Gideon and its exercise of power and dominion. The tribe of Ephraim must have quickly regained the hegemony of the federated tribes of Central Palestine, which it had forfeited temporarily to Manasseh under Gideon. With this the importance of the ephod of Ophra must have gradually declined. What became of it eventually we do not know. Not impossibly it was one of the original tribal cult-objects which David brought up to Jerusalem and deposited there in his national sanctuary (see above, note 149).

tracted Midianite raids some of these Israelite clans and tribes on both sides of the Jordan had been more or less decimated and their further existence rendered precarious. One of the immediate and most significant effects of Gideon's great victory must have been the creation of a larger and stronger tribe of Manasseh, resulting from a fusion of the clans, and perhaps also of even some of the smaller tribes, which had been involved in the Midianite experience.²¹⁰ And whereas previously Gideon and his father's house had played, so it would seem, only an ordinary role in the affairs of his clan, now he was the recognized leader, not only of his own immediate clan, but also of the larger tribal organization of Manasseh, which he himself had actually called into being. This was the conventional occasion for the establishment of a *ḥaram* and the making and setting up therein of an ephod in ancient Israel or a *kubbe* among the later, pre-islamic Arabs.²¹¹ Not only did it commemorate the great victory just gained, but also it served as the idol or cult-object of the new tribal organization and likewise as the symbol of Gideon's leadership and authority within the tribe. That the Israelite ephod was but an older form of the pre-islamic *kubbe* is now self-evident.

In I Sam. 14.3, 18, 20 we are introduced to another ephod, one quite different from that which Gideon set up at Ophra.²¹² This ephod, it is clear, stood normally in the Benjaminite sanctu-

²¹⁰ Notice that in Jud. 5 only the name, Machir, occurs (v. 14), but that the name, Manasseh, is significantly missing. This suggests that at the time of the Battle of Ta'anach, some fifty years or so before Gideon, the tribe of Manasseh as such was not yet in existence, and that the then clan of Machir constituted the largest and strongest of the clans or small tribes, which were later incorporated by Gideon into the new tribe of Manasseh. This accords perfectly with the fact that in the genealogical tables Machir appears regularly as the first-born son of Manasseh (Gen. 50.23; Num. 26.29; 32.39 f.; Josh. 13.31; 17.1 [cf. also v. 2 for other Manassite clans]; I Chron. 7.14-19).

²¹¹ Cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 162, and above, note 78.

²¹² As has been said, Arnold's attempt to retain the reading, ארון האלהים, of 14.18, 20 and I Ki. 2.26 and to emend אפוד not only in 14.3 but also in I Sam. 23.9; 30.7 to ארון has very properly been generally rejected by biblical scholars. On the contrary, the reading of *G* in all these instances, supported by *MT* of I Sam. 23.9; 30.7, shows conclusively that, with Thenius and his successors (cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 18-23), האפוד must be read for ארון האלהים in I Sam. 14.18, 20; I Ki. 2.26.

ary at Nob, and from there was carried by the chief priest of that sanctuary into the decisive Battle of Michmash, obviously both to function as oracle in that battle and also undoubtedly to give to the Benjaminites assurance of victory over the powerful and otherwise seemingly irresistible Philistines. In this respect, manifestly, it discharged precisely what was one of the major functions both of the ark of Ephraim and of the pre-islamic *kubbe*.²¹³ That the sanctuary at Nob was the tribal sanctuary of Benjamin, just as that at Shiloh was the tribal sanctuary of Ephraim, is evidenced by the role which this sanctuary played in the narrative recorded in I Sam. 21.1–10; 22.9–23, and especially by the unusually large number of priests who were stationed there. Unquestionably this ephod was the most important cult-object of this sanctuary, as is implied specifically in I Sam. 21.10. It must accordingly have been the particular cult-object of the tribe of Benjamin, and have borne to this tribe precisely the same relationship as did the ephod of Micah ultimately to the tribe of Dan or the ark to the tribe of Ephraim originally, and ultimately, as we have seen, likewise to all the federated tribes of Central Palestine. At Nob the ephod was housed in a permanent sanctuary, just as was the ark at Shiloh. Whether this sanctuary at Nob was a tent or a house is nowhere indicated. Quite obviously Ahimelech, the chief priest of this sanctuary, dwelt regularly either actually within the sanctuary structure itself or else in immediate proximity thereto. He was the *kohen moreh*,²¹⁴ the oracular priest, of the ephod, and so bore to it precisely the same relationship as did Eli to the ark or the pre-islamic *kahin* to the *kubbe*.

Likewise not without significance for our study is the fact, recorded in I Sam. 21.10, that the sword of Goliath was deposited in the sanctuary at Nob, obviously as a trophy of victory, and in particular was kept, wrapped in a piece of cloth, in a place immediately behind the ephod. This association of the sword of Goliath with the ephod parallels very closely the association of the sword of Jidua with the *Markab* of the Ruwala Bedouin,²¹⁵

²¹³ Cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 106, 159 f.

²¹⁴ Cf. II Chron. 15.3.

²¹⁵ Above, note 53.

and so establishes another characteristic affinity of the ephod of Benjamin with the various cult-objects of the class which we are investigating.

It is noteworthy that the verb which is regularly employed to describe the manner of transportation of the ephod is נָשָׂא,^{215a} the very same word which we have found used regularly to describe the transportation of the ark, and the equivalent of the Arabic حمل, the verb which regularly describes the transportation of the *maḥmal* and its parallel cult-objects. Very significantly the ephod is carried or transported invariably by only one man, its functioning priest;²¹⁶ nor do we hear of its ever being transported in any other manner. This contrasts significantly with the manner of transportation of the ark, which, as we have seen, was normally carried either upon camel-back, upon a cart, or else by two priests.²¹⁷ Impliedly therefore the ephod, or at least this particular ephod of Benjamin, though of the same class of cult-objects as the ark and the *kubbe*, was of smaller size,²¹⁸ of a size and weight which would not constitute too heavy or awkward a burden for a single man to carry.²¹⁹

^{215a} In this connection and supplementing what has already been stated (*HUCA*, XVII [1942-43], 250 and note 166) attention may be called to Isa. 45.20; 46.1-7 as graphic illustrations of the use of the verb, נָשָׂא, as the technical term in biblical Hebrew for the carrying of sacred images or idols in ancient Semitic religious processions. In fact in Isa. 46.1 נִשְׂאוֹתֵיכֶם, literally "your objects which are borne," seems to designate the images of Bel and Nebo, referred to earlier in the v.

²¹⁶ Therefore, with relationship to this particular tribal cult-object of Benjamin, the term, נֹשֵׂא אֶפֶד, seems to have become a not uncommon term for "priest;" cf. I Sam. 14.3; 22.18, and above, note 193.

²¹⁷ Cf. II Sam. 15.24-29. Moreover, the ark, while in process of transportation, seems to have had normally two priestly attendants; I Sam. 4.4, Hofni and Phineas; II Sam. 6.3 ff., Uzza and Ahyo (Zadok?, cf. Arnold, *op. cit.*, 62, and above, note 143.); 15.24-29, Zadok and Ebyatar.

²¹⁸ So also Arnold, *op. cit.*, 95.

²¹⁹ It is quite possible, and even probable, that the small tent-shrine containing the betyl or the two betyls, typified by the ephod of Benjamin, was the oldest and most primitive form of this characteristic primitive Semitic cult-object, and that it goes back to the very earliest period of Semitic cultural evolution, perhaps even before the beginning of camel-culture, when the ass was the chief, if not the only, beast of burden, and when in consequence portable tent-shrines might not be too large or heavy to permit carrying

In the case of the ephod of Micah, the Ephraimite, which later became the cult-object of the tribe of Dan, granting that the ephod itself was merely the tent-housing of the teraphim, it was actually the teraphim which constituted the oracle proper, or at least the source thereof, and so were consulted in the divinatory process. As Ezek. 21.26 and Zech. 10.2 indicate, consultation of the teraphim was an established process of divination or oracular decision in ancient Israel. We have suggested that the teraphim, the images normally housed in the ephod, corresponded exactly to the two betyls normally housed in the *kubbe*, to the two sacred stones or betyls of the ark, and to the two divine images which, we have inferred, were housed in the *sukkah* or tent-shrine of Amos 5.26. This conclusion is confirmed by the role of the teraphim of Laban, which Rachel stole.²²⁰ For, as we have seen, not only were these transported in the *kar hagamal*, but also, as Gordon has shown conclusively,²²¹ possession of these teraphim, in theory at least, established Jacob's right to succeed Laban as head of the clan and to eventual possession of all of Laban's property. But, as we have learned, this was precisely one of the functions, or at least one of the implications, of possession of the *kubbe* and its contents, that its possessor was recognized almost automatically as the head of the clan. The teraphim of Jacob seem therefore to correspond exactly to the betyls within the *kubbe*, to the ephod, or the golden image therein, which Gideon set up at Ophra, and to the ark and its betyls in this, one of their most important functions,²²² as well as in their other dis-

either by human bearer or by ass (cf. the procedure of the Galli, described by Lucian, *The Enchanted Ass*, par. 37 Tooke's translation, II, 156 ff.). The advent of the camel as a beast of burden (cf. above, note 174) naturally permitted the development of tent-shrines of the same general type but of larger size and weight and perhaps of even more varied shape and general appearance, such as the ark of Ephraim or the still later *mahmal* and *'otfe*.

²²⁰ Gen. 31.19, 30 ff.

²²¹ Gordon, "The Story of Jacob and Laban in the Light of the Nuzi Tablets," *BASOR*, 66 (April, 1937), 25-27.

²²² Just what was the particular significance of the teraphim in the home of David at the time of his marriage to Michal, the daughter of Saul (I Sam. 19.13-16), is not plain. Despite the use of the seeming dual or plural, חרפים, it would appear that there was only one sacred image, and not two. It must

tinctive role as sources or instruments of divination. That the teraphim were therefore identical with the betyls or sacred images within the ephod, the *sukkah*, or the pre-islamic *kubbe*, seems reasonably certain. In fact it is quite probable that תרפים was the early Hebrew generic term for these sacred images,²²³ just as, as we have concluded, אפוד was probably the generic term for the tent-shrine in which these teraphim were normally housed, at least in the earliest period of Israel's cultural life out in the desert and during the period of settlement in Palestine. This would then account adequately for the frequent, and seemingly normal, association of the teraphim with the ephod.

The ephod of Benjamin too was employed regularly for consultation of the oracle.²²⁴ But, quite significantly, neither in

have been of fair size, sufficient when covered by a garment and supplemented by the trappings mentioned in v. 13, to have in the darkness simulated fairly well the form of a man asleep in bed. On the other hand, it cannot have been too large and unwieldy to have been handled readily by a woman, and especially by a woman of high family, who presumably was not accustomed to acts requiring the exercise of undue strength. But just what was this teraphim doing in David's home at this time? And why was there only one sacred image and not at least two, as the form of the noun seems to imply? There is no good reason to identify this teraphim with the customary household deity or deities, which seem normally to have been associated with or even affixed to the doorposts of the house (cf. Ex. 21.6). This particular teraphim, obviously of far too great size to have been affixed to the doorpost, and manifestly standing within the house, was something quite different from the ordinary household deity. Can it be that it was a teraphim of Saul, which at marriage Michal had brought with her from her father's house, in order to establish the claim of her husband to the kingship after her father? For the Edomite custom of the succession of the son-in-law rather than the son to the kingship, and for the grounds for Saul's suspicion of and animosity towards David, and his fear that David's marriage with his daughter might constitute a potent claim on David's part to the right to succeed him as king, cf. "Beena Marriage (Matriarchat) in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implication," 108 f. This explanation of the presence of the teraphim in David's home on what seems to have been the night of his marriage with Saul's daughter, purely hypothetical though it is, seems to have a considerable measure of probability.

²²³ In fact תרפים seems to be used in precisely this sense in II Ki. 23.24.

²²⁴ Sellin (*op. cit.*, 711) maintains that the ephod was employed only for oracles. But this is certainly an unjustifiable conclusion. The ephod of Gideon was no doubt used for oracular divination; but Jud. 8.27b clearly implies that it was an object of direct ritual worship, was, in other words, a god or the

I Sam. 14 nor elsewhere do we hear of teraphim associated with it. Instead we hear only of the *'urim* and *tummim*.²²⁵ Through them, though whether as the actual source or merely as the automatic instrument thereof is not altogether clear, the oracle was consulted and divination was practiced. The details thereof are scanty and the procedure is obscure. Apparently the questions through which the desired information was to be elicited from the oracle were couched in such simple and direct form that only three variations of answer might be given, affirmative, negative, and no answer.²²⁶ Apparently too the divinatory procedure was a casting of something, since the verb, *הפיל*, is used regularly to describe the act; but just what was cast, whether an arrow with a peculiar marking²²⁷ or a lot of some other kind, is far from certain. Seemingly, from I Sam. 14.41, especially as reconstructed with the aid of *G*, *tummim* was the name of one lot or of one form of oracular answer to the question put to the oracle, and *'urim* was the name of the opposite lot or answer. But if so then it is strange that we have no name nor word which describes the third possibility in this oracular procedure, viz., no answer whatever.

Certain it is that the oracle emanated from the deity or deities

symbol of a god. Nor does Hos. 3.4 suggest that the ephod and teraphim were used only for oracular divination and no more.

²²⁵ Cf. I Sam. 14.36-42, emended in accordance with *G*.

²²⁶ Cf. I Sam. 14.36-42, 23.9-12; 30.7-8.

²²⁷ So Sellin (*op. cit.*, 713), citing the *istiqsām*, the practice by the pre-islamic Arabs of divination by means of arrows (cf. Ezek. 21.26 and Wellhausen *Reste arabischen Heidentums*,² 207). In this type of divination there were likewise three alternative oracular responses, indicated by arrows with variant markings, (1) assent or command, (2) denial or forbidding, and (3) postponement or no answer (cf. Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, 127 f.) In this connection the close juxtaposition, in I Sam. 15.23; Zech. 10.2, of divination by means of teraphim and also by means of *ḥesem* (obviously closely related to the Arabic *istiqsām*) may be of significance. Also it may be noted that in Arabic *الفيل* was the name of the first of the arrows used in the pre-islamic game of chance, *Meisir*, while *الفيل* seems also to have connoted an arrow with no feathers upon it, i. e. an arrow of peculiar appearance and not used for ordinary shooting (cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, 2355). These two Arabic words bear a suggestive resemblance to the Hebrew *אפוד* (notice the cognate *אפודת*, with doubling of the 'ד'), although it is scarcely possible to establish with certainty any etymological relationship.

resident within or associated with the ephod; and there is no reason whatever to doubt that, at least by the time of Saul, if not from the very earliest times, this deity was Yahweh, the tribal Yahweh of Benjamin. In such case *'urim* and *tummim* could not have been the actual names of the sacred stones or cult objects, housed within the ephod. And yet we have seen that, despite the fact that the ark almost certainly contained two sacred stones, Yahweh was none the less the only deity associated with it, at least in the period from which all our historic records date.²²⁸ So also it is not at all improbable that, notwith-

²²⁸ Unquestionably Yahweh was likewise the deity of Gideon's ephod at Ophra, the tribal Yahweh of Manasseh, of course. Further indication that from quite early times Yahweh was conceived of likewise as the tribal deity of Benjamin, and also of the close association of the *'urim* and *tummim* with the ephod, may be found in a correlation of Deut. 33.8 with I Sam. 2.28. Unquestionably the priest of the *tummim* and *'urim* of Deut. 33.8 was Moses. But according to I Sam. 2.28 Moses was the ancestor of the levitical priestly family, which was charged with the task of bearing the ephod. Despite the implication of Mosaic ancestry for the family of Eli, in I Sam. 2.28, the function of bearing the ephod cannot be ascribed to this priestly family, for, as we have seen, their particular cult-object was, not an ephod, but the ark (unless, as we have established, the ark be regarded as actually an ephod of distinctive size and appearance and so having its own proper name). Actually, however, I Sam. 2.28, correlated with Deut. 33.8, seems to envisage the levitical priestly family at Nob, rather than that at Shiloh, and to ascribe Mosaic origin to it.

In truth it seems quite probable that both levitical priestly families, that of Eli at Shiloh and that of Ahimelech at Nob, were descended from Moses. On the one hand, the Egyptian names, Hofni and Phineas (cf. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 32) would point directly to Moses (in all likelihood also an Egyptian name; cf. *ibid.*) as the ancestor of the Elides. And the correlation of Deut. 33.8 with I Sam. 2.28 points to a parallel conclusion for the priests of Nob. It is not at all improbable that there is considerable historical validity to the tradition (I Sam. 14.3) that the priestly family at Nob was descended directly from Eli.

The entire matter is comparatively simple. According to Jud. 17.7 and 18.30 the young levite who came from Bethlehem, where he had been residing as a *ger*, or client, among the clans of Judah, to become, first the priest of Micah, the Ephraimite, and subsequently the priest of the tribe of Dan, was the grandson of Moses. This implies that after the conquest of Southern Palestine by the Judah, Simon, Levi and Kenite clans or tribes, under the leadership of Moses (Cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 48-50), the Judahites pushed as far north as Bethlehem. Moses himself, or at least his immediate family, settled there among the clans of Judah, in the role of

standing that Yahweh was also the deity of the ephod of Benjamin, it may likewise have contained two sacred stones or two sacred images, one of which may well have conformed in some way to the *'urim* and the other to the *tummim*. The presence of these two names, and only these two names, even though there was the possibility of a third form of oracular response, viz., no answer, and their constant and almost inseparable association with it, offers some corroboration to this hypothesis of the presence of two sacred stones or images within the ephod of Benjamin. And, even though this is nowhere explicitly indicated, none the less we must conclude that these two sacred stones or images within this ephod, were teraphim.

Perhaps some further confirmation of our hypothesis that the ephod was the tent-shrine in which the teraphim were regularly housed may be found in Isa. 30.22, in the use of the obviously derivative term, אִפְדָּה. Seemingly the word is in parallelism with צַפִּי. If the parallelism be complete and absolute, אִפְדָּה would seem to be the gold envelope of the מַסְכָּה, the core of which, in turn, may have been made of some less costly metal, or even of

gerim, and contracted *beena* marriage relations with the Judahites (cf. "Beena Marriage [Matriarchat] in Ancient Israel and Its Historical Implications," 95, note 4). No doubt they functioned as the levitical oracular priests of these Judahite clans, since they must have inherited the technique of oracular divination from their ancestor, Moses. After a not too long period various levitical priests, all no doubt descendants of Moses (for the Mushite priestly family cf. Ex. 6.19; Num. 3.20, 33; 26.58; I Chron. 6.4, 32; 23.21, 23; 24.26, 30. Despite the fact that P, followed by the Chronicler, though with some confusion, makes these Mushites descendants of Levi in a younger and minor line, there can be no doubt that the name records the fact that from of old the descendants of Moses were recognized as functioning priests.), migrated in different directions in order to function professionally as oracular priests in different communities. In this way Jonathan, the grandson of Moses, came to Micah, the Ephraimite, and then to Dan. In the same way the young Levite of Jud. 19 came, also from Bethlehem of Judah, to become the professional oracular priest at a sanctuary somewhere near the southern border of Ephraim. I have long been of the opinion that this sanctuary was Shiloh, and that this young Levite was the ancestor of Eli and his family. Similarly some other descendant of Moses, whether through Eli, as I Sam. 14.3 has it, or through some other scion of Moses, became the founder of the family of levitical oracular priests at the Benjaminite tribal sanctuary at Nob.

wood. But it is not at all improbable that the entire *מסכה* was made of gold.²²⁹ In such case the parallelism between *אפרה* and *צפוי* would be only relative; and *אפרה* would probably mean "cover," and even specifically "tent-cover." This would imply, in turn, that sacred molten images were regularly housed in tent-shrines, known either by the masculine name, *אפור*, or the corresponding feminine, *אפרה*. But even if *אפרה* be used here as the complete and absolute parallel of *צפוי*, none the less it has the connotation of "covering," even though this be the close covering of a metal plating of the image; and this, in its turn, would seem to indicate that basically the *אפור* or the *אפרה* was a covering²³⁰ or, as we have suggested, a housing, for the sacred stones or images, the teraphim, of early Israelite religion, in other words, a tent-shrine, of the same nature as the ark, the *kubbe*, the *sukkah* of Amos 5.26, the *mahmal*, and the 'otfe.

This exhausts the biblical evidence bearing upon the ancient ephod²³¹ and teraphim. This evidence is too scanty to be defini-

²²⁹ Cf. Deut. 7.25; Isa. 40.18-20; 41.6-7; 44.9-20. In all these passages an idol, the core of which is of wood, i. e., it can be burned, and which is merely overlaid with precious metal, is called specifically *פסל*, just as in Isa. 30.22 the idol which has a metal plating (*צפוי*) is called *פסיל*. On the other hand, in all cases where the context is explicit (cf. Ex. 32.4, 8; 34.17 [cf. Lev. 19.4 and Ex. 20.23]; Hos. 13.2) the *מסכה* seems to be an image made entirely of molten metal, usually silver or gold, and formed by being poured into a mould (cf. Isa. 30.1). But if *מסכה* be an image of this kind, then in Isa. 30.22 *זהב* must be linked with *מסכה*, and not with *אפרה*; i. e., it must have been the image which was made entirely of gold. In such case *אפרה* could, of course, not be its overlay or plating. It seems therefore most probable that, just as we have proposed, *אפרה* is the feminine of *אפור* and designated the tent-shrine in which the golden image was normally housed.

²³⁰ Semantically then the much discussed *אפור בר* would be merely "a covering of linen," i. e., as has been indicated (above, note 194), a simple piece of cloth, girt about the waist, which hung down and so "covered" the genitals.

²³¹ It is, of course, tempting to correlate *אפור* of Dan. 11.45 with *אפור*, particularly now that we have found good reason to believe that *אפור* was itself the primitive Israelite tent-shrine; and this all the more so since Dan. 11-45 speaks of "the tents of the *אפור*." But for cogent reasons this temptation must be resisted. It is also interesting to note that in Arabic (cf. Lane, *op. cit.*, 2353) *فدن* designates a kind of pavilion or lofty building, and also a red dye; but here too the resemblance must not be pressed.

tive.²³² Yet it points unmistakably to the conclusion that אפוד was the generic term for the tent-shrine and תרפים the generic term for the betyls or idols within it. The ark of Ephraim would then have been a special ephod, unique in size and probably also in shape,²³³ and so having its own distinguishing name, ארון יהוה, "the box of Yahweh."

We must now turn our consideration to another tent-shrine, likewise of peculiar character and probably also distinctive in size and perhaps in shape too, and which therefore also had its own distinguishing name, אהל מועד, the "tent of meeting."

VIII

THE TENT OF MEETING

In an article written some twenty-five years ago²³⁴ I showed that the so-called tent of meeting played an important role, not in the record of the E Code, as had been generally assumed by scholars up to that time, but rather in that of the J Code, that, in other words, it was an institution bound up with the Southern Kingdom and its historic traditions, and not with those of the Northern Kingdom.²³⁵ I advanced two specific hypotheses, (1) that the tent of meeting was in large measure a replica, in tent-form, of the sacred cave upon the "mountain of Yahweh" out in the desert, which plays such an integral role in both the Moses- and the Elijah-traditions;²³⁶ and (2) that this tent of

²³² I Sam. 15.23, in which teraphim are mentioned (Sellin, *op. cit.*, 716 would emend און to אפוד, which, though somewhat drastic, is by no means improbable. If accepted, it would constitute another instance of the conventional close association of ephod and teraphim.), sheds no additional light on the nature of either ephod or teraphim, other than to offer further confirmation of the association of teraphim with divination.

²³³ May ("Ephod and Ariel," *AJSL*, LVI [1939], 44 ff.) too holds that the ark, the ephod and the sacred tent were closely related institutions, and that in particular 'aron and 'efod were synonymous terms.

²³⁴ "The Tent of Meeting."

²³⁵ So also Luther, in Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 134 ff.

²³⁶ Cf. also "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 17 f., 29 f., 32-39, and below, note 289.

meeting had no connection at all with other sacred tents among the primitive Semites. The first hypothesis I would now modify in considerable measure; the second I would recall practically completely.

As is well known, in the P Code the tent of meeting plays a conspicuous role. It is the older name for the tabernacle in the wilderness. The younger name is *hamiškan*, "the dwelling-place." The two names are by no means synonymous. Rather the transition from the older to the younger name corresponds to, and is in fact the record of, a corresponding transition in the concept of Yahweh and of His particular dwelling-place. The idea underlying the term, *אהל מועד*, "tent of meeting," or, more literally, "tent of the meeting-place," is that Yahweh is a universal god, or better, the universal God, whose presence fills the entire universe, who dwells in heaven, as alone befits a universal God, who can be and is in all parts and places of the universe at all times, and who descends from His heavenly dwelling-place to confer with His particular people, Israel, through the medium of its properly accredited priest, at the door of this tent of meeting. The participants in this meeting are Yahweh, the universal God, and Israel, as represented by its highest ecclesiastical authority.

The universalistic tendency in Judaism reached what was probably its all-time extreme of formulation and expression in Deutero-Isaiah's concept of Israel as God's servant and witness unto all the nations and the agent of His purpose of salvation for all peoples; in Zechariah's formulation of a theory and program of proselytism to Judaism for both entire peoples and individuals;²³⁷ and in Malachi's concept of Yahweh as the universal King, who, regardless of the local name under which He might be addressed, is actually worshiped in all sanctuaries throughout the entire world.²³⁸ But, as Isa. 56.1-7 demonstrates clearly, ultimately a reaction against this extreme universalism, and

²³⁷ Zech. 8.20-23. This theory was undoubtedly formulated and proclaimed in the high enthusiasm engendered by the dedication of the second Temple on Rosh Hashanah, 516 B. C. That this theory became a practical reality, and that there must have been many foreign proselytes to Judaism in the period, 516-500 B. C., or even for a few years after 500 B. C., is conclusively evidenced by I Ki. 8.41-43; Isa. 56.1-7 and Mich. 4.1-4 (= Isa. 2.1-4).

²³⁸ Mal. 1.11+14b; cf. "Psalm 48," 44-47.

particularly against the proselytizing movement, set in. Proselytes were looked upon askance, and a growing tendency began to manifest itself to relegate them to an inferior position in the worship of Yahweh, and eventually to debar them completely from admission to Judaism.²³⁹ This tendency went hand in hand with a recrudescence, rapidly expanding and aggressive nationalism, which reached its climax in the ill-fated rebellion of the Jewish people against Persian dominion in 486 B. C.²⁴⁰ The catastrophic

²³⁹ It was against this reactionary tendency in Judaism in the period, 500-485 B. C., while the Temple was still standing in all its glory, that the prophetic author of Isa. 56.1-7 protested. He defended the proselytes valiantly, but to no avail. The anti-proselytizing reaction in the Judaism of the fifth century B. C. found concrete expression in the legislation in Deut. 23.2-4, which forbade specifically the admission into the Jewish community of eunuchs (cf. Isa. 56.1-7), Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites (Edomites were originally included in the provision of v. 4; vv. 8-9 record a later modification of the original law and provide for amelioration in the treatment of Edomite proselytes), and in Ezek. 44.6-14, which forbade absolutely admission of any foreigner whatever into the Jewish religious community, and which made the fact that the levitical priests of the second Temple, who had been its regular ministrants since its dedication in 516 B. C. (cf. Mal. 2.4-9), had countenanced the admission of these proselytes to Judaism and their active worship within the Temple (cf. again Isa. 56.1-7), the basis for its proposed demotion of these levitical priests to inferior ecclesiastical rank and function, and the restoration of the Zadokites, the pre-exilic Jerusalem priests, to their former office in the Temple and its cult. (This chapter, and in fact the greater part of Ezek. 40-48, must be dated to very shortly after 458 B. C., and be the work of Ezra and his associates, and must be regarded as an instrument in their program of extreme religious and cultural particularism and isolationism.) This anti-proselytizing tendency may be seen likewise in the attitude of indifference and complete disregard on the part of Johanan, the high-priest, and his associates, in 411-408 B. C., to the appeal of the Jews of Elephantine for aid in rebuilding their Yahweh-temple. Manifestly Johanan and his associates refused to regard these Egyptian Jews as true Jews, but chose rather to class them as foreigners who, in accordance with the provision of Ezek. 44.9, could not under any condition be admitted to Judaism. Obviously the legislation in Deut. 23.8-9 is later than 408 B. C. and represents a stage in the ultimate reaction away from the extreme, and even absolute, particularism and religious isolationism of Ezra, Nehemiah and Johanan; cf. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," 128-132.

²⁴⁰ The evidence for this conclusion is so extensive and complex, and its implications are so far-reaching, that the treatment of this theme must be reserved for another occasion.

outcome of this rebellion left the little Jewish community of Jerusalem and its vicinity so decimated and crushed that, in 445 B. C., Nehemiah could describe it as "the remnant which is left from the captivity."²⁴¹

In 458 B. C. Ezra returned to Jerusalem at the head of a considerable body of Babylonian Jewish exiles, among whom was a comparatively large group of Zadokite priests, eager to regain the privileged position which they had held in the pre-exilic Temple, and so to oust the then functioning levitical priests from their high office. Ezra set to work diligently, not only to achieve this goal, but also to discharge the various other important tasks which had been entrusted to him by the Babylonian Jewish community. One of these tasks, and not the least in importance, was the introduction into the life and program of the Jewish community of Jerusalem of the principles and practices of Jewish exclusivism, particularism and isolationism, which had, during the preceding century and a quarter of exile, come to characterize the Jewish theory of self-perpetuation and way of life in Babylonia. In conformity with this program Ezra sought to inaugurate his marriage reforms.²⁴² Apparently, despite what must have seemed an auspicious beginning, Ezra's plans eventually miscarried in considerable degree. It was left therefore to Nehemiah to complete this program of marriage reforms. This he did with characteristic vigor, absolutism and ruthlessness.²⁴³ He forced many Jews who had married foreign women, not only to send away these foreign wives, but also with them their children, born of these marriages. In accordance with the principle basic to the legislation in Deut. 23.4-7, even the offspring of marriages of Jews with foreign women could not be regarded as Jews.²⁴⁴ This was, of course, the extreme of particularism and religious isolationism in Judaism. It represents a diametrical reversal of the principles and program which, as we have just seen, had been dominant in Judaism but sixty years earlier.

²⁴¹ Neh. 1.2-3.

²⁴² Ezra 9-10.

²⁴³ Neh. 9.1-2; 13.23-28.

²⁴⁴ Deut. 7.1-11 must be recognized for various reasons as coming from the period 458-444 B. C.

In the catastrophe of 486–485 B. C. Jerusalem had been captured by the enemy and had been laid in ruins. The walls of the city had been breached, the gates burned, and the Temple likewise had been destroyed in considerable measure.²⁴⁵ The basic task of Ezra, when he came to Jerusalem, for the accomplishment of which he, or better, no doubt, the Jewish community of Babylonia, had secured from the Persian government formal permission and likewise provision for material support,²⁴⁶ was to rehabilitate the Temple, burned and laid in ruins some twenty-seven years previously. For this restoration of the Temple the architectural plan recorded in Ezek. 40–43 seems to have been the provisional pattern. If so, then it would follow that a quite drastic reconstruction of the Temple upon decidedly novel lines was contemplated. Ezra completed this task in due course of time. But it seems to have consisted of only a repair or rehabilitation of the destroyed Temple rather than a complete rebuilding, as at first projected.

However, shortly after 411 B. C. the occasion seems to have come for a rebuilding of the Temple upon almost radically new lines. In 411 B. C. Johanan, the son of Joyada and the grandson of Elyashib, became chief priest of the Jerusalem Temple through a coup, or at least something of that nature. Already some thirty-five or more years earlier, Johanan, then certainly a very young man, had departed from the traditional position of his priestly family, and become a supporter of Ezra and his program.²⁴⁷ Apparently he had maintained this party-affiliation consistently and probably in defiance of his family. At the death of his father both he and his brother, Joshua or Jesus, were candidates for the succession. Joshua seemingly was supported by the native Palestinians, no doubt the numerically superior party. He enjoyed likewise the aggressive support of Bagoas, the then *pehah*, or Persian military governor of the land. Obviously political considerations influenced Bagoas in his support of Joshua against his brother. Johanan, on the other hand, enjoyed the active support

²⁴⁵ Cf. Isa. 63.18; 64.9–10; Obad. 11–14; Ps. 74.1–10; 79.1–6; Neh. 1.2–4.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Ezra 7.11–26.

²⁴⁷ Ezra 10.6; cf. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," 126 ff.

of the Zadokite priests and the other Babylonian exiles, who had returned under Ezra and Nehemiah. Their number at this time must have been considerable, and their social, economic and political influence, acquired during the governorship of Nehemiah, 444-432 B. C., must have been great.

The issue was decided through an act of violence. Johanan slew his brother, Joshua, in the very Temple.²⁴⁸ Angered by this defeat of his plans, and no doubt also seeing therein an opportunity for advantageous political action, Bagoas forced his way into the Temple, in open defiance of the Ezranic legislation of Ezek. 44.9, and subsequently imposed upon the Jewish people a heavy tax for every lamb sacrificed in the Temple. This oppressive condition continued for seven years, until 404 B. C., when Darius II was succeeded by Artaxerxes II. The harsh, restrictive measures of Bagoas in his treatment of the Jewish people, conforming no doubt to the general administrative policy of Darius II, were now repealed and a milder and more benignant administration of the Jews was inaugurated. Quite probably the influence of the Babylonian Jewish community had not a little to do with this change of policy.

The repeal of the taxes upon the sacrifices in the Temple offered a favorable opportunity for a thorough reorganization of the Temple itself and of its cult and ecclesiastical administration. The party of the returned Babylonian exiles, undoubtedly with the strong backing of the influential Jewish community still in Babylonia, and upholding the principles and program of legalism, ritualism, particularism and religious isolationism which the Babylonian Jewish community had always fostered, had now definitely gained the upper hand. The returned Zadokite priests had now to a very considerable extent replaced the native levitical priests,²⁴⁹ who, in turn, were demoted to inferior priestly rank

²⁴⁸ Probably upon Rosh Hashonah, when both men sought to perform the office of chief priest and to celebrate the unique and momentous rites of that day; cf. "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," 14-24.

²⁴⁹ The story of the bitter struggle between these two priestly bodies for the ecclesiastical control and privileges of the post-exilic Temple is too long and complex to be dealt with here. Its treatment too must await some more suitable occasion.

and function,²⁵⁰ and were henceforth known professionally as the levites. The office of *kohen gadol*, "high priest," was now formulated and instituted.²⁵¹ The religious calendar was systematically reformed, largely in conformity with a pattern emanating from the Babylonian Jewish community,²⁵² and apparently the sacrificial cult too underwent far-reaching modification. All this reorganization is recorded in the Priestly Code, and especially in the main stratum thereof, Pg. This Code must have been in process of composition or compilation in Palestine during the last twenty years or so, and must have been formally promulgated in 404 B. C. or very soon thereafter. It provides the program and the enabling legislation for this drastic reorganization of the Temple structure, its ecclesiastical administration, its cult and ritual, the festival calendar, and the general religious practice of Judaism.

The universalistic spirit of native Palestinian Judaism was now definitely suppressed. Babylonian particularism and religious isolationism had triumphed completely. Bagoas' hostile and forceful penetration of the Temple, presumably into its innermost recess, had violated its inherent sanctity, had outraged the now dominant particularistic spirit of Judaism and had created a practical issue. This issue was met by a complete remodeling and eventual reconstruction of the Temple²⁵³ in accordance with the Priestly Code's pattern of the tabernacle in the wilderness, represented as having been revealed to Moses by God Himself.²⁵⁴ The basic consideration here, which dictated all the major details of this reconstruction of the Temple, was

²⁵⁰ Yet apparently a rank and function not quite as menial and lacking in priestly authority and dignity as that previously contemplated for them in Ezek. 44.5-14.

²⁵¹ Cf. "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," 360-377.

²⁵² Cf. "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," 132-148.

²⁵³ Of course other equally important issues also contributed to the remodeling and reconstruction of the Temple, such as the propriety, and even the logical necessity, of making the Temple conform practically to the reorganization of its ecclesiastical administration, and also the very important consideration about to be presented.

²⁵⁴ Ex. 25.8-9.

that it was henceforth to be looked upon as the actual abode of God.²⁵⁵

Although still regarded in P unqualifiedly as a universal deity, or rather as the universal Deity, Yahweh was also in large and real measure a particularistic deity, the particular God of Israel. With Israel He had His most immediate relations, and it was the object of His particular solicitude. Its worship of Him was alone in conformity with His wishes, as He had revealed them to Israel, and therefore was the only true worship of Him, and so far more pleasing to Him than the homage of all other nations.

In time, and probably not too long a time, the P writers evolved their peculiar and characteristic system of harmonization of the antithetical principles of universalism and particularism. It had decided affinities with, and yet was at the same time the very antithesis of, the doctrine of Deutero-Isaiah. The latter had conceived of Israel as the *'ebed Yahweh*, "the servant of God," in other words the prophet-people; for *'ebed*, or more specifically *'ebed Yahweh*, was a long established title for "prophet."²⁵⁶ As His prophet-people its particular task was to bear testimony of Him and of His way of life for all men before the nations of the earth, that they, in turn, might learn His ways and come to walk in His paths, and that thereby His salvation might reach to the very ends of the earth and embrace all mankind.

The doctrine of the Priestly Code was that Israel was to be unto God a kingdom of priests and a holy nation,²⁵⁷ i. e., holy to Him, His peculiar people, in other words, standing to Him in a closer, more intimate relationship than any other nation or people. Its role, according to divine program as conceived by Priestly theologians and writers, was to be, not that of a prophet-people, but that of a priest-people. Just as the priest, particularly according to the ecclesiastical scheme of P, was the indispensable

²⁵⁵ That in the period with which we are dealing we should refer to the Deity as "God" rather than as "Yahweh," has been convincingly demonstrated by my colleague, Professor Blank, in his very significant article, "Studies in Deutero-Isaiah," *HUCA*, XV (1940), 1-46.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Amos 3.7; cf. Blank, *op. cit.*, 18-27.

²⁵⁷ Ex. 19.6a.

mediator between God and ordinary men, mediated unto Him their worship, sacrifices and petitions, so Israel, the priest-people, was to be the mediator between God and all the other nations, the lay nations, as they might well be called. And just as the priest was the agent of atonement and reconciliation between layman and God, so Israel, the priest-people, was to be the agent of atonement and reconciliation between God and all the other more or less errant and sinful nations. Manifestly the Priestly Code "ecclesiasticized" Deutero-Isaiah's doctrine of Israel as the "servant" and of universal divine salvation to be achieved through his faithful service.

It is self-evident that these P theologians and writers still conceived of God in a strictly universalistic sense. Yet, as has been said, He was for them at the same time to an extreme degree, and probably in a very realistic sense, a particularistic deity. With Israel he had particular and intimate relations, such as He had with no other people. Israel was His own people, just as He was Israel's own God. What more fitting therefore than that the principle should now prevail that such a God, despite His acknowledged universalism, should be regarded as dwelling, not in heaven, where His particular relations to one people could have no adequate expression, but in the midst of that very people itself, and in the one, single Temple consecrated to His name, located not only in the very center of that people's land, but even in the very center of the entire earth?²⁵⁸ This principle now became firmly established and found concrete expression in the Priestly Code.

The tabernacle in the wilderness, the pattern of which, so it was represented in P, emanated from God Himself, as was but proper, and which, in turn, was but the pattern for the now reconstructed Temple, was actually God's dwelling-place on earth. In it He abode in the very midst of His people and at the very center of His world. In it He was enthroned as King, prob-

²⁵⁸ That the concept of Jerusalem, and especially of the Temple Mount, as the very center, the navel, of the earth, which played such an important role in later eschatological speculation and apocalyptic literature, was current in Palestinian Judaism already early in the fifth century B. C., I have demonstrated in "Psalm 48," 80-86.

ably as universal King,²⁵⁹ in a special, innermost chamber, "the holy of holies," seated upon His throne, the ark, now called specifically "the ark of testimony,"²⁶⁰ upon the golden "mercy-seat," and beneath the outspread wings of the two cherubim. There He dwelt eternally in august solitude. Into His austere presence only one mortal might come, the high priest, and that only once a year, upon the New Year's Day,²⁶¹ and that too only when enveloped in a thick cloud of incense, that he might not inadvertently gaze upon the actual face of God and so meet his death.²⁶²

Thus it was that the tabernacle in the wilderness now came to be known as the *miškan*, the "dwelling-place," the dwelling-place of Yahweh in the midst of His people, Israel.²⁶³ But this was not at all the name originally employed for the tabernacle in the Priestly Code. Originally in P the tabernacle was designated as the *'ohel mo'ed*, the place where God met with His people, or with their natural representative and mediator with the Deity, the high-priest. According to Ex. 25.22; 30.6, 36; Num. 17.19 the precise place where God would meet with the people was just before the veil which separated the holy of holies, the particular

²⁵⁹ Rather than as merely King of Israel.

²⁶⁰ ארון העדות. Is there in this name perhaps some evidence of Deutero-Isaiah's concept of Israel, the prophet-people, as God's witnesses, bearing unto all nations testimony of Him and His way of life? The "testimony" within the ark was undoubtedly believed to be the decalogue, inscribed according to ancient tradition, upon the two sacred stones, and especially the decalogue in its final, amplified P version, as recorded in Ex. 20.2-17 (note especially v. 11). In this form the decalogue was not particularistically Israelite or Jewish in character, but was decidedly universalistic, as if intended by God to constitute, in part at least, a way of life for all men. Note also that according to Gen. 1.1-2.4 (cf. "The Sources of the Creation Story") the Sabbath was instituted already at creation and long before the emergence of the Israelite people, quite as if God had intended it to be observed by all mankind. Note also the legislation in Gen. 9.1-6 and the late tradition based thereon of the seven so-called Noachidian laws, to be observed by all mankind.

²⁶¹ Later the Day of Atonement; cf. "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," 22-58.

²⁶² Lev. 16.2 ff. and cf. Lauterbach, "A Significant Controversy between the Sadducees and the Pharisees," *HUCA*, IV (1927), 173-205.

²⁶³ Ex. 25.8 f.; 38.21 and *passim*.

dwelling-place of God, from the so-called "holies," the main section of the interior of the tabernacle. But according to Ex. 29.42-43 the meeting-place of God with the people was at the door of the tent of meeting itself, and not at all at the veil. There seems to be a basic contradiction here; but it is easily resolved. Ex. 29.42-43 belongs unquestionably to one of the earliest strata of Pg, and was written undoubtedly before 411 B. C., before the architectural plan of the tabernacle, with the holy of holies as the innermost part of the sanctuary, was conceived of, and when the tabernacle was still looked upon merely as a large tent of sacred character, but not yet the permanent abiding-place of God. Ex. 25.22; 30.6, 36; Num. 17.19 belong to the later and main stratum of Pg, in which the original, simple tent-plan of the sanctuary has been redrawn, and provision has been made for the holy of holies. This later picture represents obviously a purposed and radical departure from what was undoubtedly the earlier concept, still well known to the first P writers, of the tent-sanctuary of Yahweh in the wilderness. It was this drastic reconstruction of the earlier picture which transformed this tent-sanctuary from the *'ohel mo'ed*, as it was known to the first P writers, to the *miškan* or dwelling-place of God in the midst of His people, as the sacred tent was conceived by the later P writers.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ In developing their picture of the *miškan* these P writers revived with it the old figure of the ark. They remembered the old tradition of the ark lodged in the *debir* of the first Temple, a box-like structure containing the two tablets of the decalogue; and so they coined for it, in all likelihood, with a distinct dependence upon Deutero-Isaiah's doctrine of Israel's divinely appointed role as God's witnesses, the new title, ארון העדות, "the ark of testimony." But they remembered also another ancient and reliable historic tradition, viz., that in the *debir* of the first Temple, immediately after its erection, Yahweh's golden throne had once stood, with Yahweh Himself conceived as seated thereon (cf. "Amos Studies, III," 105 ff.). Accordingly and quite naturally they transformed the ark into something more than the mere box-like container of the two "tablets of testimony." They gave to it a heavy, golden lid, the *kapporet*, attached to which were the two cherubim with outspread wings, already present, though with different attachment, in the *debir* of Solomon's Temple (I Ki. 6.23-28; 8.6-7). Thus they made out of the ark the throne of Yahweh. In a way the circle of thought-evolution was now completed, and once again Yahweh, or God, was conceived as seated or dwelling enthroned, as the world-King, in the innermost section of His Temple.

But it is clear that neither the concept of the tent-sanctuary in the wilderness nor yet the name '*ohel mo'ed*' nor the concept that it was at the door or entrance to this tent-shrine that the Deity met with the proper representative of His people were original with these earliest P writers. All this they had received from an older, pre-exilic tradition and literary record. This record we find in the J Code. Ex. 33.7-11 records Moses' established procedure with the '*ohel mo'ed*'. These vv. have no actual connection with what immediately precedes.²⁶⁵ The '*ohel mo'ed*' appears suddenly and without any antecedent record of its fabrication or nature, as a well known and accepted cult-object, and only Moses' formal, ritual procedure with it is described.

Moses is the regular priest of the '*ohel mo'ed*'. It is primarily an instrument for consultation with Yahweh, in other words for divination. Moses is therefore the oracular priest, the *kohen moreh* of II Chron. 15.3.²⁶⁶ The origin of the '*ohel mo'ed*' is here definitely assigned to the desert period and to Moses specifically. Moses, so the passage records, would regularly set up the '*ohel mo'ed*', at Israel's successive camping-places upon its journey through the wilderness, outside the camp, and even at some dis-

²⁶⁵ So also Sellin (*op. cit.*, 168) and Gressmann (in *ZAW*, 40 [1922], 86). Ex. 33.4-6 describes the making of some object of primary religious import, though what it was is not stated, and is indicated only most loosely and vaguely. It was made out of the personal ornaments and jewels of the people. Certainly this was not the '*ohel mo'ed*' (cf. below, note 290). It is difficult even to correlate this with the fabrication of the ark, as some scholars have interpreted it. The apparent parallelism with Ex. 32.2-4 would suggest that what was made from these personal ornaments and jewels was an idol, similar to the golden calf. Yet it is impossible to ascribe the fabrication of such an idol to Moses. Moreover, it is noteworthy that according to Ex. 32.2-4 the people had already divested themselves of their ornaments and jewels. Actually therefore Ex. 33.4-6 seems to offer, not a new narrative at all, but rather a parallel version of the golden calf episode recorded in detail in Ex. 32. In this, however, not Aaron, but Moses, was the chief actor. Apparently the narrative here, whatever its details may have been, has been suppressed almost completely in favor of the parallel golden calf narrative in Ex. 32.

²⁶⁶ That II Chron. 15.3 is distinctly reminiscent of, and probably is even patterned after, Hos. 3.4 is self-evident. It is noteworthy therefore that ללא כהן מורה וללא תורה of II Chron. 15.3 corresponds closely in form and even more closely in thought to ואין אפוד ותרפים of Hos. 3.4.

tance therefrom.²⁶⁷ Moses himself, in his capacity of oracular priest, would go out from the camp to the *'ohel mo'ed* in order to consult Yahweh. Likewise whoever desired a revelation from Yahweh would accompany Moses thither, while the rest of the people, remaining in their tents, could follow Moses with their gaze and, impliedly, observe his entire procedure. When Moses had entered the sacred tent, the Deity would descend, in the form of the pillar of cloud, to the door of the tent, and there would converse with Moses, standing within the tent, face to face, just as one man speaks to another. And when Moses, having received the divine revelation, would leave the sacred tent in order to return to the camp, his youthful apprentice,²⁶⁸ who was presumably learning the technique of the oracular priest, would remain within the *'ohel mo'ed*, obviously so that there might always be some properly trained oracular priest present to receive the divine revelation, whenever Yahweh would choose to speak. The role of this young apprentice within the sacred tent is, of course, identical with that of the youthful Samuel before the ark in the sanctuary at Shiloh.

This is practically all that we know of the *'ohel mo'ed* as it appears in the J Code; for subsequent J narratives merely confirm what is here stated, of the location of the sacred tent outside the camp, of Yahweh descending in the form of the pillar of cloud, and of the door of the tent as the place of meeting between Moses and the Deity.²⁶⁹

That this picture of the *'ohel mo'ed* and of the manner of functioning with it, at least in its present form, is none too old, certainly not older than the middle of the eighth century B. C., is evidenced by its universalistic background. The immediate

²⁶⁷ In precisely the same manner as, as we have seen (above, note 186), the Bedouin marriage-tent is regularly pitched at some distance from the camp.

²⁶⁸ In Ex. 33.11 specifically designated as Joshua b. Nun; but this is probably here, just as it is certainly in Num. 11.28, a harmonistic gloss.

²⁶⁹ That Ex. 34.29-35 is but loosely related to the account of the *'ohel mo'ed* in Ex. 33.7-11, and is at the most only a quite late legendary and theological outgrowth of this account, cf. "Moses with the Shining Face," *HUCA*, II (1925), 1-27. However, for a possible modification of this general conclusion so far as vv. 34-35 are concerned cf. below, note 290.

implication of the constantly recurring motif, that Yahweh descends to the door of the sanctuary, in the form of the pillar of cloud, in order to confer with Moses, is that normally He dwells somewhere aloft, presumably in heaven. But, as we have already indicated, the concept of Yahweh dwelling in heaven, rather than in the Temple at Jerusalem which, as we have seen, prevailed in the younger stratum of Pg, or of Yahweh dwelling upon a sacred mountain out in the desert, as the older and more primitive concept, current at least as late as the time of Elijah, i. e., about 860 B. C.,²⁷⁰ ran, implies a positive universalism, which could, at the very best, not be much older than the time of Amos.²⁷¹

Moreover, it is certain that the J writers did not invent the institution of the *'ohel mo'ed*, but that, precisely as with the P writers, with them also both the specific name and also their account of Moses' procedure with this tent-shrine were based upon a definite knowledge of a still older institution in Israel, a tent-shrine, of which Moses was the oracular priest, and which was both the place and the instrument of Yahweh's revelation of His will and purpose to His people. In this connection we naturally think immediately of the tent-shrine erected in Jerusalem by David²⁷² as the sanctuary of the national Yahweh,

²⁷⁰ Cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 32-39 and "Amos Studies, III," 187-190.

²⁷¹ Corroboration of this conclusion may be seen in the narrative of Num. 11.29, in which the *'ohel mo'ed* plays an integral part; for the pious wish there put into Moses' mouth, "Would that all of Yahweh's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put His spirit upon them," implies a concept of the nature, function and manner of divine call of the prophet altogether different from those of the professional prophet, which apparently found its first positive expression in Amos 3.3-8; cf. "Amos Studies, I," 29-67.

²⁷² II Sam. 6.17; I Ki. 2.28, 29, 30; I Chron. 15.1; II Chron. 1.4; 2.13; Ps. 15.1; 27.5, 6; 61.5; also Ezek. 41.1; I Chron. 9.23; also the import of the terms, אהל and אהלי in the symbolic names, אהלה and אהליבה (Ezek. 23.4 ff.), אהליבמה (Gen. 36.2 f.) and אהליאב (Ex. 31.6; 35.34; 36.1, 2; 38.23); also the Phoenician name, אהלבעל, and the Sabaeen names, אהלעתתר and אהלאל, cited by May, "Ephod and Ariel," *AJSL*, LVI (1939), 54, note 53. May calls attention likewise (*ibid.*, 59, note 81) to the fact that in the Ras Shamra legend of Dan'el (No. II, Col. V, 11.32 f.). אהל and משכנו are employed in synonymous parallelism for the habitation of the god, Kšr = Hyn. Likewise in Dan'el, No. I, 11.212, 222 אהלם is used in a passage which deals with divination

whom his creation of the united Israelite nation had called into being. Unquestionably this national tent-sanctuary in Jerusalem was erected by David because, with his pastoral background, this seemed the normal and proper kind of a sanctuary to erect in honor of Yahweh, Yahweh being to David, because of the pastoral background of David's childhood, not a native Palestinian deity but primarily a pastoral deity, whose origin and quite probably whose true home were still to be found out in the desert.²⁷³ For David, with his shepherd point of view, the natural and proper sanctuary of Yahweh was, not a magnificent temple, built of wood and stone and magnificently decorated, but a simple tent-shrine, such as his ancestors must have known in their pastoral life, and still earlier in the nomadic and semi-nomadic periods of their cultural evolution. The supplanting of David's tent-sanctuary by Solomon's magnificent temple marked the beginning of an altogether new economic and cultural epoch in Israel's history, an epoch of which this temple, of new and revolutionary style, was the actual symbol.²⁷⁴

Yet while there were undoubtedly close affinities between David's tent-sanctuary at Jerusalem and the original *'ohel mo'ed*, still they were by no means identical. The name, *'ohel mo'ed*, was apparently never applied to David's tent-sanctuary; nor was that an *'ohel mo'ed* in the strict meaning of the term. Rather that was primarily a sanctuary, even a temple, though still in tent-shape. It was a sanctuary in the larger sense, like the sanctuary at Shiloh, in which the ark was deposited, or, with even greater and more significant similarity, like the Kaaba at Mekka, in which too the betyls or images of many pre-islamic deities were collected

procedure. All these references confirm our major hypothesis, viz. that the sacred tent, conceived both as the housing of the gods and also as an instrument of oracular divination was current, not only among the Sabaeans but also among the Phoenicians of the 15th century B. C., and undoubtedly also among their primitive, nomadic, Semitic ancestors.

²⁷³ In fact, as we have just pointed out, even one hundred and fifty years after David, Elijah, likewise a shepherd, and probably a Kenite as well, feeling the need of immediate, personal communion with Yahweh, fled into the desert, to the "mountain of Yahweh," where obviously he still conceived of Yahweh as actually dwelling; cf. "Amos Studies, III," 186 ff.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 59-81; 100-134.

and deposited,²⁷⁵ in order thus to give concrete expression to the principle of the all-inclusiveness and absolute unity of Allah, and to establish likewise that these particular deities had themselves ceased to exist, were all either absorbed in or supplanted by Allah. David's tent-sanctuary at Jerusalem, precisely like the Kaaba, had much of the nature of a national pantheon. And, again like the Kaaba, it too implied that all the old, tribal Yahwehs, and particularly those whose ancient cult-objects, such as the ark, the ephod of Benjamin, and the brazen serpent, were now deposited in the national shrine, had been absorbed in, identified with and supplanted by the national Yahweh of united Israel.

On the other hand, the original *'ohel mo'ed* was, strictly speaking, not so much a tent-sanctuary as a simple tent-shrine, one in which, undoubtedly, a deity, Yahweh, was thought to reside, which was used for purposes of divination and oracular decision, whose oracular priest Moses was, and the origin of which was to be found, not in Palestine, but out in the desert, in the period of tribal sojourn there before entrance into Palestine. But these considerations all point to the unmistakable conclusion that this original *'ohel mo'ed* was but another *kubbe*, and actually a very early form thereof, and that the name, *'ohel mo'ed*, was, again, not a generic term, but rather the proper name of this particular *kubbe* or ephod, just as we have seen that *'aron Yahweh* was the proper name of another particular object of that same class in ancient Israel and as *al-Markab* is the name of the *kubbe* or *'otfe* of the Ruwala Bedouin today. Just why this particular *kubbe* was called *'ohel mo'ed*, is not clear, for certainly in the original concept, it was not Yahweh who met with Moses at the door of the tent-shrine, but rather Moses who met with Yahweh, and not at the door merely, but within the tent.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁵ Cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 142-145.

²⁷⁶ For certainly, if Yahweh was thought to dwell permanently within this sacred tent, just as Al-Lat, Al'Uzza and other deities were thought to dwell within their respective *kubbes*, then the tradition that Moses would meet with Yahweh at the door of the *'ohel mo'ed*, with the implication that this was the reason for this specific name for this sacred tent, must have been the invention of the J writers, growing out of their theological doctrine that Yahweh actually dwelt, not within the tent, but in heaven. In connection

One consideration in particular points directly and convincingly to the identification of the *'ohel mo'ed* with the later, pre-islamic *kubbe*. Despite its relatively late date and the very long interval which therefore separated it from the original and historic *'ohel mo'ed*, the Priestly Code preserved the tradition that its *'ohel mo'ed*, even in the elaborate form in which it conceived of this sacred tent, was to be made of leather and dyed red.²⁷⁷ But, as we have learned, these were two of the constant and unfailing characteristics of the *kubbe*. That the *'ohel mo'ed* was a *kubbe*, or at least an early forerunner thereof, can no longer be doubted.

Despite the implication of I Sam. 2.27–28 and also of Deut. 33.8, Moses himself had no immediate association with the ark, nor yet with the ephod of Benjamin, nor with any ephod or *kubbe* other than the *'ohel mo'ed*. With it his association is inseparable. The *'ohel mo'ed* cannot be interpreted correctly without correlating it with Moses as its oracular priest, its *kohen moreh*. Moreover, as we have seen, all the biblical evidence points unmistakably to the conclusion that the *'ohel mo'ed* was of specifically desert origin.

And still one other circumstance of historical significance do we note in connection with the *'ohel mo'ed*, viz., that never²⁷⁸ do we hear of betyls or images associated with it. From the very

with the question of the original implication of the name, *'ohel mo'ed*, a passage from Ibn Doraïd (*Kitāb al Ishtiqāq* [ed. Wüstenfeld], 215), to which my attention was first called by my good friend, Dr. Joshua Finkel, and which I subsequently found cited by Lammens (*op. cit.*, 135), is of great interest, to say the very least; وهم اشراف فى الجاهلية لهم قبة وهى التى يقال لها قبة المعادة من لجا اليها اعاذو ■. “And these nobles in the ‘Days of Ignorance’ had a *kubbe*, which was called ‘the *Kubbe* of Refuge,’ because to whoever entered it they granted asylum.” The similarity between the names, *אהל מועד* and *אהל המועד* and *قبة المعادة* is more than striking. Can it be that early Arabic tradition had some vague reminiscence of the name, *אהל מועד*, and interpreted *מועד* as from a stem, *עוד* — *עאז*, “to seek refuge?” If so, regardless of whether this etymology be correct, it follows that these early Arabs must have identified the *'ohel mo'ed* with their *kubbe*.

²⁷⁷ Ex. 26.14; 36.19; 39.34.

²⁷⁸ Unless we except the possible implication of Ex. 33.4–6, suggested in note 265.

beginning the cult of Yahweh connected with the *'ohel mo'ed*, and therefore with Moses, appears to have been imageless. This is a matter of deep historic import; for the question of the origin of the imageless worship of Yahweh, so characteristic of the official worship of Him, at least in Judah, from the time of the first reformation, that in the fifteenth year of Asa, in 899 B. C.,²⁷⁹ has as yet not found a satisfactory answer. The command in Ex. 34.17, "Gods of molten metal thou shalt not make for thyself," the second command in the Kenite Code,²⁸⁰ obviously represents no innovation, but merely reduces to formal legislation, in the name of Yahweh, what had long been regarded as a basic institution of His true worship, at least in the Southern Kingdom. As I have indicated elsewhere,²⁸¹ this particular command was directed immediately against the presence of the golden image of the enthroned Yahweh in the Jerusalem Temple. One of the major results of this successful reformation was the destruction of this image and the substitution for it of the ancient ark of Ephraim as the chief cult-object within the Temple. It follows therefore that the antipathy to the use of images in the worship of Yahweh within the Southern Kingdom is older than the erection of Solomon's Temple. Undoubtedly David conformed strictly to this principle,²⁸² and the origin of this deep-rooted antipathy, which exerted such a distinctive and compelling influence upon

²⁷⁹ Cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 98-119.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 57, 71-73.

²⁸¹ "Amos Studies, III," 100-134.

²⁸² The presence of the teraphim in David's house at the time of his marriage with Michal (I Sam. 19.13 ff.) may not be regarded as disproving this statement; cf. above, note 222. Neither may we regard the presence in the tent-sanctuary of David at Jerusalem of various originally tribal cult-objects, such as the ark of Ephraim, the ephod of Benjamin, or even the brazen serpent (cf. II Ki. 18.4) as further disproof of this statement, any more than the reputed presence of the three hundred and sixty idols in the Kaaba at Mekka qualifies in any way Islam's absolute prohibition of the cult of idols. As has been pointed out (above, note 149), these various tribal cult-objects were collected by David and deposited in his national sanctuary at Jerusalem primarily, if not solely, for political reasons and not at all for purposes of actual worship. There is not the slightest reason to doubt that the official cult of the national Yahweh in David's tent-sanctuary at Jerusalem was imageless.

the subsequent development of the religion of Israel and upon later Judaism, must be sought in the pre-Davidic period. But, as we have learned, an imageless worship of Yahweh was not at all the rule among the various tribes of Israel in the pre-Davidic period. We have investigated the tribal cult-objects of Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin and Dan and found them in every case to have been primarily either images or betyls, in other words teraphim housed within ephods. We have also had reason to assume that other tribes too had ephods as their tribal cult-objects and instruments of divination, and this, in turn, implies that each tribe had its image or betyl, its teraphim, as the concrete representation of its tribal Yahweh.

Only in the tribe of Judah, the dominant tribe in the Southern federation of tribes which was called into existence by David,²⁸³ and which became, after the division of the Kingdom, the nucleus of the Southern Kingdom, was the representation of Yahweh by an image or a betyl forbidden so absolutely by tradition and established custom and doctrine, that we hear of no image whatever in its tribal cult. And while there is no direct proof which associates the original *'ohel mo'ed* with Judah, there is sufficient indirect evidence to warrant the assumption that it was actually the cult-object, the *kubbe* or ephod, but imageless, of that tribe.

Of particular significance in this connection is the fact that, on the one hand, as we have noted, Moses is inseparably associated with the original *'ohel mo'ed*, and, on the other hand, that, also, as we have already noted, Jud. 18.30 indicates unmistakably that the grandson of Moses had been living at Bethlehem of Judah, among the clans of Judah; and this, in turn, suggests very strongly that Moses himself had actually dwelt there, and so had enjoyed relations of utmost intimacy and undoubtedly also of priestly authority with these same clans of Judah. Moses was unquestionably the leader of that federation of Israelite clans which, very soon after the exodus from Egypt and the solemnization of the covenant with Yahweh at the "mountain of Yahweh" in the Sinaitic wilderness, effected an entrance into Canaan from the south.²⁸⁴

²⁸³ Cf. I Sam. 25; 30.26-31.

²⁸⁴ "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 49-51.

This federation included a small group of Levites, still obviously in a tribal, or at least a clan, state, and not yet dispersed as priestly officiants among the various tribes of Israel, and also Kenites, Judahites, Simeonites and Calebites.²⁸⁵ Apparently Moses himself had succeeded in bringing this federation of clans, or at least the Judahite clans of this federation, as far north as Bethlehem. There they had established themselves in permanent residence; and there, it is clear, Moses and his Levite fellow-clansmen had settled down among these Judahites and found security for themselves; and from there, as we have pointed out, in the course of the next two generations various individual Levites had migrated in order to seek for themselves opportunities to function among the other tribes of Israel in a priestly capacity, since they had speedily come to be regarded as particularly expert in the techniques of divination and consultation of the oracle of Yahweh. This technique they must have acquired as an inheritance from their great ancestor, Moses, the *kohen moreh* of the original *'ohel mo'ed*. That this original *'ohel mo'ed* was associated with Judah from the very moment of its entrance into Palestine from the south, and that in it Moses functioned as the oracular priest of the clans of Judah, we need no longer doubt. This office of Moses as the *kohen* of the *'ohel mo'ed* will account completely for his role as the leader of the federated clans, which invaded and gradually conquered southern Palestine, for, as we have seen, the *kahin*, or the *rabb el-kubbe*, was regarded as the head of his clan or tribe by the pre-islamic Arabs; and Moses is here functioning in precisely the same capacity. In a very literal sense it could be said that it was through the favor and active support of Yahweh, whose will was communicated to these federated clans through Moses, His oracular priest, with the *'ohel mo'ed* as his oracular instrument, that these clans had

²⁸⁵ Cf. Jud. 1.4-21. These vv. constitute a unified narrative, as the mention of Judah in v. 19 indicates. The paragraph, as it obviously is, records, though not at all in strictly chronological order, the manner in which Southern Palestine, as far north as Jerusalem, was gradually wrested from its earlier Canaanite inhabitants by Judah. The passage affirms that in this conquest Calebites, Simeonites and Kenites, the latter the kinsmen of Moses through his marriage with the sister of Hobab, their *kahin*, were federated with Judah.

successfully invaded southern Palestine and established their permanent residence there.

But here the pressing question arises, how shall we account for an imageless ephod or *kubbe*, such as the '*ohel mo'ed* undoubtedly was? We have learned that the ephod or the *kubbe* was merely the tent-housing of the teraphim, of the betyls or images, which were themselves, or else were the visible representations of, the tribal Yahwehs or other deities. The very idea of an imageless tent-shrine seems therefore altogether anomalous. However, this imageless tent-shrine, such as the '*ohel mo'ed* was, has one significant and illuminating parallel; for, as we have learned, the rise of Islam did not immediately terminate the employment of the *kubbe*. Manifestly it was not so much the *kubbe* itself to which Islam objected, as the images or betyls which had been regularly housed therein. Accordingly, as we have seen, at the critical Battle of Siffin, Moawiyya did not hesitate to take a *kubbe* with him into battle in order to ensure victory for himself and his army; but this *kubbe* was empty. Also, as we have likewise learned the institution of the *kubbe* has never died out completely in Islamic practice. It survives still today in the *mahmal* and the '*otfe*; but within these two modern forms of the primitive Semitic sacred tent in place of the ancient images or betyls we find either a woman of exalted rank or else a copy, or even two copies, of the Koran or of some other book of high religious authority among the Moslems. The discontinuance of the use of images or betyls in connection with the *kubbe* was the result of an iconoclastic religious reformation, such as, in one sense, Islam actually was.

Inasmuch as the ancient Israelite tent-shrine seems to have been likewise associated with images or betyls, we must conclude that the complete absence of images from the '*ohel mo'ed* of Judah was likewise the result of an iconoclastic reformation, probably the very first such reformation in the history of religion. This reformation must, of course, be associated with Moses, and must be regarded as one of his greatest actual historical achievements, perhaps the very greatest, which established for the subsequent religion of Israel and for Judaism eventually one of its most distinctive basic principles. In this sense Moses was truly the founder

of the characteristic worship of Yahweh and of the religion of Israel. From this historical nucleus it was a simple and natural procedure for evolving tradition and eventual literary records to ascribe to Moses all the significant innovations and distinctive religious institutions, principles and practices which Israel gradually developed in its religious unfolding; and particularly from his role as *kohen moreh*, oracular priest of Yahweh, with the *'ohel mo'ed* as the instrument of divination, to conceive of Moses and to represent him in literary records as the great lawgiver of Israel, as the medium of revelation by Yahweh to Israel of His divine law. And if it seem to some too venturesome to ascribe to Moses, in the second half of the thirteenth century B. C., the leadership in an actual iconoclastic reformation, we must remind them that actually in 899 B. C., but a little more than three hundred years after Moses, we actually have precisely such a reformation, and that too with all the implications that this was by no means the first such iconoclastic reformation in Israel's history.

And if it be asked, how could Moses possibly have come at the idea of an imageless tent-shrine and the principle that Yahweh must be represented by no image nor betyl, we can answer only by conjecture; for obviously our sources are most meager. Yet conjecture is not difficult. Certainly Moses could not have become acquainted with the tent-shrine in Egypt, for, as is now completely apparent, it is not only a distinctively primitive Semitic religious institution, but is also definitely the creation of a desert environment. It follows therefore that Moses could have become acquainted with the tent-shrine only in a desert milieu; and this, in turn, points to the period of his contact with the Kenites and of his marriage with the sister of Hobab, their priest-chieftain.

That Yahweh, or rather the Yahweh of Moses, who was adopted as their deity by the clans or tribes which emerged from Egypt, was originally the particular clan or tribal deity of the Kenites, I have endeavored to establish in an earlier study.²⁸⁶ That this Yahweh was the deity whose priest, *kohen*, Hobab was, is self-evident. And equally self-evident is it that it was from Hobab that Moses must have learned of Yahweh and of the

²⁸⁶ "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch;" cf. also Budde, *Die Religion des Volkes Israel bis zur Verbannung*, 1-31.

manner of His worship.²⁸⁷ That as chieftain and *kohen* of his clan or tribe Hobab must have possessed a tent-shrine, must have been, in other words, and to use the later Arabic term, a *rabb kubb* or *rabb bait*, is an altogether reasonable conjecture. And that it was from Hobab that Moses borrowed the institution of the tent-shrine and also learned the technique of divination as *kohen* in connection with this tent-shrine is an equally reasonable inference.²⁸⁸ That the tent-shrine or ephod of Hobab contained a betyl, or two betyls, or even an image or two images, of Yahweh is a further reasonable inference; for there is no ground whatever for believing that the abolition of the betyls or images from the tent-shrine had been achieved already by the Kenites. Rather there is every reason to believe that it was Moses himself who, in borrowing from the Kenites Yahweh and His worship and the particular institution of the tent-shrine, removed from the latter all betyls or images, and so instituted the principle, which later became basic, first for Judah, and then, in course of time, for all Israel, that Yahweh, eventually the national god of Israel, must under no condition be represented by betyl or image of any kind.

If this chain of argument be correct, and it seems altogether natural and reasonable, then the formulation and successful inauguration of this principle would be one of the actual and distinctive achievements of Moses, which would in a very real sense justify the role, which tradition has ascribed to him, of founder of the religion of Israel and its first and great priestly interpreter of the oracle of Yahweh and lawgiver in His name.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷ This is the particular implication of Ex. 18.9-11; cf. *ibid.*, 127-135.

²⁸⁸ Whether אהלה of Ex. 18.7 refers to the tent of Moses or to the tent-shrine of Yahweh, the '*ohel mo'ed*', is, of course, not at all certain. More probably it refers to the '*ohel mo'ed*'; cf. below, note 290.

²⁸⁹ Some further, though, it must be admitted, inconsequential, substantiation of our hypothesis that the '*ohel mo'ed*' was in origin a primitive Semitic tent-shrine of the ephod or *kubbe* type, just as were the ark and the ephods of Benjamin, Dan and Manasseh, may be seen perhaps in the manifest confusion between the '*ohel mo'ed*', here located in Shiloh, and the ark, which was regularly deposited there, in Josh. 18.1; 19.51 (both passages late P writings).

Dr. Joshua Finkel has directed my attention to another possible point of contact between the '*ohel mo'ed*', the ark and the Arabic *kubbe*. That the "holy of holies" within the tabernacle in the wilderness and in the later

The occasion for the making and setting-up of the 'ohel mo'ed is easily imagined. It must have been after the exodus from

Temple at Jerusalem was actually regarded basically as a tent or tent-shrine, is suggested by the two veils, or *parokot*, which covered its opening towards the main portion of the sanctuary. *Tosefta Shekalim* (ed. Zuckermann), 178, bottom, (cf. *Yalkut Shim'oni*, 375; these references I owe to the kindness of my colleague, Professor Alexander Guttman) records the fact that, assuming that it had become ritually defiled during the course of the year just ended, the outer one of these two veils was removed every Yom Kippur, the second veil was unfolded in its stead, and a new veil was provided to replace this latter veil. Dr. Finkel has correlated this ceremony with the annual change of the covering of the Kaaba (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 5). Certainly the covering of the Kaaba gives to it too, and probably this was purposed originally, the semblance of a tent-sanctuary (so also Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², 73). Similarly, in the first century of Islam the tent or *kubbe* of Mohtār, when it accompanied the army into battle, was mounted upon a mule and was covered with rich cloths of silk and brocade (Lammens, *op. cit.*, 125). In this connection we think too of the ark, as conceived by P, when on the march, protected by a covering of leather, over which was spread a blue robe (Num. 4.6; cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, III, 157). As these P writers thus represented it, the ark thus arrayed upon the march, must have been strikingly similar in appearance to the *maḥmal* in its gala attire.

A word may be said here in conclusion concerning my earlier hypothesis that the "tent of meeting" was patterned after the sacred cave upon the "mountain of Yahweh" in the desert ("The Tent of Meeting"). That this "mountain of Yahweh," with the cave upon it, was known to and revered by the Kenites, I have endeavored to show ("The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 32-39; "Amos Studies, III," 167-194). That the Yahweh of the mountain was the Yahweh of the Kenites is self-understood (cf. Ex. 3.1), as is also the fact that this mountain was regarded as His permanent abode and the cave perhaps, in the earliest form of the tradition, as the particular spot where He was always to be found. Certainly the primitive Semitic tent-shrine was regarded as the housing or abiding-place of the god or gods associated with it. Undoubtedly too it was patterned after the tent in which the nomad Semite himself normally dwelt. The tent was, of course, the type of dwelling best suited to the desert wanderings or migrations characteristic of the nomadic life. But it is not at all improbable that the tent, with its single entrance or opening, was itself in origin but a man-made replica of the cave, undoubtedly a much earlier type of human residence, the use of which in the most primitive Semitic world and its cultural antecedents is well authenticated. It is therefore a hypothesis not at all improbable, that the primitive Semitic tent-shrine, the Israelite ephod, was patterned, even though somewhat remotely, after the sacred cave; and the ephod of the Kenites in particular after the sacred cave upon the mountain in the desert so intimately linked with the cult of the Kenite Yahweh.

Egypt, but so soon thereafter that the memory of that great deliverance and the consciousness that it was Yahweh, or more specifically the particular Yahweh of the Kenites, a deity hitherto unknown to those clans which had emerged from Egypt, who had wrought this deliverance in their behalf, were still strong upon the people. With this to them new Deity they had entered into covenant at His sacred mountain out in the desert, whereby He had undertaken to become their god, and they, in turn, had agreed to become His people and to worship Him and Him alone. With this moment a new clan or tribal federation had come into existence, which, in considerable measure, superseded all earlier clan or tribal organization of the constituents of this federation; and for them as a federation the worship of a new deity had begun. This was the logical moment for the creation and inauguration of the proper symbol of this new deity and this new tribal federation, a new ephod, in other words. It must have been upon just this occasion, precisely as the biblical tradition records, and at just this place that Moses, the leader and oracular priest of this tribal federation, made and set up this new ephod, the *'ohel mo'ed*.²⁹⁰ Almost immediately thereafter, in accordance with the

²⁹⁰ It is clear that in all essential respects this occasion for the making and setting-up of the new ephod parallels exactly the occasion for Gideon's making and setting up his new ephod and of David's setting up his new tent-sanctuary at Jerusalem. In all three cases we have a wondrous deliverance, through the aid of a powerful deity, from a grave danger, which threatened the very existence of the Israelite clans or tribes involved therein; and in all three cases apparently this deliverance was followed by a definite inter-clan or inter-tribe reorganization and fusion, which brought into existence a new tribal or national unit, larger and more powerful than had existed previously, and with this, in turn, a somewhat new and decidedly larger concept of deity, with much greater power and wider range of authority.

Returning to the *'ohel mo'ed*, it is indeed a tempting hypothesis to regard the narrative in Ex. 18 in its very earliest form (cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 134 f.) as the record, or at least as a modified form of the record, of the actual setting-up and consecration of the *'ohel mo'ed*. The narrative in its present form records a number of details which smack decidedly of a dedication ceremony. In the ceremony apparently Hobab, the Kenite priest, the original priest of Yahweh (cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 39-47), consecrates the *'ohel mo'ed* and inducts Moses into his sacred office as *kohen* of this particular ephod, and with this as the formally recognized leader of this new clan and tribal organization. He even advises Moses

promise of their new Deity, the migration of this federation of clans and tribes away from the sacred mountain in the desert to their new abode in southern Palestine and their conquest of this

as to the most effective manner of administering the laws and institutions essential to the unified living of such a group of people, laws and institutions which were, however, of oracular origin, emanating directly from Yahweh, with Moses as the *kohen moreh*, the active agent of this oracular revelation, and the *'ohel mo'ed* as the instrument thereof.

But if this be so, then it follows necessarily that this present narrative in Ex. 18, in its original form, must have been preceded by an account of Moses' fabrication of the *'ohel mo'ed*, undoubtedly at the command of Yahweh; for in Ex. 18 the *'ohel mo'ed* seems already present and merely awaiting dedication in order for its use to be inaugurated, while the latter half of the narrative of Ex. 18 implies that the technique of oracular revelation through Moses had already been formulated.

But granting this, then it follows that an account of the making of the *'ohel mo'ed* by Moses, undoubtedly at the bidding of Yahweh, must have preceded this narrative. Actually nowhere in the Bible do we find the record thereof, but this is perfectly comprehensible; for the Priestly redactors of the Pentateuch quite naturally suppressed this record in favor of their own detailed account of the making of their *'ohel mo'ed*. However, one small fragment of what must have been the original account of the making of the *'ohel mo'ed* has survived, viz. the basic stratum of Ex. 33.7-11, which recounts Moses' naming of and formal procedure with the *'ohel mo'ed*, after it had been made. Actually this fragment cannot have been the immediate continuation of the missing record of the fabrication of the *'ohel mo'ed*. Rather this must have immediately preceded the narrative in Ex. 18, while the record of Ex. 33.7-11 must, in turn, have followed immediately upon Ex. 18.

We would then have, with proper consecution of details, the full narrative of the making of the *'ohel mo'ed*, of its dedication, with Hobab, the original priest of the Yahweh of the mountain, playing the principal role of officiating ministrant, of the inauguration of oracular procedure, with Moses as oracular priest, acting largely in conformity with the organized system suggested to him by Hobab, of the installation by Moses of a body of judicial officials charged with the task of administering justice for the people in accordance with the gradually developing body of legal precedents growing out of the revelation of divine judgments mediated by Moses, and finally of Moses' procedure with the *'ohel mo'ed* in carrying out the oracular process.

This becomes all the clearer when the text of Ex. 33.7-11 is carefully analyzed. A moment's thought shows that v. 10b repeats what has already been adequately stated in v. 8 and indicates the hand of the redactor. Vv. 9-10 are manifestly the interpolation of a J redactor animated by a definite theological motive. With the omission of these two vv. and the possible emendation of וקרא in v. 7 to ויקרא, and also the omission of יהושע בברנן in v. 7 (cf. above,

country and their settlement there must have taken place. Undoubtedly upon this migration these federated clans and tribes

note 268), the passage reads quite smoothly: "And Moses would take the tent and would pitch it outside the camp at some distance from the camp — now he had dubbed it *'ohel mo'ed* (i. e. "tent of meeting") — and everyone who would 'seek' Yahweh would come out to *'ohel mo'ed*, which was outside the camp. And whenever Moses would go out to the tent, all the people would rise and stand, each one at the entrance of his tent, and they would watch Moses, until he had entered the tent. And Yahweh would speak to Moses face to face, just as one man speaks to another; and then he would return to the camp; but his apprentice, a lad, would never depart from within the tent."

It should be noted that in v. 7bβ *מִוֶּעַד אֹהֶל* is used without the article, quite as a proper name, just as we have claimed. The transition from v. 8 to v. 11 seems to be somewhat abrupt, as if the present vv. 9–10 have replaced something which stood here originally and recorded Moses' procedure immediately after he had entered the tent and preparatory to his face to face conversation with Yahweh. It is tempting indeed to regard Ex. 34.34–35 as the missing section of this narrative, with v. 34a following immediately upon 33.8, and 34.34b and 35 following, in turn, between 33.11a and 11b. Were this reconstruction correct it would follow that ordinarily Moses wore something over his face, a veil or mask (cf. Hoffmann-Gressmann, "Teraphim," *ZAW*, [40] 1922, 75–137), which he would remove during his face to face conversation with Yahweh and his immediately ensuing oracular communication to his people, and which he would redon when he left the *'ohel mo'ed* to return to the camp and to normal association with the people.

It is noteworthy that, in significant contrast to Ex. 34.29–33, which records the details of a single incident, vv. 34–35 record customary procedure, precisely as does Ex. 33.7–11. This is the basic reason for dissociating these two vv. from 29–33 and hypothetically interpolating them into Ex. 33.7–11 in the manner just indicated. If this interpolation be accepted, then it records a peculiar ritual procedure on the part of Moses in connection with his functioning as oracular priest of the *'ohel mo'ed*, viz. the wearing of a face-covering of some kind ordinarily and the removal of this both during the process of oracular revelation to him within the *'ohel mo'ed* and also during the communication of this revelation to the people at large. If only we had some well authenticated parallel to this procedure on the part of some other primitive Semitic *kahin* in connection with his oracular ministration, we would not hesitate to accept this interpolation as justified and illuminating of Moses' oracular technique. But having no parallel whatever to this procedure, it must suffice to have indicated the possibility of this interpolation, with its far-reaching implication, and to leave the matter rest here. (This interpretation of Ex. 34.34–35 modifies somewhat the interpretation of Ex. 34.29–35, which I proposed some twenty years ago; cf. "Moses with the Shining Face," 1–12.)

But even without this interpolation Ex. 33.7–11, as we have emended

must have been led by the *'ohel mo'ed*, in the manner characteristic of the *kubbe* or the still earlier ark.²⁹¹

the passage, throws some light upon Moses technique as oracular priest of the *'ohel mo'ed*, viz. upon the manner in which he received the revelation from Yahweh, through face to face conversation, within the *'ohel mo'ed* and, in turn, communicated this to the people, and likewise upon the reverent attitude of the people while the oracular procedure was in process, and, finally, upon the necessity of the constant presence in the *'ohel mo'ed* of a person understanding the proper technique of revelation, in order to be present and receive the divine communication, whenever Yahweh might, of His own volition, and not merely in response to Moses' oracular query, choose to speak. One thing in particular is patent, viz. that Yahweh is conceived as dwelling, or at least as being constantly present, within the *'ohel mo'ed*. But, as we have seen, nowhere in the entire narrative is there the slightest suggestion of an image or teraphim therein. That Ex. 33.7-11, as emended, and either with or without the interpolation of 34.34-35, is a unit with Ex. 18 is now almost beyond question.

But whether this entire passage may be regarded as a part of the larger K document, as I contended in 1927 (cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 127-135) is by no means certain; for a basic contradiction seems to exist between them. The K document (Ex. 33.20-23) says explicitly that no mortal being, not even Moses, might look upon the face of Yahweh with impunity, whereas 33.11 records explicitly that Moses received the oracular revelation from Yahweh through face to face conversation, just as one man speaks to another. This contradiction is too basic and of too far-reaching theological import to be reconciled, unless we assume, what is by no means improbable, that through his consecration as *kohen* of Yahweh Moses' nature was thought to have been changed completely, so that what was absolutely forbidden to him as an ordinary man, now became permitted to him as a regular part of his priestly functioning.

If this hypothesis be acceptable, then we may continue to regard the narrative of Ex. 18 in the form in which we have just expanded it, as a part of the K document. Otherwise we must regard it as a fragment of some other document which paralleled in considerable measure the K document and dealt with a closely related theme, and which was of equal or almost equal antiquity. Between these two hypotheses, the first, completely unsupported by direct evidence though it is, appears the more reasonable. And if we bear in mind that at the very best we have the K document in only exceedingly fragmentary form, and that many, if not even most, of its essential details have been lost for one reason or another, this hypothesis may not seem quite as extreme and as difficult of acceptance as at first thought.

²⁹¹ In the later narrative of the Book of the Covenant, the Northern origin of which I have established (cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 91-95; "Amos Studies, III," 225-240), as is but natural, the ark,

It is clear from all this discussion that, precisely like that of the ark, the history of the *'ohel mo'ed* falls into three distinct periods. The first period was that immediately following its fabrication by Moses, the period of the brief desert migration²⁹² and of the settlement in southern Palestine. No doubt along with Moses, its *kohen*, after the conquest of southern Palestine the *'ohel mo'ed* was established at or in the immediate vicinity of Bethlehem in Judah, and there it survived long enough at least to evolve a clear and persistent tradition, which, as we have seen, left a significant impress upon the development of the subsequent religion of Israel and even upon later Judaism. During this first period the *'ohel mo'ed* was apparently naught but a normal ephod, perhaps of slightly unusual size and shape, although of this we cannot be certain. What distinguished it chiefly from other ephods was the fact that it was imageless. None the less that Yahweh, the Yahweh of the federation of southern clans and tribes, was thought to dwell within the *'ohel mo'ed* seems quite certain. At any rate the oracular procedure must have been carried on by Moses and his successors, during this first period, in the conventional manner within the shrine, and not at all at the door thereof.

The second period in the history of the *'ohel mo'ed* is really the record of a tradition rather than of actual, historical circumstance. It is the tradition recorded in the J Code. This tradition could scarcely have taken shape until some time after Amos and

itself a primitive ephod, as we have learned, took the place of the *'ohel mo'ed* as the guide of the people through the desert. But that in the original and historically more correct narrative the *'ohel mo'ed* must have played this role for this particular tribal federation is almost self-evident. As I have shown elsewhere ("The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 39-51), the K document represents Hobab as the guide of these federated tribes through the desert. Undoubtedly there is a large measure of historic truth in this statement, for, as priest-chieftain of the Kenites, Hobab must have been thoroughly familiar with the desert, at least within a reasonable radius of the sacred "mountain of Yahweh," while in his role as *kohen* of Yahweh he may well have had some direct connection with the *'ohel mo'ed* as well as with the particular ephod of his own Kenite clan or tribe.

²⁹² For the brevity of the migration of this Southern federation of clans or tribes from the "mountain of Yahweh" to Southern Palestine, cf. "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," 49-51.

the beginning of the development of the concept of Yahweh as a universal god, who, by reason of the very quality of universality, was no longer regarded as dwelling in any one, particular spot upon the earth's surface nor in any one particular shrine or sanctuary, but rather, as befits a true universal deity, in heaven. By this time undoubtedly the actual *'ohel mo'ed* of Moses had disappeared completely,²⁹³ and only a vague reminiscence thereof had survived. And so this tradition, recorded in J, evolved a new picture of the *'ohel mo'ed*, no longer as the dwelling-place of Yahweh, but merely as the place of divine revelation. But now, as a necessary corollary of the belief that Yahweh dwelt in heaven the precise place of revelation is no longer within the tent-shrine, but at the door thereof, whither Yahweh can conveniently descend from heaven in the traditional form of the pillar of cloud in order to confer with Moses.²⁹⁴

The third period in the history of the *'ohel mo'ed* is, of course, that of the Priestly Code. As we have seen, the P writers began

²⁹³ Presumably it had disappeared completely even quite some time before David; for otherwise, in the light of his Bethlehemite origin, in his organization of the national religion of the united Israel which he had called into being the *'ohel mo'ed* would certainly have played a conspicuous role, and, like the ark of Ephraim, it would undoubtedly have been brought up to Jerusalem with proper ceremony and would have been deposited in his national sanctuary there. However, we may infer that at Bethlehem the memory had persisted of the ancient tent-shrine of Yahweh, with its own peculiar name. And so when David, the Bethlehemite, with his pastoral background and his pronounced pastoral sympathies, came to erect a national sanctuary for Yahweh at Jerusalem, he made it a tent-sanctuary, although, of course, of relatively large size, patterned after what had by now become the traditional picture of the old tent-shrine of Moses; and very quickly to this national tent-sanctuary the old, traditional name came to be attached, *'ohel mo'ed*.

²⁹⁴ It is not without significance that even though this J tradition of the *'ohel mo'ed* could have developed only some two centuries or more after the erection of Solomon's Temple, and at least a century and a half after the reformation of 899 B. C. had established the ark within the *debir* of the Temple as the most important cult-object there, it never makes the slightest reference to the ark or suggests any connection of the *'ohel mo'ed* therewith. Obviously to the J writers the *'ohel mo'ed* was still merely the ancient oracular tent-shrine and nothing more, and was in no sense regarded by them, as it was by later P writers, as the forerunner or pattern of Solomon's Temple. As conceived by the J writers the *'ohel mo'ed* must have been still a comparatively simple oracular tent-shrine and naught else.

their record of the *'ohel mo'ed* with direct dependence upon the older J tradition. To them it was at first not yet the dwelling-place of Yahweh, but merely the place where He would meet with His people, represented by the chief priest; and the door of the tent-shrine was still the place of meeting. Quite speedily, however, because of rapidly changing theological principles, this initial P concept of the *'ohel mo'ed* was modified and the place of meeting between Deity and priest was transferred to within the sanctuary. Hand in hand with this change went a change in the concept of the nature of the tent-sanctuary. Undoubtedly without clear realization thereof and influenced only by compelling theological considerations, the P writers returned in considerable measure to the primitive concept, and now came to represent the entire tent-sanctuary as the dwelling place of Yahweh, the *miškan*, in the midst of the people. The term, *'ohel mo'ed*, did not disappear from use completely, but more and more it was relegated to a secondary position, and *miškan* became the customary term to designate the wilderness tent-sanctuary of P. The tent-sanctuary was still the place of oracular revelation by Yahweh through the mediation of the chief priest. But the primary role of the tent-sanctuary now was as the earthly residence of Yahweh. There, within the holy of holies, He sat enthroned in invisible, eternal solitude, above the ark, between the two cherubim. It was these P writers who, for the first time, brought the ark into relationship with the *'ohel mo'ed*. For them this process was inevitable, for to them this traditional tent-shrine of the wilderness had become the pattern for the late post-exilic Temple, and but little more.

Such seems to have been the origin and the history of the *'ohel mo'ed*.

IX

HISTORICAL SURVEY

We have traced the evolution of the *kubbe* backwards from the pre-islamic period of Arab culture and religious practice through Nabataean and Syrian antecedents,²⁹⁵ to the religious practice

²⁹⁵ And we have even found indication of Sabaeen and Ugaritic antecedents also; above, note 272.

of ancient Israel. There, in the earliest period of Israel's cultural evolution, the period of desert sojourn and of the settlement of the Israelite tribes in Palestine, we found the ephod, the historical antecedent of the *kubbe*, in active use.

It was a simple tent-shrine, which housed the clan or tribal deities. During the desert period these were probably represented by rude betyls or sacred stones, in which the deities were thought to be embodied. Occasionally, if not regularly, an ephod housed two such betyls. It served normally as the source or instrument of oracular revelation, through the mediation of the *kohen*, the oracular priest. But in addition thereto the ephod, with the betyl or betyls therein, was regularly carried into battles of critical character in order to give promise of divine aid as well as to ensure the utmost personal heroism on the part of the clan warriors, and thus provide a maximum guarantee of victory. Furthermore, so it seems, the ephod led the clan upon its migrations in search of pasturage, or even of new territorial homes, and designated the places for the nightly encampment and for eventual permanent settlement.

The generic name, ephod, seems to have meant basically "covering," i. e., "housing." The betyls or divine symbols within the ephod seem to have been known as teraphim. Possession of the clan teraphim, or still better of the ephod which housed the teraphim, established the social position of the holder as the recognized head of the clan, while their transmission in any way from one person to another determined the right of succession to clan authority and leadership.

Apparently every Israelite ephod, precisely like the later Arabic *kubbe*, was made of red leather. As Lammens has shown,²⁹⁶ the practice of making utensils for both sacred and profane use out of leather was among the pre-islamic Arabs of great antiquity and undoubtedly reflected the very earliest Semitic practice. The import of the red color of both ephod and *kubbe* is not at all clear.²⁹⁷

Each clan, and eventually each tribe, had its own ephod, so

²⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* 128-130.

²⁹⁷ In this connection it is not without significance that Mohammed called red the color of Satan; cf. Lammens, *op. cit.* 141.

it seems. Some significant occasion in the life of the clan or tribe, and particularly, in the case of a tribe, its being called into being, because of some momentous experience, such as a great victory and a great deliverance, and especially when this resulted in a fusion of smaller clan elements, justified the fabrication of an ephod, with its betyls housed within it. Each ephod, and accordingly therefore each clan or tribe, had its own *kohen*.

Apparently in the very earliest stages of the cultural evolution of the primitive Semites, the ephod, together with the teraphim within it, were of no great size and weight, not too great to be carried conveniently either by a man, or else by two men, or else upon the back of an ass. The development of camel-culture among the early Semites, whenever that may have begun, provided, of course, a new manner of transportation, and so permitted the development of ephods, and of the teraphim within them, of larger size and weight. This, in turn, allowed some minor variation in external form and appearance of individual ephods, although the general tent-form seems to have been scrupulously adhered to. With this different ephods came to have individuality and to acquire distinctive names, such as '*aron Yahweh* and '*ohel mo'ed*.

The settlement of the Israelite tribes in Palestine naturally effected a gradual modification of the tent-shrine and its cult. Speedily, of course, the clans and tribes ceased to wander and settled down in fixed dwelling-places. More and more they abandoned their former pastoral life, especially in central and northern Palestine, and adapted themselves to agricultural civilization. Steadily their native, pastoral deity, Yahweh, was syncretized with the Canaanite *b'e'alim*, and, particularly after the decisive Battle of Taanach, old, established Canaanite shrines became centers of Yahweh-worship. This worship was still nominally Yahweh-worship; but inasmuch as the blessings of nature which were now needed above all else, and which the deity was expected to provide, were of agricultural character, actually this nominal Yahweh-worship became increasingly Baal-worship in performance. The name was still the name of Yahweh, but the rites were in steadily expanding measure the rites of Baal. More and more the pre-Palestinian, pastoral character of Israelite worship sank

into the background, and the institutions and cult-objects thereof tended to fall into disregard and constantly diminishing use.

Now, as was quite natural, the ephod, together with the teraphim which it housed, became less and less a shrine in itself. Rather it tended to become merely another cult-object, a cult-object which, like all other cult-objects, was itself housed in a fixed sanctuary. Thus we find the ark housed in the sanctuary at Shiloh, the ephod of Benjamin housed in the sanctuary at Nob, and as, as is clearly implied, the ephod of Micah, the Ephraimite, eventually housed in the sanctuary at Dan.

More and more too the teraphim within the ephod ceased to be rude, unformed betyls and came to be instead images, usually no doubt in human form, carved out of wood or stone (*pešēl*) or made of, or at least overlaid with, silver or gold (*maš-šēkah*).

Gradually too the functions of the ephod declined in frequency and scope. With the permanent settlement in Palestine the role of the tent-shrine as the guide upon clan or tribal migrations naturally ceased immediately. The function of the tent-shrine in battle, as the guarantee of victory, persisted longer; but we hear of it in this role for the last time during the reign of David,²⁹⁸ and never again thereafter. By this time, so it would seem, the ephod and teraphim had become a fixed, immovable cult-object in the various major sanctuaries of the land and had lost completely its primary character as a transportable shrine. Apparently the oracular function of the ephod and of the teraphim within it persisted longest, even down to the time of Hosea;²⁹⁹ but with the Deuteronomic reformation, as was but natural, despite their pastoral origin the teraphim fell into disrepute even as oracular instruments, and came to be regarded as ordinary idols and nothing more.³⁰⁰ Perhaps the last direct effect of the old tent-shrine as the basic cult-institution in the earliest worship of Yahweh may be seen in David's erection of his national sanctuary, under the persistent influence of the

²⁹⁸ II Sam. 11.11.

²⁹⁹ Hos. 3.4.

³⁰⁰ II Ki. 23.24; Zech. 10.2; notice that in both these passages the teraphim appear merely as instruments of divination and nothing more.

pastoral background of his boyhood, as a tent-sanctuary, a tent-shrine; however, no longer of the old, simple type, but rather a temple, which, as we have seen, became the permanent repository of various old tribal ephods and cult-objects. Yet it was in a sense an ephod too, the last and, physically, the greatest of the ephods, a tent-shrine erected on the memorable occasion of the fusion of all the tribes into one, unified nation, and as the symbol of the calling into existence of the deity of that nation, the national Yahweh of Israel.

As has been said, the erection of the Temple of Solomon marked the beginning of a new era in the life of Israel in all its aspects, political, cultural, economic, social and religious. The period of purposed and aggressive religious syncretism in Israel had begun. The period of pastoral religion and desert culture was now definitely ended. The consciousness of desert, pastoral origins and antecedents persisted only in the minds of the prophets and of the shepherd population in the extreme South. It persisted as a memory, growing steadily vaguer with each passing generation, as an ideal of the true Yahweh-life and worship and as a hope for its eventual revival; a hope never to be realized, yet the dream of which, with all its implications of true democracy and social justice, could never be uprooted completely from the spirit of the people of Israel, even down to the present day. In this new era, and almost at its very beginning, the old Ephraimite "box of Yahweh" was transformed into the most important cult-object in the Temple at Jerusalem, and thereafter continued to play a significant role in Israelite religious tradition.³⁰¹ The "tent of meeting" had, so it would seem, disappeared completely even long before this; but its memory persisted, no doubt with gradual transformation of many of its essential details; and, as we have learned, the tradition of it exerted a potent influence upon the religious program of the post-exilic Priestly reformers. All other ancient tent-shrines disappeared completely.³⁰² The ephod in Israel had practically ceased

³⁰¹ Cf. "Amos Studies, III," 100-134.

³⁰² According to Jud. 18.30 the ephod and teraphim continued to function actively as one of the chief cult-objects of the important Northern sanctuary at Dan until the Assyrian conquest in 732 B. C.

to be, ceased to be, because culturally by the time of Solomon it had become completely outgrown.

It is our hope that this study may have revealed somewhat of the nature of the original Yahweh, as a desert, pastoral deity, of the character and manner of His earliest worship, of its evolution and that of its cult-objects and institutions during the earliest period of Israel's sojourn in Palestine, and of its gradual transformation during subsequent periods.

DIE DEUTEROJESAJANISCHEN GOTTES- KNECHTLIEDER IN DER JUEDISCHEN AUSLEGUNG

HEINZ A. FISCHEL, St. Catharines, Canada

DIE Auslegung der Lieder vom Gottesknecht¹ im deuterjesajanischen Buche durch das Targum Jonathan ist bereits Gegenstand einer eingehenden Bearbeitung geworden.² Die juedische Auslegung von Jes. 52.13–53.12³ ist auch schon ebenso ausfuehrlich behandelt worden.⁴ Es gilt hier nun kurz die Ergebnisse einer groesseren Arbeit ueber die Auslegung aller Lieder in der juedischen Exegese bis zum Einsatz der kritischen Wissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert zusammenzufassen. Es soll hauptsaechlich ueber die literarische Seite des Problems referiert werden, d. h. ueber die Auffassung vom Zusammenhang aller Lieder, ueber die Deutung des Gottesknechts, des "Ebed Adonai," in grossen Umrissen, und ueber einige philologische Fragen. Die dahinterstehende Theologie und Froemmigkeitsgeschichte kann nur hier und da angedeutet werden.⁵

¹ Es sind hier Jes. 42.1 ff., 49.1 ff., 50.4–11 und 52.13–53.12 zu untersuchen. Daneben als eventuell zu den Liedern gehoerig die Stuecke: Jes. 42.18 ff., 43.10 und 44.26.

² P. Seidelin, "Der Ebed Jahves und die Messiasgestalt im Jesajatargum," ZNW 1936, (35), S. 194–231. Vgl. auch Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar z. NT aus Talmud und Midrasch, I–IV, 1922–28, I 481 ff., 630 f. und Indices. Ebenso G. F. Moore, *Judaism* . . . 1927, I–III, I 229, II 327 and Indices.

³ Im Folgenden kurz Kap. 53 genannt.

⁴ K. F. Euler, Die Verkuendigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jes. 53 in der griechischen Bibel, 1934, BWANT IV 14 (66). A Neubauer, S. R. Driver, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah According to the Jewish Interpreters*, I–II, 1876–77. Vgl. auch G. Dalman, *Der leidende und sterbende Messias der Synagoge* . . ., 1868. Ders., Jes. 53 . . ., 2. Aufl., 1914. P. Volz, *Jesaja II*, 1932. Ders., *Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1934. Vgl. auch J. Jeremias, *αμνος θεου-παις θεου*, ZNW 1935, S. 117–23.

⁵ Ueber die juedische Exegese aller Lieder einige Bemerkungen bei Dal-

I

Die Auffassung der juedischen Exegese⁶ vom Zusammenhang und von der Art der Lieder, und damit die Auffassung von der Gestalt des Gottesknechts, steht auf voellig anderer Grundlage als die der Moderne, mit Ausnahme der Interpretation Ibn Esras, welche Auslegungen der Moderne vorwegnimmt. Doch war auch der juedischen Auslegung die Interpretation der Stuecke problematisch im Gegensatz zur Majoritaet der christlichen Exegese bis zum Beginn der kritischen Wissenschaft.⁷

Die juedische Auslegung laesst sich in Bezug auf die grundsatzliche Auffassung der Stuecke in drei Gruppen scheiden. Die groesste und fuer die juedische Auslegung typischste Gruppe glaubt, dass der Ebed in den Stuecken 42.1 ff., 49.1 ff., 50.4 ff., 52.13–53.12, ebenso auch in 42.18 ff., 43.10 und 44.26, nicht immer identisch sei. Diese Stuecke berichten fuer sie nicht von *einer* Gestalt. Es existiert in der juedischen Auslegung ueberhaupt nicht die Vorstellung *des* "Ebed" und die der Gottesknechtlieder. "Ebed" ist lediglich ein Titel oder Begriff, der auf mehrere Gerechte, so wie es in den uebrigen Buechern der Bibel der Fall ist, oder gar auf jeden Frommen angewandt werden kann. Die Lieder sind nicht gleichen Inhalts und bilden somit

man, *Messias*; Strack-Billerbeck; Moore, *op. cit.*, Anm. 255. Ebenso auch Reuben Levy, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 1925.

⁶ Abgesehen von den aeltesten Deutungen sind die von uns behandelten Auslegungen aus der am Ende des Aufsatzes beigefuegten Tabelle ersichtlich.

⁷ In der christlichen Exegese wurden alle Lieder als Prophezeiungen auf das Kommen und Wirken Jesu aufgefasst. Die Exegese der Kommentare ist zumeist eine Synopse mit entsprechenden Stellen der Evangelien. Nur wenige Ausnahmen sind hiervon zu verzeichnen. Rupertus aus Deutz, 12. Jahrh., Migne PL 167, Jes. 50.4 ff., gibt z. B. die Moeglichkeit der Auslegung auf Jesaja zu. Vgl. Anm. 57 dieses Aufsatzes. Nikolaus de Lyra in seinen *Moralia* und *Postillae* berichtet ueber anonyme christliche Ausleger, die Kapp. 42–45 auf die Befreiung Israels durch Cyrus deuten. Grotius (nach Volz, Jesaja II) deutete Jes. 42.1 ff. und 50.4 ff. auf Jesaja so wie auch Calvin, und Kap. 53 auf Jeremia. Im 18. Jahrh. beginnt dann die Fuelle der verschiedenen Auslegungen, die bis heute fuer die Exegese der Lieder charakteristisch geblieben ist. Vgl. auch Anm. 86. — Zur aeltesten christlichen Exegese vgl. auch Euler, Jeremias, *op. cit.*, und A. v. Harnack, "Die Bezeichnung Jesu als 'Knecht Gottes' und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche," *SdPAW* 28, 1926.

keinen Zyklus. Die Frage nach der Bedeutung wird je und je bei den Schwierigkeiten der einzelnen Lieder bzw. Verse neu gestellt und jeweilig andersartig beantwortet, soweit nicht wenigstens einige Lieder oder Liedstuecke im Zusammenhang gesehen werden. Es ergibt sich somit, nicht nur in der talmudischen und midraschischen Exegese, eine Zersplitterung des Zyklus in einzelne, verschiedenartig gewertete Lieder und eine Aufloesung der Lieder in verschiedene Sinneinheiten (Deutungseinheiten) bei grosser Zahl der Deutungen der Gottesknechte,⁸ die sogar nicht immer als Subjekt bzw. Objekt der Lieder angesehen werden, wie es heute der Fall ist.

Diese Verschiedenheit der Deutung innerhalb der Lieder ist heute nur insoweit auffindbar, als manche Erklaerer Jes. 50.4 und (oder) 50.10–11 sowie Kap. 53 als andersartig von den anderen als gleichwertig angesehenen Liedern abtrennen.⁹

Die zweite Gruppe innerhalb der juedischen Auslegung deutet einheitlicher und systematischer. Sie stellt, teilweise bewusst,¹⁰ die Frage nach der Bedeutung des Gottesknechts bei Jesaja und kommt zu zwei Loesungen. Gottesknecht kann bei Jesaja sowohl Israel als auch der Prophet Jesaja selbst sein. Unsere Gottesknechtlieder werden demnach von ihnen teils auf Jesaja, teils auf Israel im Zusammenhang mit dem Kontext gedeutet.¹¹ Fuer diese Gruppe besteht ebenfalls das Phaenomen Ebedlieder nicht in unserer heutigen Sicht und die einheitliche, festumrissene Gestalt des Gottesknechts ist auch bei ihr nicht vorhanden. Der individuelle Knecht ist Gegenstand nur *der* Lieder und Liedstuecke, die nicht auf den Israelknecht des Kontextes gedeutet werden. Somit verliert der individuelle Knecht, vor allem, da Kap. 53 oft zu den Israel-Liedern gezaehlt

⁸ Zu diesem und allem Folgenden dient als Illustration die Tabelle am Schlusse des Aufsatzes.

⁹ So W. Staerk, *Die Ebed J.-Lieder in Jes. 40 ff.*, 1913. Ders., "Zum Ebed J.-Problem," *ZAW* 44, 1926, S. 242–60. Ebenso P. Volz, *Jesaja II.* Dort S. 167 und 188 ein Ueberblick ueber den Stand der neueren Forschung. Vgl. auch im Folgenden das zur Cyrosdeutung Gesagte.

¹⁰ Jefet b. Ali (bei Neubauer-Driver, *op. cit.*), Jos. Ibn Kaspi, Salomo de Marini, beide zu Kap. 53, vgl. Raschi zu 42.1.

¹¹ Josef Ibn Kaspi, Sal. de Marini, ebenso Raschi innerhalb der eigentlichen Lieder 42.1 ff., 49.1 ff., 50.4 ff., Kap. 53.

wird, seinen besonderen Charakter. Auch diese Deutungsart finden wir in der heutigen Auslegung nicht.

Abraham Ibn Esra, einziger Vertreter der dritten Auffassung, unterscheidet sich in seiner Exegese von der aller anderen Ausleger in entscheidenden Punkten. Er fasst die vier Lieder als zusammengehörig auf. Sie handeln fuer ihn alle gleicherweise von einer geschichtlichen Gestalt, auf die auch in 43.10, 44.26 und 42.19 angespielt wird. Ibn Esras Abgrenzung der Lieder, aus dem Wortlaut seiner Interpretation erkennbar,¹² ist eine natuerliche und entspricht der vieler heutiger Ausleger.

Ibn Esra kommt aufgrund seiner Interpretation zu literarkritischen Ansaetzen, die niedergelegt sind in seiner Exegese der Verse Jes. 1.1, 40.1, 49.7, 8, 53.12. Aus diesen Versen geht fuer ihn hervor, dass die Lieder sich auf das babylonische Exil und die nachfolgende Rueckfuehrung Israels under Cyros beziehen, dass der Prophet Jesaja zur Zeit des Hiskia oder Manasse starb (zu Jes. 1.1) und dass der ab Kap. 40 erwaehte und in unseren Stuecken all Gottesknecht auftretende Prophet ein anderer ist als Jesaja. Er lebte im babylonischen Exil in Elend und Verachtung und wurde "zur Zeit der Gnade" (49.7), d. h. unter Cyros' Herrschaft mit der Befreiung aus dem Exil erhoelt (49.7–8).¹³ Es existiert fuer Ibn Esra die Moeglichkeit, dass ein biblisches Buch von zwei Verfassern geschrieben ist. Er kommt zu dieser Ansicht auch aus seiner Auffassung der Prophetie, die fuer ihn nicht historische Einzelheiten ueber Jahrhunderte vorzuschauen vermag oder beabsichtigt.

Was in der juedischen Auslegung fuer die eigentlichen Lieder gilt, das gilt auch fuer Jes. 43.10, 44.26 und 42.18 ff. Es lassen

¹² אלה דברי . . . bedeutet bei ihm stets den Beginn einer neuen Sinn- oder Texteinheit.

¹³ Ibn Esra benennt ihn nicht. Im Folgenden wird er hier als "Jesaja II" bezeichnet. Ibn Esra gibt zu, dass die in den Liedern angedeutet Erhoehung des Propheten auch nach seinem Tode erfolgt sein kann, also Nachruhm ist, sodass er zur Zeit des Cyros nicht mehr lebte. Doch zeigt der wiederholte Hinweis auf das "Geheimnis" und die ausdrueckliche und mehrmalige Erwaehnung, dass der Prophet unter den Babyloniern lebte, dass obige Einschraenkung nicht die kritische Ansicht Ibn Esras, die wohl seine wahre Meinung ist, aufheben will. Vgl. M. Friedlaender, *The Commentary of Ibn Esra on Isaiah*, 1872, 77, zur Stelle.

sich hier dieselben drei Auffassungsgruppen unterscheiden. Die Stuecke Jes. 48.16 und 61.1–3, nach manchen heutigen Auslegern ebenso auf den Ebed anspielend, werden fast einheitlich auf Jesaja gedeutet. Jes. 51.4–5 ist ein Gottesspruch nach der traditionellen Exegese. Alle diese Stuecke werden nicht zu den Ebedliedern in Beziehung gesetzt, mit Ausnahme von Ibn Esra, der z. B. 42.18–21 ausdruecklich mit den eigentlichen Liedern verknuepft und stets alle diese Stuecke auf seinen Prophetenebed deutet.

Die traditionelle Auslegung, Ibn Esra eingeschlossen, sieht die betreffenden Lieder und Stuecke nicht als selbstaendig an oder gar als Fremdkoerper im Text. Abgrenzung bedeutet bei ihnen nicht eine literarkritische Erkenntnis, sondern lediglich eine formale. Die Lieder werden ganz auf geschichtliche Ereignisse, d. h. auf das babylonische Exil und die nachfolgende Befreiung, ganz eschatologisch bei der Messiasdeutung und ihr verwandten, oder teils geschichtlich, teils eschatologisch gedeutet bei den Mose- und vielen Israeldeutungen. Hier beziehen sich dann unsere Lieder auf "unser Exil" und die endzeitliche Erloesung. Nach einigen Erklaerern meinen sie Geschichte und Endzeit gleichzeitig¹⁴ oder druecken das Schicksal Israels aus, wie es sich zu allen Zeiten gleicht.¹⁵

Das Kap. 53 nimmt eine ganz besondere Stellung in der traditionellen Exegese ein, weil dieses Kapitel weitgehend der christlichen Deutung auf Jesus entgegenkam und so den Anlass gab, dass die Exegese dieses Kapitels eines der Austragungsorte fuer die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Judentum und Christentum wurde, sodass fast kein polemisches Werk, keine theologische Abhandlung und keine Religionsdisputation an der Auslegung dieser Stuecke vorueberging. Auch die karaeische Exegese gab Anlass zu Auseinandersetzungen. Zudem bereitete der Text auch den Alten erhebliche Schwierigkeiten inhaltlicher und philologischer Art.

¹⁴ Ausser einigen Doppeldeutungen (vgl. im Folgenden) besonders Isaak Abarbanel.

¹⁵ Raschi, Ibn Esra, Redak, Abarbanel, Marini, zu Kap. 53., Eliezer v. Beaugency zu 50.4 ff.

II

Wir koennen, was die eigentliche Deutung des Gottesknechtes anbetrifft, zwei Gruppen unterscheiden, die kollektive und die individuelle. Erstere sieht in dem Ebed eine Vielheit von Personen, z. B. das personifizierte Israel. Dieselbe Deutungsart wird oft auch pluralistisch ausgedrueckt, etwa: "die Gerechten." Gemeint ist, dass der Ebed die Personifizierung der Gerechten darstellt. Oder auch der gemeinte Typus wird singularisch genannt: der Ebed ist "der Gerechte," und jeder Gerechte ist damit gemeint.

Bei der Israeldeutung handelt es sich um die Gesamtheit der Gerechten Israels als das eigentliche Israel,¹⁶ doch wird Israel idealisiert meist als Ganzes gesehen. Nach manchen ist das geschichtliche Israel eine Art messianischer Groesse, seiner heilsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung nach,¹⁷ oder durch die Gleichheit seines Schicksals mit dem des Messias, wie er nach einigen Vorstellungen erscheint, schliesslich auch durch die Abstammung des Messias von ihm. So gehen Israel- und Messiasdeutung oft ineinander.¹⁸

W. Staerk¹⁹ sieht in den Kapp. Jes. 40 ff. schon Spuren einer spaeteren Ueberarbeitung mit kollektiver Tendenz in der Deutung des Ebed. So wird nach ihm 42.1 durch 43.10 programmatisch kollektiv gedeutet. 49.3 enthaelt ebenso die Spur dieser Ueberarbeitung.²⁰ Nach Mowinckel²¹ wurde der Ebed von 49.1–6 vom Redaktor auf Israel interpretiert. Vielleicht ist auch die Einordnung von 52.13–53.12 in den Kontext nicht nur nach einem aeusserlichen Assoziationsprinzip erfolgt, wie Mowinckel meint,

¹⁶ Raschi zu 52.13, Bericht Ibn Esras zu 42.1 u. a., bes. Lippmann v Muehlhausen bei Neubauer-Driver, vgl. Moore, *op. cit.*, I 229, Anm. 2.

¹⁷ Redak, Abarbanel u. a.

¹⁸ Pessikta R. 36, 161a–b, ed. Friedm., Salomo Astruc (Neubauer-Driver), N. Altschul (42.1–4), Sal. de Marini (Kap. 53). Aehnliches meint aber wohl auch der sonst schwierige Midrasch Ps. 2, § 9 (14b, ed. Buber) und z. T. Targum Jonathan Kap. 53.

¹⁹ *Zum Ebed-J. Problem.*

²⁰ Das deutende Wort *ישראל*, das in einer allerdings schlechten Handschrift fehlt, vgl. R. Kittel's Biblia Hebraica, 2. Aufl.

²¹ S. Mowinckel, "Die Komposition des deuterocesajanischen Buches," *ZAW* 49, S. 87 ff., 242 ff.

sondern der Deutung des Ebed auf Zion (Israel) zuzuschreiben, an das die angrenzenden Stuecke gerichtet sind. Die LXX sieht im Gottesknecht von 42.1 ff. Israel, ebenso auch 49.3, waehrend die Exegese aller anderen Stuecke, was die eigentliche Deutung auf eine erkennbare Person oder ein Kollektiv betrifft, den Text in seiner Schwierigkeit belaesst.²² Ueber die Israeldeutung als eine juedische Auslegung ihrer Zeit und Umgebung berichten Justin Martyr, Dial. Kap. 122 fuer 42.1 ff. und 49.1 ff. und Origenes, c. C. I 55 fuer Kap. 53. Ersterer berichtet ferner, dass 42.6–7, 49.6 und 43.10 von der Gewinnung der Proselyten verstanden wurde.²³

Diese Berichte werden zum Teil durch die Auslegungen des talmudisch-midrasschischen Schrifttums bestaetigt.²⁴ Zu 49.1 ff., d. h. zu 49.3 und 49.7 zumindest, kann man die Israeldeutung bevorzugt nennen.²⁵ Auch Targum Jonathan scheint ausser dem

■ Nach Euler, *op. cit.*, deutet LXX zu Kap. 53 auf eine transcendente Gestalt, deren Tod und Verklaerung geschildert wird. Aqila berichtet vom Schicksal, nicht Tod, einer Priestergestalt, Symmachos vom Tod eines Maertyrers mit prophetischen Zuegen, Theodotion vom Suehnetod einer hiobsaehnlichen Gestalt. Euler glaubt erweisen zu koennen, ausgehend von Apg. 8.26 ff., dass LXX auf Jesaja gedeutet habe. Doch stehen seine Beweisfuehrungen auf enger Grundlage und sind nicht immer ueberzeugend. — Die LXX gibt "Ebed" in unseren Stuecken (Kap. 53 und fast allen anderen) mit *παις* wieder, waehrend die anderen Uebersetzer *δουλος* gebrauchen, was nach Euler einem Unterschied zwischen einer gottnahen und einer bloss im Dienste Gottes stehenden Gestalt gleichkommt. Der Wortgebrauch der spaetjuedischen Uebersetzer sei bewusster Gegensatz zur christlichen Exegese.

²³ Sonstige Israeldeutungen in Apokryphen und Pseudoepigraphen gehen wohl vom Israelknecht des Kontextes aus, nicht von unseren Liedern, Z. B. LXX Bar 3.37, Ps. Sal. 12.7, 17.23, auch Lukas 1.54, vgl. Jeremias, *op. cit.*

²⁴ Mehr als eine blossе Anspielung oder homiletische Verwertung eines Verses oder einer Versgruppe liegt im midrasschischen Schrifttum wohl dann vor, wenn der Vers oder die Gruppe weitgehend, in verschiedenen, gleichdeutenden Midrasschim benutzt wird, wenn die Deutung einer wesentlichen, nicht nur singulaer haggadischen Vorstellung entspricht, wenn Beziehungen zur Deutung tatsaechlich im biblischen Text vorhanden sind, wie es fuer Abraham und Mose im Deuterojesaja der Fall ist, wenn der Grundtext wirklich schwierig ist und also ausgelegt werden muss oder wenn Belege bei den Kirchenvaetern vorhanden sind.

²⁵ Von vielen Beispielen sind die aeltesten: Mech 44a, ed. Weiss, parallel Sifre Dt. 33.26, 148a, § 355, ed. Friedm; Lev. R. 2.5, Autor Juda b. Simon, alle zu 49.3.

klaren V. 49.7 auch 49.3 auf Israel gedeutet zu haben, waehrend die Auslegung der anderen Verse dieses Liedes unklar bleibt. Diese Unklarheit wird noch erhoeht durch die schwankenden pluralischen und singularischen Lesarten. Die Israeldeutung zu Kap. 53 findet sich nur in Num. R. 13.2, anonym, wo sie zu den juengeren Partien des Buches gehoert.²⁶ Im Mittelalter deutete neben den in der Tabelle genannten auch Maimonides 49.3 auf die Verherrlichung des goettlichen Namens durch Israel.²⁷

Unter den kollektiven Deutungen ist die auf den oder die Gerechten eng verwandt mit der Israeldeutung, doch denkt man dabei oft mehr an das Schicksal der Gerechten innerhalb Israels als an das Israels innerhalb der Voelker. In Daniel 12.3 scheint schon eine Anspielung oder Deutung von Jes. 53.11 auf die Gerechten vorzuliegen. Auch die Sapiientia Salomonis hat in reicherem Masse von 52.13–53.12 Gebrauch gemacht fuer die Schilderung des Gerechten.²⁸ Im talmudischen Schrifttum findet sich die klare Deutung auf den Gerechten nur b Ber 5a als Spruch R. Hunas, Jes. 53.10 voll auslegend, fehlt aber fuer alle anderen Stuecke, soweit man nicht in der individuellen Deutung jeweils den Idealvertreter der Gerechten sehen will,²⁹ was nach Moore³⁰ auch fuer die Messiasdeutungen und -vorstellungen zutrifft. Erst Seder Elijahu Rabba legt gemaess seiner ganzen Tendenz 49.3 in Kap. 28, 49.7 in Kap. 15, 53.10 in Kap. 7, 53.11 in Kapp. 14 und 25 auf die bezw. den Gerechten aus.³¹ Die karaeischen Auslegungen von Kap. 53 deuten auf die Gerechten der Karaeer, abgesehen von einigen Messiasdeutungen.³²

²⁶ Doch mag die Deutung auf eine aeltere Tradition zurueckgehen, vgl. Origines' Bericht.

²⁷ Mischne Torah, Jesode Torah, 5.11, vgl. Deot 5 Ende.

²⁸ Vgl. bes. 5.1–7 mit Kap. 53.

²⁹ Auf dieser Linie liegt auch die gelegentliche homiletische Deutung von 53.12 durch p Schek 5, 48c, auf Akiba als Ordner des Traditionsmaterials (R. Jona) oder Abajje's Deutung von 49.3 auf die Schriftgelehrten (b Joma 86a).

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, I 551.

³¹ Als Beispiel werden Jochanan b. Sakkai und die Talmide Chachamim angefuehrt.

³² Vgl. Jefet b. Alis Einleitung bei Neubauer-Driver. Ebenso Jakob b. Reuben und Aaron b. Josef. Josef b. Ali und Benjamin v. Nahawend deuten auf den Messias.

Den Deutungen auf die Gerechten verwandt sind diejenigen auf die sich selbst Demuetigenden,³³ auf den Menschen schlecht-hin,³⁴ auf jeden Verachteten,³⁵ auf die Elenden,³⁶ auf die zum Martyrium Bereiten.³⁷ Dann finden sich schliesslich als kollektive Deutungen noch die auf den Propheten schlechthin oder auf die Propheten³⁸ und auf den oder die Thoralehrer.³⁹

Unter den Deutungen des Knechtes auf ein Individuum sind wieder solche auf eschatologische und auf geschichtliche oder biblische Gestalten zu unterscheiden. Einen breiten Raum nimmt die Deutung auf den Messias ein. Im aethiopischen Henochbuch (Kapp. 37–71) findet sich "Auserwaehlter" und "mein Auserwaehlter" etc. aehnlich Jes. 42.1,⁴⁰ und "der Gerechte" aehnlich Jes. 53.12⁴¹ neben anderen als Name fuer den Messias bzw. Menschensohn. Die gleichen Titel fuer die Gerechten bzw. die Heilsgenossen des messianischen Geschlechts (passim) weisen auf eine enge Verbindung der messianischen Deutung und der auf die Gerechten des messianischen Geschlechts, die unsere Lieder zuweilen aufweisen.⁴² Das Verhalten der irdischen Machthaber dem Messias-Menschensohn gegenueber in Hen. 46.4 und 62.5 f. ist wohl Jes. 52.13 ff., vielleicht auch 49.7 entnommen,⁴³ doch sind die Leidenszuege des Ebed wohl nicht auf den Messias uebertragen worden. Die Verbindung von Knecht und Messias finden wir in Syr. Baruch 70.9.⁴⁴

³³ Zu 49.7: Derech Erez R. 2.

³⁴ Zu Kap. 53: als Adam, David, Messias im Midr. Neelam, zit. in Jalk. Reubeni 115b, bei Neubauer-Driver. Abrah. Azulais Kommentar zu Kap. 53.

³⁵ Buch der Frommen bei Neubauer-Driver.

³⁶ Zu 49.7: Jehuda Ibn Balaam.

³⁷ Zu Kap. 53, anonym, bei Neubauer-Driver, S. 340, t.

³⁸ Vgl. Tabelle.

³⁹ Vgl. Tabelle und Anm. 29 und 31.

⁴⁰ I Henoch 39.6, 40.5, 45.3, 4, 49.2, 51.3, 5, 52.6, 9, 53.6, 55.4, 61.5, 8, 10, 62.1, vgl. 49.4 und 46.3.

⁴¹ I Henoch 38.3, 53.6.

⁴² Vgl. Pessikta R. 36, 161a-b zu 42.1.

⁴³ Auch dort יוֹחֵרֵךְ. Strack-Billerbeck I 481 denken nur an 53.12 ff.

⁴⁴ Ob in IV Esta 5 (7) 28 f. und 11 (13) 37 eine Auslegung oder Anspielung auf unsere Lieder enthalten ist, ist nicht auszumachen, da die recht allgemein gehaltene Beschreibung des sterbenden Messias nicht notwendig eine Deutung der Ursprungsstelle impliziert.

In der rabbinischen Literatur findet sich die messianische Auslegung von 42.1 ff. und 52.13 ff. haeufiger. Die wesentlichsten Deutungen sind die des Targum Jonathan zu 42.1 ff., 43.10, 52.13–53.12, b Sanh 98b, anonym, wohl fruehamoraaisch, zu 53.4. Ferner Midr. Ruth R. 5.6 zu Ruth 2.14 (Autor R. Jochanan, nach Jalkut Schimoni z. St., § 603), Jes. 53.5 heranziehend; Midr. Samuel 19, § 1, 51a, ed. Buber, Autor R. Huna, zu Jes. 53.5; Tanhuma ed. Buber, Toldot 20, 70a, parallel Tanhuma Toldot 35a, Wien 1863; Aggadat Bereschit 44, 32b, Warschau 1876, alle zu Jes. 52.13. In spaeteren Texten benutzen Pessikta Rabbati 34, 158b, gesprochen von den Gerechten, und Eleazar haKalir in einigen seiner Piutim⁴⁵ Jes. Kap. 53 im messianischen Sinne. Jes. 42.1 wird fernerhin Midr. Ps. 43.3, 134a, messianisch gedeutet. 49.1 ff. scheint nicht vom Messias verstanden worden zu sein trotz der Aehnlichkeit von 49.6 mit 42.6. Nur Pessikta R. 31, 146b–147a, legt 49.8 auf den Messias aus, der nach viele Generationen waehrenden Leiden neu geschaffen wird.⁴⁶ Zu den spaeteren Messiasdeutungen des Kap. 53 sei noch die des Maimonides erwaehnt.⁴⁷

Neben der Messiasdeutung⁴⁸ findet sich die Deutung auf Mose als eschatologische Groesse. Sifre Dt., zu 33.21, § 355, ed. Friedmann, 147b, bringt Jes. 53.12 und legt וְיָחִי רִאשִׁי עִם, Dt. 33.21, auf den in der Endzeit wiederkehrenden Mose auf, so wie es das palaestinensische Targum I zur Stelle tut. Auch die

⁴⁵ Dalman, Jes. 53, S. 12–13.

⁴⁶ Vgl. im Folgenden auch die Eliadeutung. P Scheb 35c, Autor R. Elazar, zeigt bei eschatologischer Auffassung nicht, wer der Ebed ist. I Henoch 48.4, Luk 2.32, Apg 13.47 haben wohl an Jes. 42.6 gedacht (erstes auch an 42.3?). Die Bemerkung P. Heinischs, *Der Einfluss Philo's auf die aelteste christliche Exegese*, 1908, S. 98, dass Philo, der oft das "Licht" allegorisch auf den Messias auslegt, dies so auch bei Jes. 42.6 und 49.6 tat, kann bei dem Fehlen jeglicher Verwendung der Lieder nur eine Vermutung sein.

⁴⁷ Bei Neubauer-Driver, *Iggeret Teman*, Wien 1873, S. 48.

⁴⁸ Zur rabbinischen Interpretation kommen hinzu die bei Neubauer-Driver zitierten Stellen von Raymund Martinis Pugio Fidei und Hulsius' Theologia Judaica. — Tryphos Eingestaendnis in Justins Werk, dass Kap. 53 auf einen leidenden Messias ausgelegt werden koenne, gehoert zur konstruierten Diskussion des Buches, wie Dalman, Messias, S. 32 f., sah, und ist nicht wie Volz, Eschatologie, will ein Bericht ueber die zeitgenoessische juedische Exegese. (*Dial.* Kap. 89, vgl. 68).

Kabbalah hat eschatologisch auf Mose interpretiert.⁴⁹ In b Sota 14a, R. Simlai als Autor, wird 53.12 auf den biblischen Mose ausgelegt.⁵⁰

Auch Pinhas, der mit Elia identifiziert wird, wird in eschatologischem Sinne Sifre Numeri 25.13, § 131, ed. Friedmann, 48b, zu Jes. 53.12, im Ebed gesehen, unter Betonung des stellvertretenden Suehneleidens.⁵¹

Unter den Deutungen auf historische Gestalten ist in erster Linie die auf Jesaja zu nennen. 49.1 ff. werden in der midraschischen Literatur nur wenige Male auf Jesaja gedeutet. Aelteste Belege sind Sifre Dt. 3.24, § 27, 71a zu Jes. 49.1 und Midr. Ps. 9.6 zu 49.1. Zu 50.4–9 dagegen gibt es keine andere Deutung als die auf Jesaja,⁵² welche z. B. im Midrasch von Jesajas Berufung, Lev. R. 10.2, parallel Pessikta de R. Kahana 125b, Autor R. Juda b. Simon, gegeben wird.⁵³ 42.1 ff. und Kap. 53 sind im alten rabbinischen Schrifttum wohl nicht auf Jesaja ausgelegt worden. Auch zeigen die Berichte ueber das Martyrium des Jesaja, Ascendio Isaiae, b Jeb 49a, b Sanh 103b, p Sanh 10, 28c, Pessikta R. 4, 14a, eigentuemlicherweise keine Beziehung zu irgendeiner Stelle unserer Lieder.

⁴⁹ Neben den Messias- und Mosedeutungen des Sohar zu 42.1 ff. und Kap. 53 und den Mosedeutungen, die in der Tabelle angefuehrt werden, findet sich in der Kabbalah die Auslegung auf Moses Seele, die in David und im Messias wiederkehrt, bei Isaak Lurja und Jesaja Horwitz, vgl. Dalman, Jes. 53, S. 9.

⁵⁰ Moore, *op. cit.*, Anm. 254, fasst diesen Midrasch gemaess der Tendenz der Aussprueche R. Simlai's als apologetisch gegen die christliche Auffassung gerichtet auf, which "deduced a plurality of divine persons from certain modes of expressions in the Bible."

⁵¹ Vgl. Tanhuma Pinhas z. St. Targ. Jon. Num. 25.13, Pirke de R. Eliezer 47, Num. R. 21.3, Moore, *op. cit.*, Anm. 255. Es handelt sich hier nicht um eine gelegentliche homiletische Anspielung, da Elia eine bedeutende messianische Figur ist, und ferner die Verknuepfung von Mal. 4.4–5 mit Jes. 49.6 in Sir. 48.10 oder die schwierige Stelle Mark. 9.13 auf aehnlicher Linie liegen moegen.

⁵² 50.4 ff. ist nie auf den Messias gedeutet worden, im Gegensatz zur Kirche. Spuren schon vorhanden in Mark. 14.65, 15.19 zu 50.6, Barn. 5.14, 6.2 zu 50.6, 8, 9, 6.3 zu 50.7, Justin Apol. I 38 zu 50.6 ff., Dial. 102 zu 50.4 Nach Seidelin, *op. cit.*, S. 206, Anm. 28.

⁵³ So auch Hieronymus, *Migne* PL 24 und Haymon von Halberstadt *ibid.*, 116.

Zu den Deutungen auf biblische oder historische Gestalten gehoeren ferner die Auslegungen auf Jesaja II durch Ibn Esra, auf Jeremia durch Saadia,⁵⁴ auf Cyros,⁵⁵ auf Hiskia in Kap. 53,⁵⁶ auf Josia durch Abarbanel, auf einen unbekannten Gerechten in Israel,⁵⁷ auf einen Befreier aus dem Exil und von Feinden durch Tanhum Jeruschalmi⁵⁸ und auf den biblischen Hiob.⁵⁹ Einzelne Versstuecke werden auch auf Abraham und Jakob gedeutet.⁶⁰

Ausserdem finden wir fuer Kap. 53 eine Anzahl von Doppeldeutungen, auf Jesaja II und Israel bei Ibn Esra, auf den Messias und Israel bei Nachmanides und Mordechai b. Jehoschafat,⁶¹ auf Hiskia und den Messias bei Saadia Ibn Dschannan⁶² und schliesslich auf Josia und Israel bei Isaak Abarbanel. Den Doppeldeutungen liegt die Auffassung zugrunde, dass der Text eine zweifache, jeweils richtige, Auslegung zulaesst, als "natuerliche" Deutung, **נפש**, wie etwa bei Abarbanel, oder die Doppeldeutung

⁵⁴ So Saadias Kommentar nach dem Bericht des Ibn Esra, zu 52.13. Jefet b. Ali berichtet, dass Saadia hier auf die Propheten im allgemeinen, nach anderen jedoch auf Jeremia deute. Die arabische Version belaesst den Text in seiner Vieldeutigkeit. Jehuda Ibn Balaam und Ibn Esra loben Saadias Jeremiadeutung.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Tabelle. Kara, Redak u. a. deuten so auch fuer 41.25 ff. Diese Stuecke entsprechen heutigen Auffassungen von Cyrosliedern im Deuteriojesaja, vgl. M. Haller, "Die Kyroslieder Deuteriojesajas," FRLANT, NF 12, 1923, and S. Mowinckels *Komposition* . . . Letzterer diskutiert neben einer anderen die Moeglichkeit, ob nicht das Einsatzprinzip von 42.1-4 in den Text seine Deutung auf Cyros war, entsprechend den angrenzenden Cyrosliedern 41.25-29 und 42.5 ff.

⁵⁶ Mose Ibn Gikatilla, Saadia Ibn Dschannan, Passani, Kap. 53, bei Neubauer-Driver.

⁵⁷ So deutet unter Anerkennung des stellvertretenden Leidens Jona Ibn Dschannanach, *Sefer ha-Schoraschim*, Stichwort **חבורה** (Jes. 53.5). Die dort gegebenen grammatischen Erklarungen haben, obwohl sie gezwungen erscheinen, weitgehenden Erfolg gehabt.

⁵⁸ Bei Neubauer-Driver.

⁵⁹ Eliezer Aschenasi, referiert bei S. D. Luzzatto, *Sefer Jeschajahu*, 1867.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Tabelle. Eine midraschische Auslegung von 50.10, Gen. R. 60.1, spricht von Abraham, eine andere gar von Abrahams Knecht Eliezer, oder vom Engel, der Jakob Verheissungen gab (Gen. R. 78.3). Midr. Ps. 51, § 3, 141a, wird der Knecht auf David ausgelegt.

⁶¹ Bei Neubauer-Driver.

⁶² Bei Neubauer-Driver.

ist als Alternative gedacht wie bei Mordechai. Einen anderen Grund fuer Doppeldeutungen gab die Vorstellung, dass die Personen der Doppeldeutung eng zusammengehören, wie etwa Israel und der Messias,⁶³ oder dass eine Gestalt unter dem "Typus" einer anderen erscheint, eine der christlichen Auslegung, zumindest seit Hieronymus, so gelaefuge Vorstellung, hier vertreten durch Saadia Ibn Dschannan. Auch die in der Scholastik uebliche mehrfache Deutung eines Textes, auf natuerliche, allegorische, mystische u. a. Weise, moeglich aufgrund des Glaubens an einen "sensus multiplex" des Textes, spiegelt sich in der Bemerkung Lippmanns von Muehlhausen wieder, dass die Israeldeutung die natuerliche sei, waehrend die Messiasdeutung, die er ablehnt, allegorisch sei. Der juedischen wie der mittelalterlichen Exegese ueberhaupt war ferner auch die Vorstellung gelaefug, dass der Text Anspielungen auf eine zweite Deutungsmoeglichkeit enthaelt, auf die der Text geheimnisvoll ueber sich hinausweist. Ibn Esras Doppeldeutung zu Kap. 53 gehoert nicht hierzu; die Israeldeutung scheint vielmehr eine Konzession an die von der Tradition bevorzugte Auslegung zu sein, waehrend die kritische Jesaja II-Deutung nur verhuellt angedeutet werden kann, um nicht zu viel Anstoss zu erregen.

Die statistisch groesste Annaeherung an einzelne Deutungen als fuehrende bilden die Messiasdeutung fuer 42.1 ff., die auf den Propheten Jesaja fuer 49.1–6, die Israeldeutung fuer 49.7 ff. und die Jesajadeutung fuer 50.4 ff.⁶⁴ Die Zahl der zu Kap. 53 bekannten Auslegungen betraegt fuer die Israeldeutung mehr als 40, fuer die Messiasdeutung mehr als 20, fuer die Auslegung auf den oder auf die Gerechten mehr als 10.

Es ergibt sich ferner, dass aufgrund der Deutungen oder aufgrund ausdruecklicher Erwaechnung gewisse Stuecke als verwandt miteinander angesehen werden, so 42.1–4 und 49.1–6 mit Kap. 53; 49.7 besonders mit 52.14; 42.5–9 mit 49.8–13 und 49.1–6 mit 50.4–11, was auch heutigen Auffassungen entspricht.

Zu verschiedenen Zeiten koennen einzelne Deutungen staerker bevorzugt genannt werden. In der tannaitischen und amo-

⁶³ Vgl. Anm. 18.

⁶⁴ Die Deutung von 50.4 ff. auf Israel findet sich nur fuer 50.5–9 bei Kara, fuer 4–9 bei Luzzatto.

raeischen Periode fehlen, abgesehen von den Berichten des Justin und Origenes, die Deutungen auf Israel zu 42.1 ff., 50.4 ff. und zu Kap. 53, und die auf historische Gestalten abgesehen von den Jesajadeutungen zu 49.1 ff. und 50.4 ff. In der amoraeischen Periode ist dann die Deutung auf den leidenden oder triumphierenden Messias aufgekommen fuer 42.1 ff., 43.10 und 52.13 ff.

Seit dem Beginn der Kommentarliteratur tritt die Israeldeutung wieder auf fuer 42.1 ff., Kap. 53 und 50.4 ff. und fuer erstere Lieder zugleich stark in den Vordergrund. Die Haeufigkeit dieser Deutung in Verbindung mit einer israelzentrierten Theologie und Froemmigkeit ist der lebendige Niederschlag juedischen Volksschicksals im Mittelalter. Diese Deutung ist ebenso sehr vom rationalistischen Interpretationswillen, der den wahren Sinn des Textes treffen will, bestimmt als von jener unmittelbaren, gefuehlsmaessigen Beziehung zum Text, durch die der Ausleger eine Identifizierung des leidenden Israel mit dem leidenden Gottesknecht der Lieder vollzieht. Auch die verwandte Deutung auf die Gerechten ist fruehmittelalterlich einsetzend und entspricht in Lohntheologie und Leidenstheologie einem immerwaehrenden, schon fruehrabbinischen Froemmigkeitsstyp.

Der mittelalterliche Rationalismus des arabischen Kulturkreises brachte textnahe, grammatisch meist wohlfundierte historische Deutungen.⁶⁵ Einen zweiten Hoehepunkt rationaleren Denkens, das nie eigentlich abreisst, bringt die Renaissance.⁶⁶ Die kabbalistische Tradition neigt zur Deutung auf den Messias oder auf den endzeitlichen Mose. Die der messianischen Auslegung aehnliche christliche Deutung des Kap. 53 hemmte die juedische Exegese in ihrer Messiasdeutung,⁶⁷ was zuweilen frei

⁶⁵ Saadia b. Josef, Mose Ibn Gikatilla, Jona Ibn Dschannach, Jehuda Ibn Balaam, Abraham Ibn Esra, Tanhum Jeruschalmi, und der Karaeer Jefet b. Ali.

⁶⁶ Abarbanel's Josiadeutung, Saadia Ibn Dschannans Hiskiadeutung, da Rocca (bei Neubauer-Driver) u. a. sind von daher zu verstehen.

⁶⁷ Wahrscheinlich ist ueberhaupt die nicht sehr haeufige Benutzung von 42.1 ff., 50.4 ff., und 52.13 ff. im Midrasch durch die grosse Bedeutung dieser Stuecke in der christlichen Exegese veranlasst.

bekannt. wird.⁶⁸ Sie mag auch die Israeldeutung, als kollektive Deutung die wirksamste Gegenposition, begünstigt haben, zumal diese Auslegung die wenigsten Schwierigkeiten bot bei der Erklärung der Bilder des Leidens, der Krankheit und des Todes des Gottesknechts (Jes. 53.8–10).

III

Die Uneinheitlichkeit der Auslegungen spiegelt sich in der Uneinheitlichkeit der Abgrenzungen wieder, soweit solche überhaupt vorgenommen werden. Die wesentlichsten Abgrenzungen der heutigen Exegese finden sich alle schon bei den juedischen Kommentatoren. Abgesehen von noch staerkerer Aufsplitterung, dem Erbteil der midraschischen Exegese, findet sich die Heraushebung von 42.1–4, 5–9 oder 42.1–9 oder auch nur 42.1–4, von 49.1–6, 7, 8–13 oder 49.1–6, 7–13 oder nur 49.1–6, von 50.4–9, 10–11 oder 50.4–11, von 52.13–15, 53.1–12 oder 52.13–53.12 oder 52.13–15, 53.1–9, 10–12, letzteres am haeufigsten, als Einheiten aus dem Kontext. Die Abgrenzungen werden methodisch und ausdruecklich vorgenommen⁶⁹ oder sie sind nur indirekt aufgrund der Deutungen erkennbar. Zuweilen fehlen sie gaenzlich.⁷⁰

Die Einzelerklaerungen der grammatischen und inhaltlichen Schwierigkeiten der Lieder zeigt uns wieder eine Fuelle der Auffassungen, die nicht nur durch die Verschiedenheit der Deutungen bestimmt ist, sondern sich auch bei Auslegern mit gleichartiger Deutung des Knechtes findet. Es sollen hier einige Erklaerungen angefuehrt werden, die eine groessere Rolle in der Exegese spielten und sich zum Teil als Konjekturevorschlaege in der heutigen Auslegung wiederfinden, besonders in A. Ehrlichs "Randglossen zur Bibel." Natuerlich sind sie von den Alten wohl kaum im kritischen Sinne, sondern als Erklaerung des Textes geaeussert.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Z. B. Kaspi, zitiert bei Saadia Ibn Dschannan.

⁶⁹ Z. B. bei Abarbanel. Zu Ibn Esra vgl. Anm. 12.

⁷⁰ In der Tabelle durch "ff." hinter der Versangabe gekennzeichnet, z. B. 42.1 ff.

⁷¹ Targum Jonathan uebersetzt z. B. שָׁא, 42.1, durch יְכִלִי, was aber wohl nur eine Erklaerung ist, nicht aber auf eine andere Textvorlage oder Konjektur שָׁאָן hinweisen will.

Die Form ירוץ, 42.4, heute von manchen als ירוץ, Niphal, aufgefasst, wird einstimmig von רצץ abgeleitet, von Kara schon als passivisch, gleich יחרוצץ bestimmt, von Ibn Esra aktivisch als Parallele zur Form ירון von רגן, Hiob 29.6, angesehen. וַאֲצַרַךְ, 42.6, wird von Raschi als Perfekt, ויצרתיך, erklärt und heute auch von manchen als וַאֲצַרַךְ vokalisiert. Das Gleiche gilt fuer die Imperfektformen in 53.2 bei Redak. Von Saadia b. Josef stammt die Auffassung des ורוחו als ברוחו in Jes. 48.16, die heute u. a. von Sellin vertreten wird. Kara umschreibt das וישראל לא יאסף in 49.5 mit וישראל לאסוף, ונצירי, Kere ונצורי, 49.6, wird von Eliezer von Beaugency im Gegensatz zu vielen gezwungenen Erklärungsweisen⁷² richtig als Parallele zum vorangehenden שבטִי von נצר wie Jes. 11.1 angesehen, was Ehrlich ebenso tut. Das aktivische גוי למקעב, 49.7, wird von Jehuda Ibn Balaam und allen spaeteren, wie auch heute, als Passiv, למתועב, aufgefasst, ebenso לבוזה als לבוֹזִי⁷³. לעות, 50.4, ist fuer die meisten soviel wie "zeitig empfangen", also mit עת, "Zeit", in Verbindung gebracht.⁷⁴ למורים, 50.4, bedeutet nach Eliezer, Redak u. a. "Geeuebte", waehrend עֵיף von der Anstrengung schwere Dinge zu hoeren Ermuedete und Ungeduldige meint.⁷⁵ Eliezer sieht in אור soviel wie אֵר, Licht, und setzt es als Kontrast dem vorangehenden חשכים gegenueber. Tanhum Jeruschalmi erklart עליך, 52.14, als עליו, מִשְׁחָה, ibid., wird von vielen als נשחת oder קשחת aufgefasst. Eliezer sieht in נגוע, 53.4, einen Konstruktus, abhaengig von אלהים, was der von manchen Neueren vorgeschlagenen Vokalisierung נִגִּיעַ entspricht. במוחיו ist nach Ibn Esra und anderen von במה, Grab, Grabhuegel, abzuleiten und als besondere, aber moegliche Vokalisierung angesehen.⁷⁶

Die der Israelinterpretation im Wege stehenden Infinitive in 42.7, 49.5, 6 und 9 werden auf das vorgangehende Subjekt,

⁷² Bedraengte, Bewahrte, Belagerte, Ruinen, Reste.

⁷³ Zur ersten Form vgl. Targ. Jon., zu beiden auch Saadias Version.

⁷⁴ Menachem b. Saruk (bei Raschi), Jona Ibn Dschannach und Jehuda Ibn Balaam erklaren sich es als "sagen, unterweisen", vgl. Eccl. 8.5 und Est. 1.13. Ein anonymes Zitat bei Aaron b. Josef spricht von לענות, was manche heute als Konjektur vorschlagen.

⁷⁵ So heute auch Ehrlich.

⁷⁶ So auch die heutige Exegese. Letztes Beispiel auch bei Pusey, *Einleitung zu Neubauer-Driver*. Dort weiteres Material zu Kap. 53.

auf Gott, bezogen,⁷⁷ wie es heute Budde vertritt, soweit nicht jegliche Erklarung unterbleibt oder ein ganz anderes Subjekt eingefuehrt wird. Das eine individuelle Deutung erschwerende "Israel", 49.3, wird von Ibn Esra als Stammesbezeichnung aufgefasst: "Mein Knecht bist Du, ein Israelit"⁷⁸ oder als Titel besonderer Wertschaetzung. Azulai dagegen wuerde uebersetzen: "Mein Knecht bist Du, (Jesaja), Israel (ist es), an dem ich mich herrlich zeigen werde." **בריה עם**, 42.6 und 49.8 fasst Ibn Esra elliptisch auf: Aufgabe des Propheten ist es, einen "Volksbund" zu errichten. Raschi bezieht es ebenso elliptisch auf die Wiederherstellung des Gottesbundes und **נזים** auf die Staemme Israels wie in Gen. 35.11, waehrend Redak beides universal auffasst: **בריה** bedeutet die Unentbehrlichkeit Israels fuer den Bestand — Redak denkt wohl an eine Ableitung von **ברא**, **בריה** — jedes Volkes im heilsgeschichtlichen Sinne. Abarbanel sieht im Friedensbund die Aufgabe des Messias, der "Licht" den Voelkern ist. 50.10 ist von den Erklaerern in viele verschiedene syntaktisch moegliche Verbindungen aufgeloeset worden, die von Abarbanel z. St. zusammengestellt und diskutiert worden sind. 53.1–10 werden bei der Israeldeutung von fast allen als Worte der Voelker aufgefasst ebenso wie bei der Israeldeutung von 50.5 ff., und nicht als Worte die an die Suender, Verstockten, Luegenpropheten oder Feinde des Propheten gerichtet sind oder von ihnen gesagt werden bei der Deutung auf Jesaja.

Die inhaltliche Interpretation, die Deutung und die grammatischen Erklarungen einzelner Kommentare haben eine weitgehende Wirkung ausgeuebt. Auslegungen der Midraschliteratur wirken in der Kabbalah und auf Raschi; oft werden sie nur angefuehrt oder diskutiert, von Nachmanides, Abarbanel, Laniado u. a. Auch Targum Jonathan hat wohl auf einzelne Messiasdeutungen von 42.1 ff. und Kap. 53 sowie auf Israeldeutungen von 49.7 Einfluss ausgeuebt. Gross ist die Bedeutung der fuer unsere Lieder leider nur in Spuren erhaltenen Kommentare des Saadia b. Josef und des Mose Ibn Gikatilla. Ersterer hat mit seiner Jeremiadeutung den Weg der historischen Exegese betreten and wohl Gikatilla und auch Ibn Esra inspiriert, letzterer

⁷⁷ So schon Kara bei 49.6.

⁷⁸ Ebenso bei Eusebius, MPG 24, Haymon MPL 116, Herveus, MPL 181.

mag der kritischen Sicht Ibn Esras den Weg gewiesen haben; beide eroeffnen den Reigen der historischen Deutungen des islamischen Kulturkreises. Die "Klassiker" Raschi, Ibn Esra und Redak, die jeweils aufeinander aufbauen, wirken auf alle spaeteren, letzterer besonders auf Abarbanel und den Doppelkommentar der Altschuler, waehrend Abarbanel seinerseits wiederum grossen Einfluss auf viele der folgenden hat.⁷⁹ Die eigenwilligen Auslegungen des Eliezer von Beaugency, von mittelalterlicher Froemmigkeit gepraeagt, und die philosophisch interessierte Exegese Josef b. Kaspi's stehen abseits. Sie scheinen selbstaendiger zu sein und wenig Einfluss ausgeuebt zu haben.

IV

Die Deutungen der rabbinischen Fruehzeit fuehren uns in die Problematik der juedischen Messiasvorstellung jener Zeit hinein, der hier nicht nachgegangen werden kann. Die eigentuemliche Interpretation des Kap. 53 durch das Targum Jonathan, das die Leiden auf Israel legt und den Messias zu einer Gestalt des Triumphs macht, wobei allerdings "einige Nebenzuege in diesem Messiasbild" aufzuweisen sind, in V. 53.12 besonders, ist auch spaeter wiederzufinden.⁸⁰ Der Messiasebed zeigt bald die Zuege eines Richters und Friedensfuersten,⁸¹ bald die eines Kaempfers und Herrschers wie im Targum, bald die eines Gerechten oder gar Elenden.⁸² Ein Messiasname ist "Ebed Adonai" nicht geworden in der juedischen Tradition, ebensowenig wie das "Lamm" in V. 53.6, das in unserem Zusammenhang keine Rolle spielt und keine selbstaendige Groesse oder ein Symbol geworden ist.

Der Prophetenebed ist zuweilen unter dem Typ des Thora-

⁷⁹ Laniado, Marini etc.

⁸⁰ Anonyme Karaeer bei Jefet b. Ali interpretieren die Stellen, die von Verachtung, Erniedrigung etc. sprechen auf die Nachkommen Davids im Exil, waehrend die Verheissungen auf den Messias zutreffen. Andere anonyme Erklaerer bei Abarbanel, Laniado, N. Altschul zu Kap. 53, teilen die Leiden auf den Messias b. Josef, die Erhoehung auf den Messias b. David auf.

⁸¹ Bei Ruth R. 5.6. Stark biblisch bei Redak, Abarbanel, den Altschuler zu 42.1 ff. und Alscheich zu 49.7.

⁸² Einzelne amoraesische Quellen. Abgeschwaecht bei Nachmanides. Leiden des Messias auch bei Jefet, Alscheich 49.7, N. Altschul u. a. Kap. 53.

lehrers gesehen worden, besonders bei Eliezer von Beaugency zu 50.4 ff. In Kap. 53 sieht er das Schicksal jedes Propheten und Thoralehrers ausgedrueckt. Zuweilen traegt der Prophetenebed messianische Zuege, so bei Redak zu 42.18–21, 49.1–6 und 50.4 ff., wo er der Wegbereiter der Endzeit geworden ist. Rein prophetisch in Anlehnung an die biblischen Vorstellungen ist die Gestalt bei Ibn Esra.

Gewisse Theologumena sind durchgaengig in allen Deutungen zu finden:⁸³ Eigenart und Bedeutung der prophetischen Verheissung, das Geschichtslenken Gottes nach heilsgeschichtlichem Plan und vor allem die Sonderstellung Israels in der Welt und vor Gott. Die universale Tendenz und die Missionsaufgabe des Israelknechtes sind jedoch meist in die Endzeit verlegt oder treten durch die Interpretation stark in den Hintergrund, was wohl dem Einfluss der Stellung des Judentums im Mittelalter zuzuschreiben ist.⁸⁴ Die Vision des Sieges der Gotteslehre wird dann nicht mit des Israelknechts aktivem Wirken in Zusammenhang gebracht, sondern geschieht durch Gottes oder des Messias Wirken in der Endzeit. Israel wirkte lediglich als Vorbild der Froemmgkeit, als Traeger der Gotteslehre, als Subjekt der Verheissungen und als Dulder. Zu den durchgaengigen Zuegen aller Deutungen gehoert noch der Glaube an Gottes unbedingte Gerechtigkeit und damit an die Sinnhaftigkeit des Leidens, als Strafe, Reinigung, Pruefung, als wirkend durch die Beispielhaftigkeit des Ertragens oder als stellvertretendes Suehneleiden des Individuums fuer die Gemeinschaft oder Israels fuer die Voelker. Auch die Betonung der Bedeutung des Gerechten, der den Willen Gottes erfuehlt, ist Gemeingut aller Vorstellungen.⁸⁵

Die Frage nach dem Sinn des Begriffes "Gottesknecht" wird zuweilen gestreift. Die Deutungen auf Israel gehen zuweilen vom Israelknecht des Kontextes aus, die messianischen weisen

⁸³ Pusey schickt dem Werk von Neubauer-Driver Berichte voran ueber "the vicariousness of the sufferings mentioned in this section" wie sie bei manchen Auslegern erscheint.

⁸⁴ Besonders deutlich bei Raschi zu 42.6 und 49.1 ff.

⁸⁵ Auch der Sohar deutet 49.3 und einmal Kap. 53 auf den oder die Gerechten. Soharstellen, die unsere Lieder anfuehren sind Wajakhel II, Wajeschew I Ki Teze III, Waera II u. a.

manchmal auf die haeufigere Bezeichnung Davids als Gottesknecht hin. Das besondere Schutzverhaeltnis, so Kara zu 49.5, dies und die Gnade der Erloesung, so Alscheich zu 49.3, die Groesse der Aufgabe nach Salomo de Marini zu 49.3 und Alscheich zu 49.5, Gerechtigkeit nach Salomo zu 50.4 ff., Naeh e zu Gott und Vertrautheit, Trost und Zuspruch nach Laniado zu 49.3, werden als Motive, die diesen Titel schufen, bezeichnet.

V

Ueberblickt man die Gesamtexegese, so kommt man zu der Auffassung, dass es keine einheitliche Tradition der Auslegung gibt, die man als *die* juedische Auslegung bezeichnen koennte. Es gibt vielmehr mehrere bevorzugte Deutungsmoeglichkeiten und verschiedene Traditionsfaeden. Die Deutungsarbeit im Einzelnen bietet nicht das Bild einer kontinuierlichen und einheitlichen Auslegung, sondern zeigt eine grosse Buntheit und Vielgestaltigkeit der Loesungen in ihrer Bemuehung, den wahren Sinn des Textes zu finden.

Die Leistung der Gesamtexegese ist eine Bearbeitung des Bibeltextes, die die Parallelen und Verwandtschaften in den Liedern, dem Kontext und der Bibel ueberhaupt aufweist, den Wortstoff grammatisch und den Stil exegetisch durchdrang, mit feinem Einfindungsvermoegen verschiedene Moeglichkeiten der Interpretation aufstellte, die ebenso als geistige Leistungen zu werten sind wie auch als Ausdruck des Gefuehls und der Froemigkeit und alle irgendwie dem vieldeutigen Text Genuege tun. Fast alle Deutungen sind auch von der neueren Exegese vorgebracht worden.⁸⁶ Die Gestalt des Gottesknechtes, die heute

⁸⁶ Die Deutungen der juedischen Exegese auf David und einzelne Stammvaeter beziehen sich nicht auf die eigentlichen Lieder. — Neuere Deutungen, die sich auch in der juedischen Auslegung finden sind: Das ideale (Eissfeldt), geistige (Cheyne), gesetzestreue (Koenig), geschichtliche Israel (Budde). Der Stand der Propheten (Gesenius, de Wette), der Thoralehrer (Bertholet). Der Gerechte, Vorbild: ein unbekannter Gerechter (Marmorstein). Herrscherideal der Endzeit, Kap. 53 ein Maertyrerkoenig (Staerk), der Messias (Gressmann, Fischer u. a.). Mose, geschichtlich-eschatologisch (Sellin). Jeremia (Duhm), Jesaja I (Ewald), Deuterjesaja (Mowinckel, Gunkel u. a.), Hiob (Cheyne), Hiskia (Bahrdt), ein unbekannter Psalmist (Minocchi), ein Unbekannter

sichtbaren Inhalte der Lieder und die literarische Eigenart des Gesamtkomplexes wurden allerdings nur zum Teil erkannt. Die Exegese kommt jedoch in einem der Deutungsversuche zum Ansatz einer Theorie, die es unternimmt, im Sinne heutiger Auslegungen die Probleme der Liedererkl  rung und die der Bruchstelle zwischen den Kapp. Jes. 39 und 40 zu einer Erkl  rung zu bringen.

an Aussatz gestorbener (Duhm), ein unbekannter Thoralehrer (Duhm) oder Cyros (Kapp. 42 und 49, Vogel).

Darueber hinaus schlaegt die neuere Exegese noch folgende Deutungen vor: Die Makkabaeer und die ihnen anhaengenden Gerechten (Haupt), die Armen in Israel (Loeb), Uzzia (Augusti), Jojachin (Sellin), Ezechiel (vgl. Ez. 4.4–8, Kraetzschmer), ein geistiger Leiter der exilischen Gemeinde (Rudolph), Serubbabel (Sellin), Meschullam, Sohn Serubbabels (I Chr. 3.19, Palache) und Eleazar (II Makk. 6.18 f., Bertholet).

⁸⁷ ff. hinter Versbezeichnung zeigt die Unerkennbarkeit oder den Wegfall der Abgrenzung an. *e*: eschatologisch gefaerbte Deutung, *h*: rein historische. Einige im Druck erschienene Kommentare, 2 des 12.–13. Jahrhunderts, 2 des 17. und 1 des 18. Jahrh. wurden fortgelassen, weil sie zu unseren Stuecken nichts boten oder reine Kompilationen waren, so Tanhum Jeruschalmis Kommentar, Jakob Berabs and David Ibn Hins Glossen etc. Auch Poznanskis Pitrone R. Menachem und Mose... Ibn Gikatilla... (beide 11. Jahrh.) bieten nichts Wesentliches zu unseren Stuecken.

⁸⁸ Noah, Josef, Abraham als Prototyp.

⁸⁹ Vgl. Kara, Ibn Esra, Redak z. St. Das Kommentar-fragment mag dies bestaetigen, indem es einmal das Wort מלך gebraucht, ohne Cyros' Namen zu nennen.

⁹⁰ Nur indirekt erschliessbar.

| AUSLEGER | JAHRHUNDERT | ZU 42.1 FF. | ZU 49.1 FF. | ZU 50.4 FF. | ZU 52.13-53.12 |
|--|---------------|--|---|--|---|
| 1. LXX | 3.-2. v. Chr. | 1 ff. Israel | 3 Israel | ? | vgl. Anm. 7 |
| 2. Talmud, Midrasch | 2.-9. A. D. | 1 ff. Messias | 1 ff. Israel, Jesaja, Gerechte, ⁸⁸ 8 Messias | 4 ff. Jes., 10 Abrah., jeder Fromme | Mess., die Gerechten, einzelne Ger., Mose, Pinhas, Elia, Isr. |
| 2a. Kirchenvaeterberichte | 2.-3. | 1 ff. Israel | Israel | — | Israel |
| 3. Targum Jonathan | 3.-5. | 1-4 ff. Messias | 1-6?, 7 Israel, 8 ff.? | 4-11 Jes.?, 10 die Propheten (lt. HSS) | Messias |
| 4. Saadia b. Josef, Arabische Version der Bibel und Kommentarfragmente | 9.-10. | 1 ff. Cyros ⁸⁹ | 1-6 Jesaja, 3 & 7 ff.? | 4-11 Jesaja? | Jeremia oder die Propheten |
| 5. Jehuda Ibn Balaam, Glossen | 11. | — | 7 die Elenden | — | (Stimmhaltung) |
| 6. Josef b. Schimon Kara, Kommentar | 11.-12. | 1-9 Cyros | 1-2 Jesaja, 3-4 Israel h. 5-6? 7ff. Israel | 4 Jes., 5-9 Isr., 10 die Propheten | Israel |
| 7. Raschi, Kommentar | 11.-12. | 1-4 Israel, e? 5-9 Jesaja, h | 1-6 Jesaja, 7 ff. Israel | 4-11 ff. Jes., 10 die Propheten | Israel, e |
| 8. Abraham Ibn Esra, Kommentar | 12. | 1-4, 5-9, Jesaja II | 1-6, 7-13 Jesaja II | 4-11 Jesaja II | Jesaja II (& Israel) |
| 9. David Kimchi (Redak), Kommentar | 12.-13. | 1-4 Messias, 5 ff. Isr., e | 1-6 Jes., 7 ff. Isr., e | 4-11 Jesaja | Israel, e |
| 10. Eliezer v. Beaugency, Kommentar | 12.-13. | 1-9 Jesaja | 1-13 ff. Isr., h & e | 4-11 Jes., die Proph. & Thorallehrer | Jeder Proph. & Thoral. |
| 11. Aaron b. Josef, Karaeer, Kommentar Mibchar Jescharim | 13.-14. | 1-4 Jes., 5-9 Mess. Jesaja oder Cyros | 1-6 Jes., 7 ff. Isr. oder Jes.? | 4-11 ff. Jesaja | die Gerechten der Karaeer |
| 12. Josef Ibn Kaspi, Kommentar Adne Kessef | 13.-14. | 1-4 Isr., 5 ff. Cyros | 1 ff. Israel, h | 4 ff. Jesaja? | Israel, h |
| 13. Isaak Abarbanel, Kommentar | 15.-16. | 1-9 Messias | 1-6 Jes., 7-13 Isr., e | 4-9, 10-11 Jesaja | 13-15, 1-9, 10-12, Isr., e, & Josia |
| 14. Meir B. Isaak Arama, Kommentar Sefer Urim weTumim | 15.-16. | 1-4 Mose, 5 ff. die Propheten, bes. Jesaja | — | — | Israel |

UEBERSICHT UEBER EINIGE DEUTUNGEN UND ABGRENZUNGEN (Fortsetzung)

| AUSLEGER | JAHRHUNDERT | ZU 42.1 FF. | ZU 49.1 FF. | ZU 50.4 FF. | ZU 52.13-53.12 |
|--|-------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| 15. Salomo Ibn Melech, Kommentar Michlal Jofi | 15.-16. | 1 ff. Messias ⁹⁰ | — | — | Israel, <i>e</i> |
| 16. Mose b. Chajjim Alsheich, Kommentar Sefer Marot haZowot | 17. | 1 ff. Messias | I-2 Jakob, 3-6 Jes., 7 Mess., 8 ff. Isr., <i>e</i> | 4-9, 10-II Jes., 7, 10, 11, <i>e</i> | Messias, 9-12 Mose |
| 17. Samuel b. Abraham Laniado, Kommentar Keli Pas | 17. | 1 ff. Messias | I-6 Jes., 7 jeder Ge- rechte, 8 ff. Israel | 4-9, 10-II Jes. | der Gerechte (Thoralehrer, Dulder) |
| 18. Naftali b. Hirsch Altschul, Kommentar Ajjalah Scheluchah | 17. | I-9 ff. Isr., I-4 zugleich Messias | I-6 Jes., 7 ff. Isr., <i>e</i> | 4-II Jes., 10 die Proph. | Messias |
| 19. Abraham b. Mordechai Azulai, Kommentar Baale Brith | 17. | — | I-6 Jesaja | 4 ff. Jesaja | 13-15 Isr., 10 der Mensch schlechtthin |
| 20. Salomo de Marini, Kommentar Sefer Tikkun Olam | 17. | 1 ff. Israel, <i>e</i> | 1 ff. Israel, <i>e</i> | 4-II ff. Jesaja | Isr. (incl. Messias und jeder Gerechte) |
| 21. David & Jechiel Altschul, Doppelkommentar Mezudat David & Mezudat Zion | 18. | I-9 Messias | I-6 Jesaja, 7 ff. Israel, <i>e</i> | 4-II Jesaja | Israel |
| NEUERE KOMMENTARE | | | | | |
| 22. Jehuda Loeb b. Seeb | Beginn 19. | I-4 Jesaja II, 5-9 dto. oder Cyros | I-6, 7-13 Jesaja II | 4-II Jesaja II | Israel |
| 23. Naftali Herz Homberg | Beginn 19. | I-9 Mose | I-13 Jesaja II | 4-II Jesaja II | Messias |
| 24. David Outensoser | Beginn 19. | I-9 Jesaja I | I-6 Jes., 7 Isr., 8 ff. Jes. | 4-9 Jes., 10 die Proph. | Israels Fromme im Exil |
| 25. Ludwig Philippson | Mitte 19. | I-4, 5-9 Israel | I-6, 7-13 Israel | 4-9 10-II Jesaja II | Israel |
| 26. Sam. David Luzzatto | Mitte 19. | I-9 ff. Israel, <i>h</i> | I-13 ff. Israel, <i>h</i> | 4-9 die Frommen Israels | Israel |
| 27. Meir Loeb Malbim | Mitte 19. | I-9 Messias | I-13 ff. Israel, <i>e</i> | 4-II Jesaja I | Israel |
| 28. Julius Hirsch | 20. | I-9 Israel | I-13 ff. Israel | 4-9 Jesaja I, 10-II der gesetzestreue Kern Israels | Israel |

UEBERSICHT UEBER EINIGE DEUTUNGEN
UND ABGRENZUNGEN (*Fortsetzung*)

| DER EBED IN JES. | 42.19 | 43.10 | 44.26 |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| LXX: | nicht erkennbar | — | — |
| Talmud, Midrasch: | Israel | David | Engel an Jakob |
| Targum Jonathan: | umkehrende Suender | Messias | Gerechte |
| Saadia: | Gottesanbeter | Israel | Jesaja? |
| Raschi: | Mose | Israel | Jakob |
| Josef Kara: | Israel | Israel | Jakob |
| Ibn Esra: | Jesaja II | Jesaja II | Jesaja II |
| David Kimchi: | Jesaja | Jesaja | Jesaja |
| Eliezer v. Beaugency: | Israel | Jesaja | Jesaja |
| Josef Ibn Kaspi: | Jesaja & Propheten | Israel | die Propheten |
| Isaak Abarbanel: | Jesaja | Jesaja | Jakob |
| Mose Alscheich: | Jesaja | Messias | Abraham |
| Salomo de Marini: | die Gerechten | Jesaja | Jesaja |
| S. D. Luzzatto: | Israel | Israel | — |

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF WISDOM LITERATURE

Dedicated to Professor Louis Ginzberg
in honor of his seventieth anniversary

ROBERT GORDIS

The Jewish Theological Seminary of America

ONE of the distinctive traits of American-Jewish scholarship has been its recognition of the importance of social, economic and political factors for the cultural and religious history of Israel. The researches of Ginzberg, Lauterbach, Baron, Morgenstern, Finkelstein, Tchernowitz, Zeitlin, and their colleagues have greatly enriched our understanding of the development of Biblical and post-Biblical Judaism. Thus, in his stimulating work on "The Pharisees,"¹ Professor Finkelstein seeks to trace the history of ideas in ancient Israel beginning with the Biblical writers. His treatment has led us to re-examine the Wisdom Literature as a whole in terms of its social background.² This investigation dis-

¹ *The Pharisees — The Sociological Background of Their Faith*, 2 volumes, (Philadelphia, 1938).

² On the extent of Hebrew and Jewish Wisdom, see O. S. Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature* (Edinburgh, 1936), p. 1 f. and Johannes Fichtner, *Die altorientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-juedischen Auspraegung* (Giessen, 1933), pp. 7-13. The literature cited by Fichtner and Rankin is, however, not homogeneous in character and origin, in spite of its preoccupation with "Wisdom." Treating it as a unit overlooks the fact that it arose in a special milieu, and only afterwards did *Hokmah* become a slogan and an ideal of all groups in post-exilic Judaism. It was identified with the Torah by Pharisaism and was equated with Greek philosophical ideas in Hellenistic circles, as in Alexandria.

We may therefore distinguish three main types of *Hokmah* literature, that may be somewhat summarily described as (proto-) Sadduceean, (proto-) Pharisaic, and Hellenistic. This paper is concerned only with the first group. It may be noted that only the works of this group found their way into the canon, in spite of the Rabbinic opposition to Sadduceism: Proverbs, Job and Koheleth; Ben Sira, which was not admitted, probably because of its clear-

closes an organic relationship among all the Wisdom writers, in spite of deep-seated individual divergences. Their doctrines and ideas, their points of agreement and difference alike, are, we believe, to be traced to their common social background.

It is today being increasingly recognized that the extant Wisdom Literature goes back to two schools, or more accu-

cut indication of a late date, was accorded high honor and is cited in Rabbinic literature with the formulas used in introducing Scriptural passages. See e. g. B. Baba Kamma 92b *בבא קמא* followed by a passage from Ben Sira.

It is important to indicate the relationship of all the various documents in Jewish Wisdom literature. Thus many of the so-called Wisdom *Psalms*, like chap. 1, (cf. v. 2 on the study of the Law), 19.8 ff. and 119 are hymns in praise of the Torah and may fairly be described as proto-Pharisaic. So too the 'anavim spirit of identification with the submerged groups places Psalms 34.12-23, 73 (cf. vv. 17, 25-28, expressing a passionate absorption in God); 94.8 ff. (cf. vv. 12, 21) in the same group. In the case of Psalms 127 and 133, their brevity and lyrical character make it impossible to determine their standpoint. The enigmatic Psalm 49 seems to be directed against wealth (v. 7), but it possesses certain marks characteristic of the unconventional Wisdom books. Such is the stress on the uselessness of wealth or wisdom in averting death (vv. 11, 18) as well as the note, particularly noticeable in Koheleth (see below) on the tragedy of leaving one's wealth to others," 'aherim. Psalm 37 is a composite, as its complicated and imperfect acrostic structure proves. The 'anavim spirit is clear in such verses as 2, 16 and elsewhere. On the other hand, vv. 21, 25 and 26 show striking upper-class sympathies, as is indicated in the body of this paper. Psalm 112 is likewise definitely upper-class in viewpoint (cf vv. 2 f., 5, 9), and so, apparently, is Psalm 128. Psalm 110.10 is a quotation of a stock phrase of the Wisdom schools.

Tobit, generally dated about 200 B. C. E., contains gnomic material in 4.13 ff.; 12.6 ff.; 14.9 ff., which, apart from the elements drawn from Ahikar, is largely in the Pharisaic tradition. Note the strong objection to inter-marriage (4.12), an idea conspicuously absent from the basic Wisdom books (see below in section V), the negative version of the "Golden Rule" (4.15), identical in form with the saying of Hillel (B. Shab. 31a), the emphasis upon prayer (12.6; 14.9) and the stress upon alms-giving (4.7-11).

Completely distinct in origin and character are the Wisdom books of Hellenistic provenance. They are the *Wisdom of Solomon*, which, in part at least, seems to be a traditionalist answer to the skepticism of Koheleth, *Pseudo-Aristeas*, *IV Maccabees*, *Pseudo-Phocylides*, and, possibly, the debate of Darius' pages in *I Esdras* 3.1-4.41 (so P. Volz in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iv, col. 1493).

The Mishnah tractate *Abot* is of course a Pharisaic classic of much later origin than the basic Wisdom books which are our concern here.

ately, to one school with a group of dissidents on the fringe. The main school, whose major documents are Proverbs and Ben Sira, was conventional in its methods and goals. It was concerned with the practical problem of training men, and particularly the youth, how to live in a hard-headed, imperfect world, rich in pitfalls and temptations for the unwary . . . These teachers upheld morality because they were convinced that it was a more effective road to success than sin. They preached adherence to religion because of the same pragmatic viewpoint — it served to make men good, and, by that token, happy. In no invidious sense, this school may be described as the lower or practical Wisdom.

It is true that the human impulse to pierce the veil of reality and grapple with the abiding mysteries of life could not be crushed even among these teachers of the tangible. At times they yielded to the metaphysical urge and saw the Wisdom they taught as an imperfect human reflection of the Divine Wisdom, the plan of the universe, by which God had created the world:

The Lord by Wisdom founded the earth;
By Understanding He established the heavens.
(Prov. 3.19)

Generally, they preferred not to inquire too closely into the details of the Divine plan, knowing the perils that lurked on the frontier where human reason met the unknown. Their standpoint was expressed by Ben Sira in words later teachers of religion have repeated countless times:

What is too wonderful for thee, do not seek,
And what is hidden from thee, do not search,
Understand that which is permitted thee,
And have no concern with mysteries.
(3.20 f.)

This theme is the burden, too, of the Hymn to Wisdom incorporated in the Book of Job (Chap. 28). With matchless skill, the poet pictures the exertions men undergo until at last they unearth precious stones in the bowels of the earth. But his refrain is: "Where is Wisdom (*Hahokmah*) to be found, and what is the place of Understanding?" Its value is above pearls,

and its hiding place is not known to the deep, to the birds of the air, or to any living thing. Only God knows the place of Wisdom, for He created it together with his universe. The poet concludes:

But to men, He has said, the fear of God is wisdom,³
and abstaining from evil is understanding.
(28.28)

Faith and morality are all man can hope to attain. The propagation of these ideals is the purpose of the conventional Wisdom writers.

For a few bolder spirits within the schools of Wisdom, these goals were not enough. They had been trained to apply observation and reasoning to the practical problems of daily life. They would use the same instruments to solve the more fundamental issues that intrigued them, the purpose of life, man's destiny after death, the basis of morality, the problem of evil. When they weighed the religious and moral ideas of their time by these standards, they found some things they could accept, but much that they felt impelled to reject as either untrue or unproved. Hence the higher or speculative Wisdom books, particularly Job, Ecclesiastes and perhaps Agur Ben Yakeh (Prov. 30), are basically heterodox, skeptical works, at variance with the products of the practical Wisdom School.

But the relationship between the main school and the dissidents is far from being merely that of antagonism. The writers of Job and Koheleth undoubtedly were trained in the Wisdom academies, and perhaps taught there themselves. That conditioning would affect their style and thought-processes ever after. Thus they would naturally utilize the conventional religious vocabulary of the schools, the only one they knew, to express their unconventional ideas.⁴ Frequently, they would draw upon the proverbs and gnomes of the schools, either because they

³ Not Wisdom par excellence, hence no definite article.

⁴ See the writer's studies, "Cynic's Progress — A Re-interpretation of Koheleth" in *Opinion* (New York), February 1937, pp. 17 ff., "Koheleth — The Man and His Book," in *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America*, Vol. 5 (New York, 1939), pp. 74-87, and "The Wisdom of Koheleth, with a New Translation" in the *Menorah Journal* (Summer, 1943) pp. 147-73.

agreed with them, particularly in practical matters, or because they wished to modify or oppose them. Hence these books cannot be properly understood until the use of quotations is recognized.⁵

There is, however, another factor, perhaps even more basic, to explain why conventional and unconventional teachers of Wisdom spoke the same language — they emanated from the same social stratum. While this conclusion was arrived at inductively, by a detailed study of the literature, it is best set forth deductively, especially since a good deal of the evidence is cumulative and corroborative in character.

It is the thesis of this paper that Wisdom Literature, which reached its apogee during the earlier centuries of the Second Temple, roughly between the fifth and the first half of the second centuries, B.C.E., was fundamentally the product of the upper classes in society, who lived principally in the capital, Jerusalem. Some were engaged in large-scale foreign trade, or were tax-farmers, like the Tobiades.⁶ Most of them were supported by the income of their country estates, which were tilled either by slaves, or by tenant farmers, who might have once owned the very fields they now worked as tenants.⁷ This patrician group was allied by marriage with the high-priestly families and the higher government officials, who represented the foreign suzerain, Persian, Ptolemaic or Seleucid.

Obviously, this group had little in common with the poorer peasants clinging desperately to their holdings, or with the petty tradesmen and the artisans in the cities, who suffered their own discontents and were evolving new values in their religious tradi-

⁵ See our paper, "Quotations in Wisdom Literature" in *JQR (NS)*, Vol. 30, 1939, pp. 123-47.

⁶ On the Tobiades, cf. A. Buechler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden*, (Vienna, 1899); E. Schuerer, *Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 3rd and 4th ed., (Leipzig, 1901-11), vol. 1, pp. 195 f.; S. Zeitlin "The Tobias Family and the Hasmoneans," In *Proc. Amer. Acad. Jew. Research*, Vol. IV, 1933, pp. 169-223; Finkelstein, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 580-87. It is interesting to recall that Klausner suggested long ago that Joseph ben Tobias was the author of *Kohleth*; see his book, *Biyeme Bayyit Sheni* (Tel Aviv, 1930) pp. 160-75, in which the paper is reprinted.

⁷ Cf. Isa. 5.8 ff.; Micah 3.3; Jer. 34.8 ff. for the same process in First Temple days.

tion, that would ultimately flower in Pharisaic Judaism and in the religion of Jesus.

As is to be expected, the upper classes were conservative in their outlook, basically satisfied with the status quo and opposed to change. Their conservatism extended to every sphere of life and permeated their religious ideas as well as their social, economic and political attitudes. What is most striking is that this *basic conservatism is to be found among the unconventional Wisdom teachers as well*. Though they were independent spirits who found themselves unable to accept the convenient assumptions of their class that all was right with the world, they reflect even in their revolt the social stratum from which they had sprung, or with which they had identified themselves.

It is, of course, quite possible that these Wisdom teachers personally were themselves of lower-class origin. That might account for their greater awareness of social and moral ills. It is a common phenomenon for dominant groups in society to draw their intellectual leadership from gifted members of the lower classes. The opposite process is equally frequent, where the submerged groups draw their leadership from the aristocracy, Moses and the Gracchi being cases in point. On the other hand, the heterodox Wisdom writers may have differed from their more conventional colleagues merely in their more sensitive temperament. Whatever their personal origin, their writings reflect upper-class viewpoints. This conclusion seems to us to be valid, not only for Proverbs and Ben Sira, but also for Job, Koheleth and Agur ben Yakeh.⁸

⁸ For purposes of comparison, it may be convenient to summarize Professor Finkelstein's conclusions on the class origins of Wisdom literature:

Proverbs is a collection of upper-class moralistic teaching, which has been subjected to persistent plebeian interpolation. Thus 2.1-4 is patrician, vv. 5-8, plebeian; 3.1-4 is patrician, vv. 5-12, plebeian. This view seems to us eminently valid. In a book of short, gnomic utterances, anonymous in character, and widely popular, it is altogether likely that interpolations would enter the text. Naturally, individual passages cannot always be assigned to one or the other school with complete assurance. Thus 10.2 f., 22; 15.3; 16.1, which Dr. Finkelstein ascribes to the plebeian writer, are not inconceivable as examples of patrician morality. On the other hand, the plebeian origin of 16.8 is unmistakable. See his entire illuminating discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-16.

Ben Sira is regarded as a compromise between plebeian and patrician

II.

Some general considerations in favor of this view may now be adduced. It is generally recognized that Wisdom was taught in special schools for young men. The extant Hebrew text of Ben Sira offers the first extant use of the well-known technical term *bet hamidraš* "house of study", in his plea, פנו אלי סכלים ולינו בבית, מדרשי, "Turn aside to me, ye fools and tarry in my house of study". (51.23) The word *beni*, "my son", which occurs twenty-

teachings (p. 588). "He retains the piety, reverence for the Jewish past and loyalty to Jewish literature and life of the plebeian outlook, but specifically denies any faith in its theology" (ibid.). But these traits are not incompatible with upper-class origins, and the reasons that have led us to regard Ben Sira as thoroughly patrician are indicated in the body of this paper.

Job is taken to be the work of a plebeian writer, who denies both free-will and Providence (p. 231). As evidence for this view, *Job's* kindness to his slaves, his sense of equality and his protest against injustice are adduced. The patriarchal, nomadic setting of the narrative is a curtain for the Jerusalemite traders among whom the author lived (p. 232 ff.). It may be countered, however, that kindness to slaves is a patrician virtue, and that no class has a monopoly on resentment of suffering. It seems to us that *Job's* failure to accept the idea of an after-life, and other indications given in the body of our discussion, indicate an upper-class origin for the book of *Job*.

Agur ben Yakeh is held by Dr. Finkelstein to be altogether plebeian, because of its denial of association with the Wisdom teachers (Prov. 30.2, 3), its belief in angels (v. 4), its distaste for both poverty and riches (vv. 5-9), and its comments on social oppression (vv. 13 f.). The entire chapter, however, is fragmentary and its exegesis consequently unclear, so that several of the passages referred to above may be interpreted differently. Our view of this enigmatic Wisdom document are given in section IV of this paper.

Koheleth is ascribed to a plebeian cynic (p. 235 ff.). Dr. Finkelstein discounts as imaginative *Koheleth's* picture of himself as a rich man (chap. 2), and stresses his preoccupation with social justice. He attributes passages extolling diligence and wealth (4.5; 7.11; 10.18; 11.9) to a glossator. But if all references to the enjoyment of life as a goal are regarded as unauthentic, a much larger number of passages must be excised, as any modern commentary on the book makes clear. For our approach to *Koheleth*, which makes such violent procedures unnecessary, and which, we believe, makes him a more credible personality, see the references in notes 5 and 6. It may be added that social injustice does not bulk as large in *Koheleth's* consciousness as the unattainability of true wisdom and the vanity of labor. Only one passage, 4.1 ff., deals with social oppression; the latter themes run through the book.

two times in Proverbs implies the same pedagogic approach.⁹ The constant emphasis upon sexual morality in Proverbs and Ben Sira, which will be discussed below, implies that the students were not children but young men. By and large, the only youths who could afford to spend their days in school in ancient times would be the scions of the wealthy classes. The sons of the poor lacked the leisure as well as the means.

In favor of this contention is a striking parallel from another great culture, that of classical Greece, which reached its highest development roughly in the same period, during the Age of Pericles (c. 463–429 B.C.E.), and the following century.

The existence of a common name for the Greek and the Hebrew doctrine and teachers (*Sophia*, *Hokmah*, *Sophistai*, *Hakamim*) is itself significant, but the resemblances go much further. It is not being argued that the two movements influenced each other. The principle being invoked is that similar material conditions in different societies will produce similar spiritual and intellectual tendencies, *mutatis mutandis*. It is noteworthy that the same technique, of drawing an analogy from Greek to Hebrew religion, is employed in another connection by one of the most acute contemporary students of Wisdom literature, O. S. Rankin.¹⁰

The differences between these two culture-areas are fundamental. Hebrew life was permeated by a profound religious consciousness, a preoccupation with moral issues that even the most secular-minded groups could not escape. Greek life, on the other hand, especially in its higher manifestations, was predomi-

⁹ "My son = my pupil," though references to the instruction of parents are common. So C. H. Toy, *ICC on Proverbs* (New York, 1902), pp. 8, 12. Professor Louis Ginzberg has kindly pointed out that *beni* was the accepted mode of address of a master to his disciple in Tannaitic and early Amoraic times. cf. e. g. B. Sanhedrin 11a שב בני שב and L. Ginzberg, *A Commentary on the Palestinian Talmud* (New York, 1940), vol. 1, pp. 238, 300.

¹⁰ He advances a theory to explain the late emergence of the ideal of an after-life in Hebrew thought. His conclusion apart, his technique interests us here. He says, "To demonstrate this (i. e. the theory advanced), the coming and growth of the belief in a future life, as this belief appears in Greece, offers the best means of comparison and proof." Rankin, *Israel's Wisdom Literature*, p. 178.

nantly humanistic, with the trend strongly secular. This was true, even when the ritual was observed, as by Socrates before his death.

The sophists were polymaths, teaching all the arts and sciences known in their day, and this basic aspect of their activity has no parallel in the post-exilic Jewish community. However, these differences should not obscure the resemblances existing between the *hakamim* and the sophists in technique and in goal. In the Platonic dialogue that bears his name, Protagoras, the sophist, declares that his goal is to teach his pupils prudence in public and private affairs, the orderly management of family and home, the art of rhetoric and the ability to understand and direct the affairs of state.¹¹ With the exception of the forensic art, these are the avowed purposes of Hokmah, as such passages as Prov. 1.4, 5; 6.24; 8.15 ff. and indeed every line of the literature amply attest,— the training of the upper class for administration and leadership:

To give prudence to the simple,
To the young man knowledge and discretion.
(Prov. 1.4)

By me kings reign,
And princes decree justice.
(Prov. 8.15)

By me princes rule,
And nobles, even all the judges of the earth.
(Prov. 8.16)

In the case of the sophists a good deal is known about the economic arrangements that governed their activities, so that there is no need of *a priori* reasoning to establish the fact that their clients were the youth of the upper classes. Protagoras and Gorgias demanded ten thousand drachmas for the education of a single pupil; Prodicus, more moderate in his fees, asked from one to fifty drachmas for admission to his courses.¹² Evenus of

¹¹ Plato, *Protagoras*, 1. 317 ff. (Loeb Classics, New York, 1924, Plato, Vol IV, p. 124).

¹² *Cambridge Ancient History* (New York, 1927) Vol. V, pp. 24, 377.

Paros was praised for demanding only five hundred drachmas for instruction in "human and political virtue." No such rates could possibly have been demanded in Palestine, but whatever fees were required could only have been met by youths of means and leisure.¹³

Finally, and most significantly, the sophists and the hakamim exhibit the same process of intellectual development. In the case of some members of the group, at least, the sophists progress from the teaching of the conduct of practical affairs toward speculative thought in a skeptical spirit. Protagoras, who declared that "man is the measure of all things" and "with regard to the gods, I know not whether they exist or not", Gorgias of Leontini, whose chief philosophical tenet was that nothing exists, or at least that nothing is knowable, Thrasymachus of Chalcedon who identified might with right, and remarked that the success of villains cast doubt upon the existence of the gods, and above all Socrates, who subjected all ideas and ideals to his skeptical analysis, all these,¹⁴ for all the vast differences of the Greek and the Hebrew ethos, are brothers of the spirit to Koheleth, who maintained that God had made the truth forever unknowable to man, and to Job, who doubted that justice operated in the world.

It is noteworthy that in developing skeptical tendencies, the Greek sophists continued to function in their more conventional and more lucrative role as teachers of the practical virtues. In precisely the same manner, the heterodox Wisdom books of Job, Koheleth and Agur, contain much typical Wisdom material of the same kind as we meet in Proverbs. Hence attempts to excise this material as interpolations or to atomize the text by assigning

¹³ Ben Sira 51.25b כסף בלא חכמה "Acquire Wisdom for yourselves without money" is a poetical statement of the idea that wisdom is easily attained. Cf. the following verse, "She is high unto them that seek her" and the well-known passage Isa. 55.1 f. upon which Ben Sira undoubtedly bases himself.

¹⁴ Cf. E. Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy* (London, 1881) Vol. 2, pp. 394-516. G. Grote's classic rehabilitation of the sophist movement is to be found in his *History of Greece* (London, 1851 and often reprinted), ch. 67. A lively recent account is to be found in W. Durant, *The Life of Greece* (New York 1939) pp. 358-66.

it to many hypothetical authors must be stigmatized as unnecessary and therefore unsound. A more sympathetic insight into the personality of these Sages will spare us the necessity of resorting to such violent and subjective procedures.

In sum, Greek *sophia* and Hebrew *hokmah* are strikingly parallel in their concern with the education of the youth for practical life and in their culmination in philosophical skepticism. These analogies strengthen the view that the latter, like the former, arose in the upper strata of society, which alone had need of that type of training and could afford to pay for it.

These wisdom academic must be distinguished from the schools conducted by the Pharisees and their predecessors, the Sopherim. Here the students were largely the children of the poor. Unfortunately, little or nothing is known of these schools in pre-Maccabean days, but our fuller knowledge of the Mishnic period would imply that the teachers, as well as the pupils, earned their living as workers. The Talmudic teachers include blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, bakers, potters and builders among others.¹⁵ Hillel's daily earnings have been estimated at fourteen American cents. It therefore follows that the studies in the Pharisaic schools, except for the "professional" schools intended to train experts in the Law, must have been conducted largely on the Sabbaths and Festivals.¹⁶

¹⁵ Cf. S. W. Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews* (New York, 1937), p. 195 f. Cf. also the well-known statement in the Talmud (Ned. 81a) הוהרו בבני עניים שמהם תצא תורה "Be careful of the sons of the poor for learning comes forth from them." Also the moving story of the encounter of the Patriarch Gamaliel of Jabneh with Joshua ben Hananiah, and the latter's retort, איני לו לדור שאתה פרנסו שאני אחת יודע בצערן של חלמידי חכמים במה הם מתפרנסים ובמה הם ניוונים "Alas for the generation whose leader you are, knowing nothing of the privations of scholars, how they are fed and sustained." (Ber. 28a). On handicrafts in the Talmudic period, see S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie* (Leipzig, 1911), vol. II, pp. 248-313.

¹⁶ This is the view of Professor Louis Ginzberg, as communicated in a private conversation. In the advanced schools, where experts in the law were trained, moderate fees were probably imposed, not to compensate the teacher, but to defray the cost of maintaining the school quarters, to avoid overcrowding, or for some reasons stated by the Shammaites, cf. L. Ginzberg, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, p. 136b. This is most likely the explanation of the famous tale, in which Hillel, unable to secure admittance to the academy of

Moreover, Pharisaism regarded the teaching of Torah as a commandment for which no payment might be accepted. The Rabbis depicted Moses as saying: "As I was taught freely, so teach ye freely."¹⁷ This is closely akin to Jesus' injunction to his disciples: "Freely have ye received, freely give."¹⁸ Professor Louis Ginzberg has called attention to the fact that this attitude is not merely haggadic, but actually occurs in the *Halachah*. In the Mishnah, Nedarim, 4.3, a man who has taken a vow not to receive any material benefit from his neighbor may nevertheless continue to teach him all except the most elementary branches of Torah (*mikra*', Bible text), because no tuition fee is involved. Even the tuition for this elementary teaching, it was felt, required justification, and so legal casuistry was resorted to in the Talmud and the Codes.¹⁹

The difference in the points of view of the upper-class Wisdom teachers and the Pharisaic Sopherim may be graphically illustrated by contrasting the dictum on labor of the early Pharisaic teacher, Abtalion, of the first century B.C.E., the teacher of Hillel,²⁰ with that of Ben Sira. Abtalion is the author of the statement, "Love labor and abhor authority" (Aboth 1.11). Ben Sira, on the contrary, declares:

How can he become wise that holdeth the goad,
And glorieth in brandishing the lance,
Likewise the maker of carving and cunning devices

Abtalion, climbed to the roof and was buried under the snow. The Talmud quotes the fee as being a tropaikon and a half (Yoma 35b). It may be added that the story, apart from its obvious folk-character, cannot pretend even to authenticity of atmosphere. Snow in Jerusalem is extremely rare, and a snow-storm sufficient to bury a man beneath it is almost certainly ruled out.

¹⁷ Nedarim 37a.

¹⁸ Mat. 10.8.

¹⁹ The teacher was paid *sekhar šimmur*, "fee for taking care of the child" or *sekhar pissuk teamim*, "fee for teaching vocalization and accents" or *sekhār battalah*, "compensation for the teacher's being unable to engage in a gainful occupation." No reflection on the teaching vocation was intended! See Nedarim 36b, 37a; Maimonides, *Yad, Hilkhoth Talmud Torah*, 1, par. 7, and *Shulhan Arukh, Yoreh Deah*, 246, 5 and Isserles *ad loc.*

²⁰ He is generally identified with the scholar Pollio referred to by Josephus in Ant. xv, 1, 1; the Pollio mentioned in Ant. xv, 10, 4, is almost certainly another scholar, perhaps an error for Hillel.

So also the smith that sitteth by the furnace,
Likewise the potter who sitteth at the wheel
Without them a city cannot be inhabited,
But they shall not be inquired of for public counsel,
And law and justice they understand not.

(38.25 ff.)

To revert to the main theme, the existence of Wisdom academies presupposes the youth of the leisure class. Moreover, such schools could be maintained only in large centers of population, such as Jerusalem.

There are other general considerations that reenforce this view. It was observed long ago that Wisdom is the most secular branch of ancient Hebrew literature, being concerned with broadly human rather than with specifically Jewish problems.²¹ Job actually treats the problem of human suffering through a gallery of non-Israelitish characters.²²

The use of the Divine names in the Wisdom books is also highly instructive, being parallel to the development in Babylonian and Egyptian Wisdom, where the individual names of the gods do not disappear, but yield increasingly to general descriptions of "God" or "The Gods." The individual names tend to appear in traditional apothegms or in contexts concerned with the attributes of a specific god.²³

The use of Divine names in Hebrew Wisdom is entirely similar. The oldest collections in Proverbs (10.1 — 22.16; 25–29) which are probably pre-exilic, use JHVH, the national name of

²¹ Toy, *op. cit.*, p. xxxi, notes "the absence of characteristic national traits," and says, "If for the name JHVH we substitute 'God', there is not a sentence or a paragraph in the Proverbs which would not be as suitable for any other people as for Israel." Hermann Gunkel, in "Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart," believes that "the Hebrew Proverb literature was in its beginning altogether secular The religious motive was introduced later." (vol. III, p. 2361).

²² On the origin of the proper names in Job, cf. Driver-Gray, *ICC on Job* (New York, 1921), vol. 1, pp. xxxvii ff.; G. Hoelscher, *Das Buch Hiob* (Tübingen, 1937), p. 2. The locales from which the names are drawn are Edom and Arabia.

²³ Cf. Proverbs of Amenemope (Col. XXV, l. 496), "The strength of Ra is to him that is on the road" as an instance of popular saying.

the Deity, exclusively. Yet even here, when JHVH does occur, it is often in stock phrases like "the fear of JHVH," "The blessing of JHVH," "the abomination of JHVH," "the knowledge of JHVH."²⁴ The later collections in Proverbs use JHVH much less consistently. A factor which may help explain the retention of the name JHVH is the gnomic character of the book, which would subject it to considerable quotation, in which the most popular name of the Deity would tend to be used. In Ben Sira, the general term is used in half the cases. The use of JHVH in the other half is apparently to be attributed to the identification of the God of Israel with the world creator, so that the specific national name has become divested of any particularistic character. The higher Wisdom writers avoid JHVH almost entirely, in favor of the general names, 'el, 'eloah, 'elohim, šaddai. JHVH is virtually lacking in the poetry of Job, and *elohim* is the exclusive designation of the Deity in Koheleth.²⁵

It is noteworthy that Umberto Cassuto explicitly recognizes the connection between this preference for "appellative" Divine names, characteristic of Wisdom literature, and the upper-class outlook, influenced by foreign contacts, encountered in Sadduceism. He thus explains the Pharisaic enactment that the Divine name be used in greeting one's friend: והתקינו שיהא אדם שואל בשלום (Berakhot 9.5) as reflecting the popular use of the national name of God, as opposed to the more universal terms popular among the upper-class Sadducees,²⁶ whose thinking was

²⁴ Thus, taking chapter 16 at random, we find JHVH used ten times, of which at least four are in stock phrases (vv. 5, 6, 7?, 20). On divine Names in Wisdom, see Fichtner, p. 103 ff. Rankin, p. 39 note, and Cassuto cited in note 26 below.

²⁵ JHVH and אֱלֹהִים occur in the poetry of Job a) in 12:9 which is either an interpolation or, more probably, a reminiscence of Is. 41.20c, a stock phrase, b) in 28.28, in what is again a typical phrase of the Wisdom schools (the entire chapter is almost certainly an independent poem), and in 38.1; 40.1, in the superscriptions. In Koheleth even the Temple is called *bet 'elohim*, not *bet JHVH* (4.17).

²⁶ Cf. Cassuto, *Torat Ha t'eudot ve-Sidduram šel Siphre Hatorah* (Jerusalem, 1942) p. 28; Cf. also pp. 21, 23 ff. He says: המינים כלומר הצדוקים בני האריסטוקרטיה: והיחוד ל'חכמה היונית', הרנילה אף היא, כחכמה הבין-לאומית, לכנות את האלהות בשמה הכללי, נוטים היו לראות בשיטה זו מעין התקרמות כחכמה הבין-לאומית, (p. 28).

moulded by the international outlook characteristic of Wisdom. Similarly, the Documents of the Damascene Sect, replace JHVH by *El* even in Biblical citations.

Recent investigations have disclosed the Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources which have influenced much of Hebrew gnomic literature, notably the Sayings of Amenemope, which may be a direct source for Proverbs.²⁷ Today it is clear that Hebrew Wisdom is part of Oriental Wisdom generally, as Johann Fichtner's excellent study, *Die Alt-orientalische Weisheit in ihrer israelitisch-juedischen Auspraegung*²⁸ amply demonstrates.

This cosmopolitan character of Wisdom is likewise most naturally explained in terms of its upper-class origin. Foreign contacts, opportunities for travel and trade,²⁹ and a fondness for the culture and fashions of other lands, have always characterized the aristocracy. Ben Sira speaks of himself as having made many journeys, accompanied by danger (34.11 f.) and includes travel as an element in the life of the ideal scribe (39.4). Koheleth speaks of amassing "the treasures of kings and provinces" (2.8). On the other hand, the peasant, the petty merchant and the craftsman have neither the opportunity nor the penchant for such contacts.

Moreover, Oriental Wisdom is explicitly intended for the training of the ruler-class, for young princes, and the lords and scribes destined to be their servants at court. Professor Albright's succinct description of the gnomic and didactic works of the Old and Middle Egyptian Empires may be applied virtually unchanged to Hebrew Wisdom:

The Maxims of Ptah-hotep and another nearly contemporary work are characteristic in diction and attitude of the

²⁷ Cf. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Egypt and the O. T.* (London, 1927); Paul Humbert, *Recherches sur les sources Egyptiennes de la littérature sapientiale d'Israel* (Neuchâtel, 1929); G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible* (Phila., 1937), 7th ed., pp. 511-15, and the literature there cited.

²⁸ Giessen, 1933.

²⁹ Cf. Hoelscher's correct conclusion, *op. cit.*, p. 7, that the author of Job was a Palestinian who had travelled widely, hence his familiarity with Egyptian flora and fauna, the Sinai desert, and the hail, ice, and snow of the north, probably the Lebanon region.

late Old Empire, where stability was traditional and where shrewd aphorisms and wise counsels were in constant demand on the part of persons ambitious for preferment. These aphorisms are often noble and always worldly: doing right and acting justly are necessary to success and will bring prosperity if combined with prudence.³⁰

Fichtner supplies ample details to corroborate this truth.³¹ We shall have occasion to point out that practically all the virtues inculcated by Hebrew Wisdom are applicable to the upper classes and their servants.

Nearly all of Oriental Wisdom is attributed to kings. Amenemket I is the author of the teaching intended for Sesostri I. The teaching for Merikare is composed by a royal father for his son and successor. The Insinger Papyrus calls itself the "Book of Kings." It is a striking fact that no other branch of Hebrew literature is ascribed so consistently to royal authors. Three of the collections in the Book of Proverbs are ascribed to Solomon, the last named also being associated with Hezekiah. Lemuel is a king (Prov. 31.1), as is Koheleth (1.1, 12).

The environment reflected in Wisdom is that of the wealthy classes. The striking emphasis upon abstaining from sexual liaisons outside the marriage bond is a case in point.³² These women against whom the preceptor of youth warns are not the street walkers, who ply their trade among the poor, but the kept women, often married, whose homes are decked with tapestry woven of Egyptian linen and whose couch is richly perfumed. (Prov. 7.16 ff.) It has not been hitherto observed how commonly precious stones are used as an object of comparison and value in Proverbs.³³ The moralist warns against quarrelsome households, having meat to eat (*zibhe ribh. 17.1*) a diet rarely if ever enjoyed by the poor. He repeatedly exhorts against the dangers

³⁰ W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, 1940), p. 135.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-24.

³² Prov. 2.16 ff.; 5.9, 15; 7.5 ff.; 22.14; 23.27; 30.20; B.S. 9.1 ff.; 19.2 f.; 25.2; 23.16; 36.30.

³³ *Peninim* occurs four times in Proverbs (3.15; 8.11; 20.15; 31.10), once in Job (28.18), and only once more in the entire O. T. (Lam. 4.7).

of wine-bibbing and gluttony,³⁴ vices from which the poor are usually free, and through no will or merit of their own. The pupil is pictured as one in position to distribute largesse at will:

Say not unto thy neighbor: 'Go, and come again,
And tomorrow I will give'; when thou hast it by thee.
(Prov. 3.28)

III.

These general considerations constitute only part of the evidence for the upper-class orientation of Wisdom literature.

The morality inculcated in Proverbs and Ben Sira is utilitarian, from the standpoint of the possessing classes. The reader is perpetually urged to display diligence and the perils of laziness are reiterated.³⁵ The reward of virtue is characteristic:

Seest thou a man diligent in his business?
he shall stand before kings;
He shall not stand before mean men.
(Prov. 22.29)

Prudence, the capacity to foretell the consequences of one's actions and diligence at one's tasks are emphasized as the cornerstones of success.

Keeping one's own counsel and refraining from overmuch intimacy with one's superiors is repeatedly insisted upon:

When thou sittest to eat with a ruler,
Consider well him that is before thee.
(Prov. 23.1; cf. B.S. 13.2-20)

In common with Egyptian Wisdom and the Ahikar romance, the Hebrew sages urge the attributes of zeal and reliability in the messenger.³⁶ Basic to these qualities are loyalty to the king

³⁴ Prov. 23.1 f., 20 f., 29 ff.; 30.8-10; Ecc. 7.16 f.; B.S. 18.30 ff.

³⁵ Prov. 6.6-11; 10.4 f., 26; 12.11, 24; 13.4; 14.23; 15.19; 18.9; 24.30-34; 26.13 ff.; Ecc. 10.18; B.S. 4.29; 7.15; 10.26 f.; 11.11; 13.21; 22.1 f.; 31.3 f.

³⁶ Prov. 10.26; 13.17; 25.13; 26.6. On the frequency of this theme in Oriental Wisdom, see Fichtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16, note 1.

and submissiveness to authority, which will be discussed at greater length below.³⁷

The King's favour is toward a servant that dealeth wisely;
But his wrath striketh him that dealeth shamefully.
(Prov. 14.35)

The social virtues that are inculcated are approached from the standpoint of the powerful groups toward the weaker:

Do not rob the poor because he is poor, and do not crush
the needy in the gate. (Prov. 22.22)

Job's great Confession of innocence (ch. 31) likewise reflects the morality of a patriarch possessing wealth and influence, who refrains from using his power to injure the weaker groups, his slaves, the poor, the orphan and the widow, and does not yield to the temptation of trusting in riches.³⁸

Most striking of all, because it is so utterly at variance with the entire tenor of Biblical thought, is the attitude of the Wisdom teachers on going surety for one's neighbor. Here we find none of the humanitarian emphasis of the Deuteronomic Code on the "open hand" or the Pentateuchal insistence on lending without interest.³⁹ On the contrary there is a constant reiteration of the dangers of the practice:⁴⁰

He that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it;
But he who hates those that strike hands is secure.
(Prov. 11.15)

Ben Sira adopts the same attitude, and gives a perspicacious analysis of the perils of lending money. (8.12; 29.1 ff.) Yet he urges the practice and offers an interesting reason:

³⁷ Prov. 14.35; 16.14; 19.12; 20.2; 22.29; Ecc. 8.3; 10.4; B.S. 9.13. For parallels in Egyptian and Babylonian Wisdom, see Fichtner, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

³⁸ Cf. Job 31.13, 16, 17, 19.

³⁹ Cf. Deut. ch. 15 and Ex. 22.24 ff.; Lev. 25.36 f.; Deut. 23.20 ff.; 24.10 f.

⁴⁰ Prov. 6.1-5; 11.15; 17.18; 22.26 f.; 20.16=27.13. It is curious that Oriental Wisdom has no references to lending or pledges, except for one passage lamenting lending on a pledge, which is quoted by Ebeling, *Reste akkadischer Weisheitsliteratur*, p. 22. Fichtner, *op. cit.*, p. 16, regards it as purely a matter of chance that no such passages have survived.

This may be the meaning of *marpe*, "healing" in the following passage:

If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee,
Leave not thy place;
For healing allayeth great offences.

(Ecc. 10.4)

Ben Sira actually uses the Pentateuchal statement, "Bribery blinds the eyes", in order to justify its use:

Presents and gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and as a muzzle
on the mouth turn away reproofs.

(B.S. 20.29)

As the *summum bonum* in life and the reward of moral conduct, the Wisdom writers universally set up practical success, in which economic prosperity is central. Wealth is uniformly regarded as a great good and poverty as an evil. The penalty for disobeying instruction is "poverty and shame" (Prov. 13.18), while adherence to Wisdom brings "riches and honor" (Prov. 3.16).

The Proverbist points out that the wealth of the rich is a mighty city while the undoing of the poor is their poverty (Prov. 10.15). Ben Sira also remarks on the difference in the treatment of rich and poor (13.21 ff.). While he declares that even a poor man may be honored for his sagacity, he adds:

"He that is honored in his poverty — how much more in his wealth!" (10.31). Koheleth goes further and insists that "Wisdom is good with an inheritance" (7.11), and "the wisdom of the poor man is despised" (9.16).⁴⁵

Doubtless Koheleth's description of his wealth in Chapter Two is idealized, but there is no adequate reason for denying that it reflects his general condition.⁴⁶ On the contrary, there is decisive evidence at hand that he belonged to the upper classes. Again and again, he refers to the tragedy involved in a man's dying and leaving his wealth to another, to "a stranger", as

⁴⁵ On the structure of this passage, see our paper, "Quotations in Wisdom Literature" in *JQR (NS)*, Vol. XXX, 1939, p. 138.

⁴⁶ Cf. Finkelstein, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 235 f.

Koheleth calls him.⁴⁷ This is surely not one of the problems of the poor. Even his disillusion with riches argues the surfeit of a man who has experienced the boredom of perpetual satiety, rather than the hunger of the destitute. No Hebrew prophet ever sought to console the downtrodden with the thought that wealth is not synonymous with happiness. The preoccupation of the Torah and the Prophets with social problems is one of their salient features, for which no detailed documentation is necessary.

It need not be labored that the high valuation placed by the Wisdom teachers upon economic prosperity does not betoken a surrender of moral values. The strong moral emphasis in Judaism is evident in Wisdom as well. All theft and wrongly acquired wealth is opposed.⁴⁸ In particular, the removal of landmarks, the besetting sin of the land-owner, and false measures, the failing of the merchant, are described as abominations.⁴⁹ Above all, the practice of charity is constantly urged by the Wisdom teachers.⁵⁰

Another virtue, appropriate to the well-to-do, is moderation in food and drink. Here the stress is laid on the physical and economic consequences of excess.⁵¹ The same restraint is urged in the seeking of riches:

Weary not thyself to grow rich, cease from thine own wisdom.
(Prov. 23.4)

This attitude is motivated not by the idea that riches are an unworthy or inadequate goal for human existence, but by the thought that wealth is fleeting⁵² and the further consideration

⁴⁷ Cf. 2.21 f.; 4.8; 5.12 ff.; 6.1 ff. Cf. also Ps. 49.11c and our note 2, par. 3.

⁴⁸ Prov. 1.13; 6.30 f.; 21.6; 28.22; 29.24; B.S. 5.8; 13.24; 20.25; 40.13.

⁴⁹ On the former offence, cf. Prov. 22.28; 23.10 f.; also Job 24.2a; 31.38 and Deut. 19.14; 27.12. On the latter, cf. Prov. 11.1; 16.11; 20.10, 23; B.S. 42.4; also Lev. 19.35 f.; Deut. 25.13 ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. among other passages, Prov. 14.31; 19.17; B.S. 3.31; 12.1; 18.18; 22.23.

⁵¹ See note 34.

⁵² Prov. 20.21; 28.20.

that chance plays a great part in its acquisition. This is naturally expressed in Biblical terms:

The blessing of the Lord it is that gives wealth,
And toil adds nothing to it.
(Prov. 10.22)

For riches certainly make themselves wings,
Like an eagle that flieth toward heaven.
(Prov. 23.5)

The virtue of contentment is preached in such passages as:

A little with the fear of God is better than a great treasure
with turmoil. (Prov. 15.16)

These and similar statements⁵³ have been plausibly attributed to the plebeian Hasid glossator in Proverbs by Professor Finkelstein.⁵⁴ On the other hand, it is not ruled out that a moralistic teacher of upper-class youth would feel called upon to counteract, in part at least, the prevalent apotheosis of wealth. Thus the teaching of Amenemope, which is indubitably upper class in origin and orientation, preaches contentment, restraint in the search for wealth and general moderation, virtues one would expect to find in the moral instruction of the youth of the aristocracy.⁵⁵ A few instances taken from Budge's translation will suffice:

⁵³ As e. g. Prov. 11.28; 15.17; 17.1.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 209 f.

⁵⁵ It is noteworthy that Prov. 23.4, which is opposed to the striving after wealth, is almost universally regarded as based on Amenemope, col. IX, ll. 163-68. Cf. Fichtner, *op. cit.*, p. 16, note 8. So too, Rankin, *op. cit.*, p. 79, note 1, who associates this passage, as well as Prov. 15.16 f., which stresses the joys of contentment, with Amenemope, col. VI, l. 110.

Budge, from whose *Teaching of Amen-en-apt* (London, 1924) the translations in the text are derived, points out that Egyptian Wisdom was written either by kings or professional scribes and officials, and was intended for princes and for to those who aspired to official posts (pp. XI ff., 100 f.). However, he considers the Teaching of Amenemope the exception, being addressed by an official, "to no son, whether prince or subject, but to all men." H. Gressmann (*Alt-orientalische Texte zum A. T.*, Erste Lieferung, 2nd ed. Berlin and Leipzig, 1926, p. 38), on the other hand, notes that the author was a high officer and that the work is addressed to his youngest son, who was priest in the Temple of Min at Panopolis in Upper Egypt. Budge, too, comments on the aristocratic

Commit not an act of avariciousness so that thou mayest find (i. e., obtain) additional wealth. (l. 110)

Better is the beggar who is in the hand of the God than the rich who are safely housed in a comfortable dwelling.
(ll. 158, 159)

Fashion not thy heart in such wise that it hankers after things of wealth (i. e., luxurious foods and apparel). (l. 163)

Form not the habit of ordering thyself to seek for more than thou hast,

When thy own goods and possessions are in thy safe keeping. (l. 167, 168)

Make not thyself to take pleasure in rich treasures that have been obtained by robbery. (l. 179)

In general, contentment is a doctrine more honored in the preaching than in the observance, the poor being exhorted to it by the rich, who testify from their own experience that riches are not synonymous with happiness!

It has long been noted that the Hebrew Bible, as a whole, is lacking in any ascetic glorification of poverty.⁵⁶ The Wisdom writers, in particular, regard the enjoyment of life as important:

Ointment and perfume rejoice the heart, . . .
(Prov. 27.9)

Give and take, yea, indulge thy soul,
For in Sheol there is no delight.
(B.S. 14.15)

lineage of Amenemope and the many priestly offices he held (p. 96 f.). He also recognizes that "many of his Precepts would no doubt be of more use to officials than to any other class of people" (p. x). At all events, the hieroglyphic script would itself limit the readers of the work to the upper classes. Granted that it is superior to the other products of Egyptian Wisdom, its affinities with them remain very close. Its exalted morality does not disprove its upper-class orientation, while its other features make it clear that no other background may be assumed for it. That is the thesis of this paper with regard to Hebrew Wisdom as a whole.

⁵⁶ Cf. H. Bruppacher, *Die Beurteilung der Armut in A.T.* (Zurich, 1924), p. 81 ff. On the other hand, a necessary corrective of extreme views that deny ascetic tendencies in Hebrew religion altogether is supplied by J. A. Montgomery, "Ascetic Strains in Early Judaism" in *JBL*, Vol. LI, 1932, pp. 183-213.

(Cf. B.S. 14.11 ff.; 30.21–5) The triad of wine, women and song appears in Ben Sira:

Wine and song rejoice the heart, but better than both is love. (40.20)

In Koheleth, the physical enjoyment of life becomes the only sensible goal left to man:⁵⁷

There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and make his soul enjoy pleasure for his labor. This also, I saw, is from the hand of God. (Ecc. 2.24)

Money is the means to this end:

A feast is made for laughter, and wine gladdens life, and money provides everything. (Ecc. 10.19)

IV.

The religious ideas of the Wisdom literature reflect the same upper-class orientation. Basic to its world-view is the idea that virtue leads to well-being and vice leads to poverty and disaster. Wealth is a blessing of the Lord bestowed upon the upright (Prov. 10.22) and removed from the wicked (12.22; 10.2, 16; 11.28). In its origin, this view was not the possession of a single group, but the standpoint of the entire nation, it being a corollary of the traditional Hebrew faith in the moral government of the world. During the days of the First Temple, when clan solidarity was all-powerful and reward and punishment were referred to the nation as a whole,⁵⁸ its truth was rarely questioned. With Jeremiah and Ezekiel, however, the individual begins to emerge as an independent personality demanding happiness for itself, as distinct from the fate of the family, clan or nation.⁵⁹ Throughout the Second Temple period, the problem of the individual's fate is the central problem of Jewish theology. That individual suc-

⁵⁷ Cf. 3.12 f.; 8.15 f.; 9.7 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. M. Lohr, *Sozialismus und Individualismus im A. T.* (Giessen, 1906); Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion* (New York, 1930), pp. 219.f.; 251 ff.; Rankin, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–98.

⁵⁹ Cf. the classical passages Jer. 31.26 ff.; Ez. 18.1 ff.

cess is the seal of virtue and individual suffering the proof of sin, could continue to be maintained only by the successful groups.

The lower classes, ground by poverty and oppression, were tormented by the problem of the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous. Holding resolutely to their faith in God and divine justice, they were nevertheless unable to make their peace with the world about them. The solution they ultimately reached was the doctrine of another world where the inequalities of the present order would be rectified. Thus the idea of a future life became an integral feature of Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity.⁶⁰

The teachers of Wisdom, on the other hand, being representative of the affluent groups, felt no compulsion to adopt these new views. The sages of the conventional school maintain unchanged, the old view of retribution here and now and make it, as has been noted, the cornerstone of their teaching of the youth.

So too, they retain the old doctrine of collective retribution, where the sins or virtues of the fathers determine the destiny of the children.⁶¹ The idea of a future life, on the other hand, is not as much as mentioned in Proverbs, probably because the material is comparatively early. By the time Ben Sira wrote, in the second century B.C.E., the doctrine of an after-life had achieved wide currency and could no longer be passed over in silence. He therefore negates the belief explicitly:

When a man dies, he inherits worms, maggots, lice and creeping things. (10.11)⁶²

A particularly interesting passage is to be found in 7.17. Ben Sira declares:

Humble thy pride greatly, for the expectation of man is worms.

His grandson and Greek translator gives it a Pharisaic interpretation:

⁶⁰ Cf. Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 223; Rankin, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-197.

⁶¹ Prov. 13.22; 14.26; 20.7; B.S. 44.10 f.

⁶² Cf. also B.S. 17.27; 41.14.

Humble thy soul greatly, for the punishment of the ungodly
is fire and worms.

The unconventional sages, the authors of Job and Koheleth, on the other hand, part company with their conventional colleagues on this very issue of reward and punishment. Though they are members of the same class, they are too clear-sighted and too sensitive to overlook the manifest instances of undeserved suffering or prosperity in the world. Yet neither writer accepts the Pharisaic solution of a life after death, though they are both familiar with it. Job toys with the idea but regretfully dismisses it at last:

As the waters fail from the sea, and the river is drained dry,
So man lies down not to rise again,
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
Nor be roused from their sleep.

If a man dies, can he live again?
As waters wear stones away, and the torrent⁶³ washes away
the dust of the earth,
So hast Thou destroyed the hope of man.
(14.11, 12, 14, 19)

It is noteworthy that even the Friends, for all their attempts to justify God's ways to Job, do not have recourse to this doctrine. Koheleth rejects the theory with a characteristic shrug of the shoulders:

All go to one place; all are of the dust and all return to dust.
Who knows whether the spirit of man goes upward, and the
spirit of the beast goes downward to the earth? (Ecc. 3.20 f.;
cf. 9.10, 12)

It is in their reaction to the agonizing problem of evil that the social background of Job and Koheleth is most clearly revealed. It has long been evident that their predominant temper is that of skepticism, an incapacity to accept conventional ideas, merely because of the pressure of the mass. But it has not been noted that there is another element in the constitution of a skeptic — a psychological inability to act so as to modify con-

⁶³ Reading, with most moderns, סחיפה "torrent," for ספיהיה in the Masoretic text, which is clearly impossible.

ditions. In other words, skepticism is a state of mind possible only for those who observe and dislike evil, but are not its direct victims. Those who are direct sufferers are impelled either to change the conditions or to seek escape from them, through one or another avenue of action. Thus the Hebrew prophets, oppressed by the social iniquity of their day, utilized elements of the folk religion to create the exalted conception of the "End-time," when the kingdom of God would be ushered in on earth and a just order established for men and nations. The teachers of Pharisaic Judaism and early Christianity offered the hope of another world after death where justice would be vindicated. The mystics of all religions, faced by the same problem, have chosen another way out by taking refuge in a realm of the spirit, while their physical existence on the earth still continues. On the other hand, reformers and revolutionaries in all ages have striven to transform society in their own life-time through legislation or reconstruction.

The teachers of Wisdom adopted none of these alternatives. Their failure to do so was due to the fact that they personally found life tolerable even under the conditions they deprecated, not being victims of social injustice themselves. When these two elements of skepticism are taken into account,—an awareness of evil and an absence of compulsion to modify conditions, it becomes clear why skepticism is usually to be found among the more intelligent groups of upper-class society, rather than among the masses of the people.

Professor F. F. Moore's comment on the social origins of Buddhism may be applied to the teachers of unconventional Hebrew Wisdom as well:

It is a common observation that it is not the people whose life seems to us most intolerable that are most discontented with life; despair is a child of the imagination and pessimism has always been a disease of the well-to-do, or at least the comfortably well-off.⁶⁴

That all the Wisdom writers do not accept the nascent ideas of life after death has, of course, long been noted, but it has

⁶⁴ G. F. Moore, *History of Religions* (New York, 1913), Vol. 1, p. 286.

usually been attributed to their general conservatism and fondness for the older ideas. But this explanation is inadequate, for we should then have expected to find in Wisdom an adherence to the older doctrines of the "day of JHWH", as expounded by Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah,⁶⁵ or the conception of the "End-time," as developed by Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel.⁶⁶ *Actually the Wisdom writers, whether conventional or not, accept neither the older nor the newer views that run counter to their group associations.* The Messianic hope on earth and the faith in an after-life alike find no echo in their thought. Nowhere in the entire literature do we find the faith of the prophets in a dynamic world. The Wisdom teachers are pre-eminently guides to the status quo, in which they contemplate no alteration. Whether they accept their contemporary society as fundamentally just, or whether they have their doubts, their basic attitude is that it is worth preserving without serious change.

Hence the clear-cut social conservatism in Koheleth, which is not due to interpolators but is integral to his outlook, as will be indicated below in Section V. Hence, too, the inability of Job to find any solution at all to the problem of suffering, if the JHWH speeches (chap. 38-41) be regarded as later additions. If, on the other hand, they are authentic, the only answer the author finds lies in the mystery of the cosmos and in the thought that the harmony of the natural world, though incomprehensible to man, must have its counterpart in the moral world as well.

Koheleth lacks even this positive hope. He sees justice as nonexistent and truth as unattainable and therefore declares that joy is the only legitimate purpose of human life. That goal itself, it should be noted, is feasible only for those possessing the means of gratifying their desires and can therefore be directed only to the upper strata of society. His advice would be a bitter mockery to those living on the fringe of starvation:

Go your way, eat your bread with joy, and drink
your wine with a merry heart, for God has
already accepted your works,

⁶⁵ Am. 5.18 ff.; Isa. 2.12; Jer. 4.23.

⁶⁶ Isa. 2.2; Mic. 4.1; Hos. 3.5; Jer. 23.20; 30.24; 48.47; 49.39; Ez. 38.8, 16.

There is a generation whose teeth are as swords,
and their great teeth as knives, to devour the
the poor from off the earth and the needy from
among men.

In spite of these sentiments, the class position of Agur emerges clearly from vv. 21–25, in which he declares that the earth quakes at the spectacle of a slave enthroned or a maid inheriting her mistress. This is an exact parallel to Koheleth's lament at the sight of "slaves riding on horses and lords walking on the earth like slaves" (Ecc. 10.7). So too, Agur's warning against slandering a slave to his master (v. 10) seems addressed to members of the slave-owning class. It is entirely of a piece with Koheleth's advice not to eavesdrop, lest one overhear oneself being slandered by one's own slave (Ecc. 7.21).

The remaining apothegms in the Agur fragment are not decisive for his social background. His prayer to be spared the extremes of poverty and wealth (vv. 7–9) could have been penned by any sound student of human nature. The sayings on diligence (vv. 24–28), strife (v. 32 f.) and the animal gnomes (vv. 29 f.) are conventional statements of accepted truths, such as are to be found in Koheleth, side by side with his more striking aperçus. They testify to the writer's origin within the official Wisdom schools.

The attitude toward free-will in Wisdom is also significant. In discussing the Jewish sects of his day, Josephus describes the Sadducees as believing in absolute free-will, while the Pharisees held that all things are from God.⁶⁹ Obviously, the idea that man is a moral free-acting agent cannot be dispensed with by any religious system, and Pharisaism also accepted the doctrine of free-will.⁷⁰ By and large, Rabbinic Judaism met the problem

⁶⁹ *Antiquities*, xiii, 5, 9. Cf. also *idem*, xviii, 1, 3. *War* II, viii, 14.

⁷⁰ G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, (Cambridge, 1927) vol. 1, p. 456 f. very properly calls attention to the fact that Josephus has inevitably distorted the outlook of the Jewish sects, because he attempts to make of them Greek philosophical schools. His criticism however, is directed against Josephus' interpretation of the Pharisaic position, not that of the Sadducees. It may also be added that even Josephus' statement that the Pharisees hold that "to do right or not lies principally in man's power, but destiny also cooperates in every action"

of the paradox of free-will versus predestination by grasping both horns of the dilemma, as in Akiba's famous formulation: "Everything is foreseen and free will is given."⁷¹

What is striking about the Sadducean position is its acceptance of free-will *without modification*. Doctor Finkelstein has ably demonstrated how natural this position would be to the more fortunate groups in society.⁷² They were impelled to adopt this standpoint, not by the theological difficulty involved in justifying reward and punishment if men's actions are determined, but by the psychological need to validate their superior social and economic status. Poverty and riches are the result of man's own doing; their prosperity was due to their own ability and diligence. It was the doctrine which the Torah summarizes as: "My own power and the might of my hand have gotten me this wealth."⁷³ That the argument has considerable elements of truth is beside our present point. The Sadducees had the philosophy of "the self-made man."

The Wisdom writers reflect a proto-Sadduceeism in this as in so many other respects. Ben Sira insists on free-will:

Say not, 'from God is my transgression,' for what He hates, he did not make. (15.11)

Poured out before thee are fire and water,
Stretch out thy hand to what thou desirest. (15.16)

Though man has an evil nature (*yeṣer hara*) (37.3), he that keeps the Law, controls his "natural tendency" (21.11). The other Wisdom books do not react explicitly to the doctrine of free-will, though, as we have seen, their moral code is based upon this presupposition.

Another doctrine which becomes increasingly important in Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity, both of which represent

(*War*, II, viii, 14) is a fair restatement in Greek terms of the Rabbinic view that "A man is led (by God) in the way he wishes to go." (B. Makkot 10b), a position Moore himself illustrates by copious examples (*loc. cit.*).

⁷¹ Mishnah Abot 3.15. cf. C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (Cambridge, 1877), p. 73.

⁷² Cf. especially *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 250-4.

⁷³ Deut. 8.17.

the "plebeian" tradition, is the concept of Satan as an almost independent adversary of God.⁷⁴ Here too, Wisdom reflects the opposite tendency. It is true that in the Prologue to Job, Satan appears, but he is merely one, though the most distinctive, member of the heavenly court, entirely subservient to God's will. The use of the definite article with his name, *hassatan*, unlike the later use in I Chronicles 21.1 without the article, *satan*, indicates that in Job he is not yet a full-fledged personality. Even more significant is the fact that Satan appears only in the Prologue, which is a *Volksbuch*, slightly retouched, if at all, by the poet. In the Dialogue, which is original with the author, Satan is not even alluded to, though it would have been easy to refer the evil in the world to his agency.

In Proverbs and Koheleth, Satan is not specifically mentioned. Yet a passage like Ecc. 3.11 makes it not unlikely that Koheleth was familiar with the idea of evil existing independently of God in the world. This view he opposes by the theory that all things, whether or not they appear evil by human standards, have their proper place in the inscrutable scheme of things. This may be the intent of the difficult passage (3.11):

Everything He has made perfect in its time and has placed the world(?)⁷⁵ in man's heart, except that man may not discover the work that God has done from beginning to end.

The famous Catalogue of Seasons in 3.1 ff., "For everything there is a time and season" is perhaps also to be understood in this manner and so integrated into Koheleth's thought.

This theory of evil seems also to be echoed in Ben Sira (39.16):

The works of God are all good
And supply every need in its season.
None may say 'This is worse than that'
For everything availeth in its season.

The concept of Satan, however, continued to win acceptance,

⁷⁴ Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 280 f.; Leo Jung, *Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature*, (Phila., 1926).

⁷⁵ On the enigmatic *ha'olam*, see the commentaries.

as the passage in Chronicles proves. Ben Sira therefore feels it incumbent upon him to polemize openly against the doctrine:

When the fool curses his adversary (Satan)
he curses himself. (21.27)

Thus the Wisdom writers fought against all efforts to limit the play of free-will in human affairs.

Their attitude toward the Temple cult is likewise in keeping with the later Sadduceean viewpoint — a conviction of the need to maintain the accepted ritual, coupled with little fervor or enthusiasm for religious exercises. Koheleth declares:

Guard your foot, when you go to God's house, and be ready to listen; it is better than when fools give sacrifice, for they do not know how to do evil! Be not rash with your mouth and let not your heart be hasty to utter a word before God, for God is in heaven and you are on earth; therefore let your words be few. (Ecc. 4.17 f.; cf. 9.2)

In Proverbs, there are six references to sacrifices, one urging the payment of dues (3.9), a note struck by Koheleth as well (5.3 f.), three stressing the importance of righteousness above sacrifice (15.8; 21.3, 7) and two purely incidental (7.14; 17.1). A particularly interesting example of how ritual may become divorced from morality is afforded by 7.14, where the adulteress seeks to entice the youth by telling him that she has duly offered up her sacrifice and so has a supply of meat for the lovers' feast.

In Ben Sira, the Temple cult arouses a warmer emotion, perhaps as a reaction to the widespread assimilation in the upper classes due to Hellenistic influences. Righteous and unrighteous sacrifices are clearly differentiated (34.18–35.11). Essentially, however, it is the priestly caste that is glorified in Ben Sira, especially in the lengthy panegyric on Simon the High Priest (49.15–50.24) and it is the priestly dues that are defended (7.29–31; 38.11).

In the Prologue, Job offers sacrifices (1.5), but in his great Profession of Innocence (chap. 31), ritual plays no part, except for the avoidance of idolatry (vv. 26–8). Job, of course, is pictured as a non-Jew, so that in isolation this fact would not be significant. It is, however, worthy of notice, that in Proverbs and

Ben Sira, other elements of Jewish ritual, aside from the Temple sacrifices, such as the Sabbath, the Festivals and the dietary laws, are not urged upon the reader. This is not to infer that the Sages did not observe these rituals, only that they did not regard them as central to their outlook. Egyptian Wisdom likewise shows practically no interest in ritual and Babylonian scarcely more.⁷⁶ Especially significant, in view of the stress on family morality by the Wisdom writers, is their silence on the subject of intermarriage which was a burning issue in Second Temple days, as Nehemiah, Malachi, Ruth and the history of the Tobiades amply attest.⁷⁷

V.

The social ideas expressed in this literature illustrate the same social background even more clearly. The attitude toward woman is characteristic. For the authors of Proverbs, there are three types of women: the temptress (5.7 ff.; 6.24 ff.; 7.5 ff.; 23.27 f.), the quarrelsome wife (21.9, 19; 27.15) and finally, the ideal wife, or woman of valor (chap. 31). Yet even in the latter case, the relationship has little of the personal. Her husband praises her for her industry and farsightedness, but the emotion of love is noticeably lacking in the entire poem. It undoubtedly presents an idealized picture of the rich, emancipated women of the upper classes who managed large estates and engaged in overseas trade. In Ben Sira, woman is regarded exactly as in Proverbs. She may be an ever-present temptation (26.5 ff., 19 ff.) or a source of well-being to her husband (26.1-4), her principal virtues being beauty and silence (26.13-18). Finally, she may be a perpetual burden, when she is "wicked" (25.15-26; 26.5-12). Ben Sira, however, goes considerably further than any Biblical writer in making woman the cause of evil and death in the world:

From a woman did sin originate, and because of
her we must all die. (25.24)

⁷⁶ See the quotations and full discussion in Fichtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-40.

⁷⁷ Cf. Neh. 13.23 ff.; Ezra, Chap. 9 and 10; Mal. 2.11 ff. (which probably refers both to intermarriage and divorce, cf. vv. 14 f.); Ruth, *passim*. On the Tobiades, see note 6.

In Job, too, the wife is, in Augustine's phrase, the *diaboli adiutrix* and Cheyne pointed out long ago that among the plagues visited upon Job is the fact that his wife was *not* taken! In Koheleth, woman is regarded as a snare from which only those God favors can hope to escape. The right kind of man is hard enough to find; the right kind of woman does not exist (7.26-8). All the more striking is Koheleth's injunction to "enjoy life with a woman thou lovest" (9.9), the sole reference in Wisdom literature to a more personal relationship between the sexes, though, as has been noted, it is highly doubtful whether a wife is here referred to.

The sages teach the avoidance of debauchery because of the unhappy consequences of such conduct, particularly poverty and physical debility:

He that keeps company with harlots wastes his
substance. (Prov. 29.3b)

Be not a slave to thy passions, lest they
consume thy strength like a bull.

(B.S. 6.2)⁷⁸

One characteristic of Hebrew Wisdom, lacking in Oriental Wisdom generally, is the stress upon piety as a womanly virtue (Prov. 31.30; B.S. 26.23). The joy of a good wife is regarded as a blessing from the Lord.⁷⁹ But other religious and ethical considerations, such as mutual trust, love and respect for the personality of the loved one, or the sanctity of the marriage bond, are lacking, or, at least, remain unexpressed. For motives of this kind, the Biblical reader must turn elsewhere, to the tale of Jacob and Rachel in Genesis, the tragedy of Hosea and his faithless wife Gomer, the narrative of Ruth, the lyrics of the Song of Songs and Malachi's attack upon divorce as treachery to one's "comrade and the wife of one's covenant". (2.14 f.) Equally eloquent of the more personal relationship between the sexes in ancient Israel are certain incidental phrases, such as David's lament over Jonathan, whose love was "more wonderful than the love of women" (II Sam. 1.26) or Ezekiel's touching allusion to his wife as "the delight of his eyes" (24.16).

⁷⁸ Cf. Prov. 5.9 ff.; 31.3; B.S. 9.1.

⁷⁹ Prov. 5.18 ff.; 18.22; B. S. 13.21; 25.2; 26.1-4, 36.29 f.

Job emphasizes the negative and destructive manifestations.⁸¹ God moves the mountains, makes the earth tremble and shuts up the sun and stars that they give no light (9.5 ff.). Similarly in ch. 12, God destroys beyond rebuilding, and imprisons men so that they cannot escape. He withholds water to cause drought and pours it forth to cause inundations. Nations are exalted only to be destroyed (vv. 14, 15, 23).⁸² It is in this spirit that we must understand Job's description of how judges are made fools, the power of kings is broken, the priests are stripped naked, the mighty are overthrown, the elders robbed of understanding and the princes put to shame (vv. 16-21). For Job, and for the author, whose sympathies are obviously with Job throughout the book, the overthrow of the social and political order is a *calamity*, evidence of God's destructive power like the drought or the flood!

The Bible abounds in descriptions of God's power to transform conditions, so that the proud are abased and the humble exalted, but these are intended as paeans of praise:

Those who were full, have hired themselves out for bread,
And the hungry have ceased (to starve),
While the barren woman has borne seven,
And the mother of many has languished.
The Lord makes poor and makes rich,
He casts down and raises up. (I Sam. 2.5, 7)

He raises the poor from the dust,
And the needy from the dung-hill,
To seat him among the princes,
The princes of his people. (Psalms 113.7 f.)

⁸¹ This distinction is clearly recognized by Driver-Gray, *ICC on Job* (New York, 1921), pp. 85 f.

⁸² Failure to note this difference in attitude has led some scholars to delete considerable portions of ch. 12. Siegfried and Grill retain only vv. 1-3; Jastrow omits vv. 4c, 5 in part, 6c, 10, 12, 13, 17-19, 22, and 23. Volz transfers vv. 4-10, 13-25, 13.1 to Zophar in ch. 11. Budde argued strongly in favor of the authenticity of the passage a half-century ago. Today the authenticity of at least the latter half of ch. 12 (vv. 12-25) is increasingly recognized (Driver-Gray, Hölscher). On the entire chapter, cf. Gordis "Quotations in Wisdom Literature" in *JQR*, NS, Vol. XX, 1939, pp. 144 ff.

But Job's description has nothing in common with such pictures of social change. The salient difference lies in the fact that the psalmists who praise God's greatness, depict *both* aspects of the change, the fall of the mighty and the rise of the lowly. Similarly Eliphaz, who extols God's power:

So that He sets the lowly on high,
And those who mourn are exalted to safety. (5.11)

Job, however, includes only one-half of the picture, the decline of the powerful, because he is arraigning his Maker as a destructive force.

Nor is Job's attitude similar to that of the Prophets, who saw in the collapse of these elements of society condign punishment (Am. 6.1 ff.; 7.7 ff.; Isa. 3; Mic. 3, and elsewhere) or a necessary prelude to a reconstructed social order (Isa. 1.24-28; 5.8-17 and often). For the author of Job, as for all the Wisdom writers, a transformation of the social and political status quo is a catastrophe.

There will naturally be temperamental differences among men in the treatment of slaves and this is reflected in Wisdom. Thus Job takes pride in the fair treatment of his servants (31.13-15), while Ben Sira who demands considerate treatment of a good slave (7.20 f.), nevertheless urges that they be kept hard at work (B.S. 30.13-15). The ethical note in the treatment of slaves find no parallel in any other branch of Oriental Wisdom, except the Babylonian.⁸³ But the implicit recognition of the right of all men to be free from physical and economic bondage, which is basic to the Pentateuchal legislation and the Prophetic attitude, is completely lacking.⁸⁴

So, too, the conservative political ideas of Wisdom stand in the sharpest possible contrast with the rest of the Bible. Here we find no denunciation of monarchy as in Samuel, no attack upon the crimes of royalty, as in Nathan and Elijah, no arraignment of the political status quo as in Amos, Isaiah, Micah,

⁸³ Cf. Fichtner, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f.

⁸⁴ Cf. Ex. 21.5 f., 26 f.; Lev. 25.39 ff.; Deut. 15.12 ff., and especially Deut. 23.16 f.; Jer. 34.6 ff.; Neh. 5.1 ff.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel. On the contrary, the most conservative passage in the Bible, unparalleled elsewhere, occurs in Proverbs (24.21):

My son, fear the Lord and the king,
And do not become involved with those who seek change.

This naive identification of God and the political status quo is not for Koheleth. But even he counsels submission to authority:

I counsel thee: keep the king's command, and
that in regard to the oath of God
(pledging loyalty to him).

But he then adds an after-thought:

For the king's word is all-powerful, and who
can say to him, 'What are you doing?' (8.2, 4)

VI.

We may now restate the conclusion that emerges from our survey of Proverbs, Agur ben Yakeh, Ben Sira, Job and Koheleth. Their political and social view-points, like their religious and moral conceptions, reflect an upper-class orientation. There are important individual differences among the various products of the Wisdom schools, but underlying them all is the outlook which later crystallized as Sadduceeism. This explains the absence of some of the most characteristic insights of Biblical thought, such as the concept of God in history, the passion for justice in society, the union of national loyalty with the ideal of international peace, the recognition of freedom as an inalienable human right, the unceasing dissatisfaction with the world as it is, because of the vision of what it can be.

Yet the contributions of Wisdom literature to human thought are equally notable. Proverbs and Ben Sira are distinguished by an exalted yet workable morality, a sagacious understanding of human nature, and an unabashed interest in the happiness of the individual here and now. Job and Koheleth belong to the chosen masterpieces of the race, not only because of their superb literary form, but also because of their fearless use of reason in grappling

with the most fundamental issues, their unwillingness to pretend to certainty where none is to be had and their passionate quest for the truth at all costs.

It should be obvious that the recognition that Wisdom literature arises in a given social milieu does not detract from its inherent worth, for while it has its roots in one class, its fruits belong to mankind. On the abiding issues of life, no one is granted more than fleeting and partial glimpses of the truth, and every insight is therefore precious. When we recall that Pharisaic Judaism recognized the heterodox tendencies of Wisdom literature,⁸⁵ and fought energetically to eradicate the influence of

⁸⁵ On the canonization of the Wisdom books, see F. Buhl, *Canon and Text of the O. T.* (Edinburgh, 1892), pp. 3-32; H. E. Ryle, *Canon of the O. T.* 2nd ed. (London 1909); the suggestive treatments of Max L. Margolis, *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making* (Phila., 1922), pp. 83-96 and S. Zeitlin, "An Historical Study of the Canonization of Hebrew Scriptures" in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. III, 1932, pp. 121-58.

It is generally agreed that the Hebrew canon was fixed long before the historic session of the academy at Jamnia in 90 C. E. At these sessions (referred to in Talmudic literature as *bo bayom* "that very day"), the status of various Biblical books was discussed purely as an academic question, prior to the official ratification by the scholars of what was generally accepted (cf. Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27; Margolis, *op. cit.*, p. 88). Many of the sources cited below use the phrase *בקשו לומר*, which has sometimes been taken to mean "sought to declare uncanonical." S. Zeitlin has argued convincingly against this interpretation and made the plausible suggestion that the phrase means "sought to store away from public reading, so as not to be studied and interpreted in the academies," (*op. cit.*, pp. 124 ff.). The Talmudic phrase for "uncanonical" is *אינו מטמא את הידים* "does not defile the hands." At all events, these discussions, sometimes recorded in Amoraic sources, indicate an awareness of the heterodox and secular tendency of these books, as well as the objections felt against others, like Ezekiel and the Song of Songs.

Whether *Proverbs* should be "stored away" or not is discussed, because it contains "contradictions" *שדבריו סותרין זה את זה* (B. Shab. 30b) and consists merely of "sayings," which are not part of Scriptures *הכתובים ואינן מן הכתובים* (Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, Chap. 1).

Ben Sira is declared to be uncanonical *אינו מטמא את הידים*, because he wrote after the period of inspiration was over *מכאן ואילך* (Tos. Yadaim 2.13, ed. Zuckermann, p. 683; B. Sanh. 100b). Margolis, *op. cit.*, p. 94, adds that it could not be attributed to an earlier period. Besides, Ben Sira is indifferent to individual immortality (37.25).

Kohleth aroused many misgivings. It suffered from contradictions *שדבריו*

Sadduceeism from the national life, we must be eternally grateful to the Librarian of the Synagogue who included these works in the Biblical canon. For it is to his tolerance and catholicity of taste that we owe the preservation of these monuments of man's striving after the good life.

זה סותרין זה את זה (B. Shab. 30a, b). It consisted of mere "sayings" and was therefore not to be regarded as Scriptures (Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, ch. 1). It was the wisdom of Solomon and not Divine *שלמה של חכמתו* (Tos. Yadaim 2.14, ed. Zuckerman p. 683; Meg. 7a). The most fundamental objection is that it contains matters leading to heresy *מינות* לצד *המטים* (Midrash Koh. Rabbah 3.1). The controversy between the Hillelites and the Shammaites as to its canonicity *מטמא את הידים*, is recorded in the Mishnah in Eduyot 5.3 and Yadaim 3.5, the latter passage recording the decision in its favor.

Job, it is plausibly suggested by Margolis (p. 89), "seems likewise to have been scrutinized, for 'in that day', the question was discussed whether Job served God from motives of love or motives of fear." The Mishnic source is Sotah 5.5: . . . *אלא מאהבה* . . . *א"ר יהושע מי ינלה עפר מעיניך רבן יוחנן בן זכאי שהיית דורש כל ימך שלא עבד איוב את המקום . . . אלא מיראה* . . .

Thus all the works of Hebrew Wisdom were the subject of discussion before their position in the canon was officially recognized by the Pharisaic authorities in the first cent. C.E.

THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE APOCRYPHA AND THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

ABRAHAM CRONBACH, Hebrew Union College

WE RISK no departure from prevailing usage if we subsume under the caption "social," the following concepts appearing in the Apocrypha and in the Pseudepigrapha:

1. The advantages and the disadvantages, the flaws and the excellences, associated respectively with poverty and with wealth.
2. Benevolence.
3. Social Justice.
4. World Peace.
5. The Ideal Society.

By Apocrypha, we shall understand the following sixteen works listed here together with the abbreviations to be employed in the foot notes:

| NAME OF BOOK | ABBREVIATION |
|--|--------------|
| 1. I Esdras (III Ezra) ¹ | I Esd. |
| 2. II Esdras, Chapters 1, 2, 15, 16 | II Esd. |
| 3. I Maccabees | I Mac. |
| 4. II Maccabees | II Mac. |
| 5. III Maccabees | |
| 6. The Book of Tobit | Tob. |
| 7. The Book of Judith | Jud. |
| 8. The Book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus, Ben Sira) | Eccus. |

¹ Some editions include *II Esdras* in the Apocrypha, although chapters 3 to 14 of *II Esdras* are identical with chapters 3 to 14 of the pseudepigraphic *IV Ezra*. According to Box (Charles II, p. 543), our *II Esdras*, chapters 15 and 16, is sometimes called *V Esdras*. Our lists and order of apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books are those of R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913 — except that we include *II Esdras*, chapters 1, 2, 15, 16 and exclude *Pirke Abot* which Charles places among the Pseudepigrapha between *IV Maccabees* and *The Story of Ahikar*.

| NAME OF BOOK | ABBREVIATION |
|---|--------------|
| 9. The Wisdom of Solomon | Wisd. Sol. |
| 10. The Book of Baruch | Bar. |
| 11. Epistle of Jeremy | Ep. Jer. |
| 12. The Prayer of Manasses | |
| 13. The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Holy Children | |
| 14. The History of Susanna | |
| 15. Bel and the Dragon | |
| 16. The Additions to Esther | Ad. Est. |

The Pseudepigrapha shall comprise for us the following sixteen works listed together with their respective abbreviations to be used where abbreviations will be needed:

| NAME OF BOOK | ABBREVIATION |
|--|--------------|
| 1. The Book of Jubilees | Jub. |
| 2. The Letter of Aristeeas | Arist. |
| 3. The Books of Adam and Eve | |
| 4. The Martyrdom of Isaiah | |
| 5. I Enoch | I En. |
| 6. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs | |
| 7. The Sibylline Oracles | Sib. |
| 8. The Assumption of Moses | Assump. Mos. |
| 9. II Enoch (The Book of the Secrets of Enoch) | II En. |
| 10. II Baruch (The Syriac Apo- calypse of Baruch) | II Bar. |
| 11. III Baruch (The Greek Apo- calypse of Baruch) | |
| 12. IV Ezra ^a | |
| 13. The Psalms of Solomon | Ps. Sol. |
| 14. IV Maccabees | |
| 15. The Story of Ahiqar | Ahiq. |
| 16. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work | Zad. Frag. |

Entirely devoid of social material, in the sense here adopted, are the following from the Apocrypha: *The Song of the Three Holy Children*, *The History of Susanna*, *Bell and the Dragon*, *The*

^a The translation of *IV Ezra* by Box in Charles' *Pseudepigrapha* (II, 583) contains in chapter 7, verses 36-105, a passage "which is missing from most Latin codices and which was recovered by Bensly." We allude to this addendum, *infra*, note 6.

Prayer of Manasses, and *III Maccabees*. Writings among the Pseudepigrapha which contain no social material are: *The Books of Adam and Eve*, *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*; in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *The Testament of Reuben*, *The Testament of Levy*, *The Testament of Naphtali*; in *I Enoch*, the appendage known as the *Fragment of the Book of Noah*; *The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch*, *IV Ezra*, and *IV Maccabees*.

It is striking how frequently, in this literature, social material is lacking even from contexts where such might be expected. Among the tribulations resultant from the Fall of Man, the *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*³ might have mentioned but does not mention poverty and exploitation. A similar obliviousness marks *IV Ezra* in its enumeration of the miseries that are to herald the advent of the Messiah. Nor does *IV Ezra*⁴ include any reference — at least any unmistakable reference — to social enhancements among the glories of the Golden Age⁵ or of the Celestial Hereafter.⁶ In *The Book of Jubilees*, Abraham exhorting his sons and grandsons, expatiates upon idolatry and fornication but not at all upon help for the needy or rescue for the down-trodden.⁷ This holds likewise of the admonitions which, in the same book, Abraham addresses to his son, Isaac; the concern of these admonitions focuses almost exclusively upon ritual diet and upon burnt offerings.⁸ The same applies to the deathbed adjurations of Isaac himself.⁹ Contrasting with the Talmud and the *Yalkuṭ* and their arraignment of Sodom for uncharitableness and injustice, *The Wisdom of Solomon* indicts that city for nothing worse than some generalized departures from "wisdom."¹⁰ Nor is social iniquity among the sins of Sodom in *The Book of Jubilees*.¹¹ Ben Sira synthesizes the life of Elijah without a word

³ II Bar. 56.6.

⁴ IV Ez. 9.3-13, 5.1-7.

⁵ IV Ez. 6.21-29.

⁶ IV Ez. 7.91-98.

⁷ Jub. 20.1-9.

⁸ Jub. 21.1-26.

⁹ Jub. 36.6-9.

¹⁰ Wisd. Sol. 10.8. The Talmudic passages are in San. 109A (line 27)-109B (line 33). Similar depictions in *Yalkuṭ*, Gen. 83, 84.

¹¹ Jub. 16.5.

about the benevolence of the woman of Zarephath.¹² Unlike Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Zechariah with their excoriations of those who oppress the poor, the only sin by which *Judith*¹³ and *The Additions to Esther*¹⁴ can account for Israel's downfall is that of worshiping false gods. Social derelictions are also missing from the registries of sins contained in *The Fragments of a Zadokite Work*,¹⁵ in *The Book of Jubilees*,¹⁶ and in *The Psalms of Solomon*.¹⁷ The report in the biblical *Esther* about gifts to the necessitous in jubilation over the great deliverance¹⁸ is repeated neither in *The Additions to Esther*¹⁹ nor in *III Maccabees*.²⁰

This need not, of course, imply that the apocryphal and the pseudepigraphic authors flouted the social virtues. It may merely indicate that, by reason of their times, their milieu, and their special purposes, other problems dominated their attention.

ADVANTAGES AND DRAWBACKS OF WEALTH

Indeed, aside from the above-mentioned lacunae, this literature abounds in social material. Reflections on the subject of poverty and wealth are numerous. There occur, for example, reminders that wealth ensures advantages. When a rich man speaks, he may prate nonsense, yet everyone hearkens and applauds.²¹ Should trouble come upon him, many are at hand to tender him aid.²² This may be a particular in which wealth is auspiciously one of the "four things which can not be hidden."²³

¹² Eccus. 48.1-11.

¹³ Jud. 8.18, 19.

¹⁴ Ad. Est. 14.6, 7. (In Kautsch, 3.17, 18).

¹⁵ Zad. Frag. 9.15-19.

¹⁶ Jub. 1.10-14.

¹⁷ Ps. Sol. 8.9-13 (or 14).

¹⁸ Esth. 9.22.

¹⁹ Ad. Est. 16.22.

²⁰ III Mac. 6.35, 36. 7.16. The gradation of power contemplated in I Esdras 3.10-12 and 4.25-41 contrasts with that in Bab. Bat. 10A (lines 34-37) where the series reads: mountains, iron, fire, water, clouds, wind, the body, fear, wine, sleep, death, *charity*.

²¹ Eccus. 13.22, 23.

²² Eccus. 13.21, 22. Like Prov. 10.15, 14.20, 18.23, 19.4, Ecc. 9.6.

²³ Aḥik. 2.67, Arabic.

At the same time, wealth entails drawbacks. The vigilance it requires is wearing.²⁴ Its tenure is precarious,²⁵ all sumptuous acquisition turning ultimately "to Sheol."²⁶ Ever impending death²⁷ puts an end to possessions by putting an end to the possessor.²⁸ A poor man in good health is, by all means, more fortunate than a rich man "afflicted in his body,"²⁹ just as "poverty that gathers is better than wealth that scatters."³⁰

Inescapable, moreover, are the bearings of wealth upon the individual's morals. Riches benefit only if they be accompanied by sinlessness.³¹ While Aḥikar,³² reminding us of the talmudic Akiba and Judah Hanasi,³³ counsels that the rich be accorded honor, we are apprised elsewhere that the sinful rich are undeserving of honor³⁴ and that no wealthy person is blessed except the one who is "found without blemish and hath not gone after gold."³⁵ Ben Sira mentions, with a touch of disparagement, the person who waxes affluent "by his wariness and pinching."³⁶ "A rich man dead in sins" compares unfavorably with "a poor man who does right."³⁷ Hateful, according to Ecclesiasticus, is the rich person steeped in mendacity,³⁸ and unseemly the rich person ridden by stinginess and envy.³⁹ Elsewhere, this same

²⁴ Eccus. 31.1, 3. In Kautsch, 34.1, 3. E. Kautsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tuebingen, 1900.

²⁵ Eccus. 18.25. Like Job 27.16.

²⁶ II Bar. 83.17. This ephemeral wealth is contrasted, however, with the abiding riches of the Messianic Age.

²⁷ Bar. 3.17-19.

²⁸ Eccus. 11.19. Like Luke, 12.16-21.

²⁹ Eccus. 30.14.

³⁰ Aḥik. Syriac, A, 2.51.

³¹ Eccus. 30.14.

³² Aḥik. Syriac A, 2.64, 80.

³³ Erub. 86A (line 5).

³⁴ Eccus. 10.23.

³⁵ Eccus. 31.8. Kautsch interprets the passage to mean that the pursuit of gold renders sin inevitable.

³⁶ Eccus. 11.18.

³⁷ Aḥik. Arabic, 2.52.

³⁸ Eccus. 25.2. We are reminded of the 'Ashir Mekahhesh in Pes. 113B (line 31).

³⁹ Eccus. 14.3

book contemplates the opulent individual who compounds his badness with subsequent abusiveness⁴⁰ and the man who, having emerged from the poverty that kept him from sinning, flings scruples to the wind.⁴¹ Another passage speaks of well-to-do gluttons and gourmands.⁴²

And as wealth can be gotten through sin, so can it lead to sin.⁴³ *The Testament of Judah*⁴⁴ and *The Psalms of Solomon*⁴⁵ contend that the upshot of wealth can be idolatry.

Nor is it to be overlooked that, if one deals with the rich, one risks injury.⁴⁶ It is wise to avoid the rich.⁴⁷ The wealthy man uses one for his own profit, and otherwise ignores and exploits one⁴⁸ and throws his weight in the scale against one.⁴⁹ Conflict with a wealthy person is perilous, because wealthy eyes are never filled—until they are filled with dust.⁵⁰ Later, Ben Sira dilates upon the wealthy person's treachery and callousness.⁵¹ The recurring exclamations of woe to the wealthy⁵² resemble similar oburgations in the Old and New Testaments.⁵³

At certain points, the rich and poor are contrasted, with the advantage sometimes on the side of the former⁵⁴ and sometimes attending the latter.⁵⁵ The rich and poor, according to Ben Sira, have no more in common than the pot of clay and the kettle of iron,⁵⁶ and are no more in accord than the dog, on the one hand,

⁴⁰ Eccus. 13.3.

⁴¹ Eccus. 20.21.

⁴² Assump. Mos. 7.5, 6.

⁴³ Ps. Sol. 5.18.

⁴⁴ Testament of Judah, 19.1.

⁴⁵ Ps. Sol. 1.4.

⁴⁶ Eccus. 13.13.

⁴⁷ Eccus. 13.2, reminding us of *Abot* 1.10 and 2.3.

⁴⁸ Eccus. 13.4, 5. Cf. *Abot* 2, 3.

⁴⁹ Eccus. 8, 2.

⁵⁰ Eccus. 8.2. *Aḥik.* 2, 81.

⁵¹ Eccus. 13.6–13.

⁵² I En. 94, 8, 9; 96.4–6, 8; 97.8; 99.12, 13, 15.

⁵³ Isa. 5.8; Jer. 22.13; Ezek. 34.2; Amos, 5.11; 6.1; 8.4 ff., Hab. 2.6; Mat. 6.19; Luke, 6.24, 25; 18.25.

⁵⁴ Eccus. 13.21–23.

⁵⁵ Eccus. 30.14, *Aḥik.* Syr, A, 2.51, 52.

⁵⁶ Eccus. 13.2.

and on the other hand, the hyena which lures the dog to his destruction.⁵⁷ The well-to-do disdain the poor as surely as pride abhors humility.⁵⁸ At the same time, there exist, between rich and poor, certain aspects of equality. Rich and poor figure equally among the "four things that can not be hid."⁵⁹ Both effect a like entrance into the world and both undergo a like exit.⁶⁰ All men, of course, count as equal before God, Maker of small and great, Who embraces all in His care.⁶¹ Certainly equal are the rich and the poor whose fear of the Lord brings them an identical measure of glory.⁶² Poor and rich are also equal as to the satisfaction conferred by a good wife.⁶³ Finally, between the two strata, one perceives a constant interflow: the poor become rich and the rich poor;⁶⁴ rulers change rank with subjects.⁶⁵ Wisdom procures for the poor this happy transformation.⁶⁶

THE WOES OF THE POOR

We handle material that is more commonly called "social" when we notice the multitude of the poor person's troubles. Not even endives and gall did Aḥikar find more bitter than poverty.⁶⁷ As for debt, closely associated with poverty, loads of salt and loads of lead do not weigh more heavily.⁶⁸ The life of the poor is "the curse of the heart."⁶⁹ To dependency or beggary, death is

⁵⁷ Eccus. 13.5.

⁵⁸ Eccus. 13.20.

⁵⁹ Aḥik. 2.67.

⁶⁰ Wisd. Sol. 7.6.

⁶¹ Wisd. Sol. 6.7.

⁶² Eccus. 10.22.

⁶³ Eccus. 26.4.

⁶⁴ Aḥik. 2.35; Test. Judah, 21.6; 25.4. Test. Judah 25.4, however, refers to the resurrection. We are reminded of the interpretation of Prov. 29.13 in Lev. Rab. 34.4; also of the *Galgai Hahozet Ba'olam* in Lev. Rab. 34.3, 10, Ex. Rab. 31.14, and Sab. 151B (line 38) using Deut. 15.10.

⁶⁵ Eccus. 11.6, II Bar. 70.3, 4.

⁶⁶ Eccus. 11.1. Like Ber. 48A (lines 20, 21) where Simeon b. Shetah says to King Alexander Jannai: "It is the Torah that honoreth me, not thou."

⁶⁷ Aḥik. 2.40, 69.

⁶⁸ Aḥik. 2.69.

⁶⁹ Eccus. 38.19.

preferable.⁷⁰ The poor person dare not so much as relax. "If he rest, he becometh needy."⁷¹

The poor is despised by his acquaintances.⁷² If he stumble, his associates only hasten his overthrow.⁷³ Like Prov. 14.20 and 19.4, 7, Ben Sira draws the contrast between the rich buttressed by his friends and the poor deserted by his friends.⁷⁴ While a rich person's words, even if nonsensical, win admiration, the poor person's remarks provoke scorn.⁷⁵ To one beset by poverty, people simply do not listen.⁷⁶ If a poor person presumes to speak, the bystanders sneer, "What fellow is this?"⁷⁷

Poverty aggravates such dishonor as a person may already be suffering.⁷⁸ If a poor man proffers an excuse, who grants it any validity?⁷⁹ A poor man can not, like a rich man, come through a mistake unrebuked.⁸⁰ While a rich person may, with impunity, grow abusive, even after he has committed wrong, a poor person must deport himself apologetically even if he has suffered wrong.⁸¹ All things considered, a poor person "is nothing worth."⁸² Aḥiḳar admonishes his foster son to conceal his poverty, should such come upon him;⁸³ although a few sentences previously, this same Aḥiḳar observes that rich and poor are among the four things which "can not be hid."⁸⁴ Some of these commiserations of poverty reappear in the Talmud.⁸⁵

⁷⁰ Eccus. 40.28-30; 41.2; Aḥiḳ. 26.10. Compare Bez. 32B (lines 18, 19, 21, 22), "Dark is the world for him who looketh to the table of others." He is one of those "whose life is no life." In Ned. 64B (lines 17, 18) and 'Ab. Zarah 5A (line 42), the poor person is among those rated as dead.

⁷¹ Eccus. 31.4 (34.4). See *infra*, note 110.

⁷² Aḥiḳ. 2.70. Like Prov. 19.4, 7.

⁷³ Eccus. 13.23.

⁷⁴ Eccus. 12.9; 13.21, 22.

⁷⁵ Eccus. 13.22, 23. Like Eccl. 9.15, 16.

⁷⁶ Aḥiḳ. 2.70.

⁷⁷ Eccus. 13.22, 23.

⁷⁸ Eccus. 10.31. Box and Oesterley explain the passage to mean that wisdom enhances the honor of wealth, while folly increases the reproach of poverty.

⁷⁹ Eccus. 13.22.

⁸⁰ Eccus. 13.22.

⁸¹ Eccus. 13.3.

⁸² Wisd. Sol. 2.11

⁸³ Aḥiḳ. Armenian, 2.70.

⁸⁴ Aḥiḳ. Arab. 2.67.

⁸⁵ Ben Sira is mentioned for his commiserations of poverty in B. B. 146A (line 4), Sanh. 100B (line 40), Ket. 110B (line 13). Box and Oesterley in

The qualifications of these drawbacks are meager. One writer deems poverty evil only "in the mouth of the ungodly";⁸⁶ that is, as Ryssel interprets, the pious person finds poverty fraught with blessings in disguise. Elsewhere, that poor man is pronounced blessed who is free of envy, on the grounds that such a person is immune to "the travail of the vain."⁸⁷

The tendency to laud the poor and to disparage the rich characterizes the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha as it does the Old and the New Testaments. Animadversions to poor people's shortcomings are rare. An instance of such may be the observation that "begging is sweet in the mouth of the shameless,"⁸⁸ or the reproach that may conceivably tincture the admonition: "Let not thine hand be stretched out to receive and shut when it should pay."⁸⁹ Just as Prov. 28.3 looks askance at the poor man who oppresses, so does Ben Sira condemn the poor person who behaves haughtily.⁹⁰ The exhortation, "Distrust not the fear of the Lord when thou art poor"⁹¹ implies, at least, that the piety of the poor may sometimes show exceptions.

Otherwise this literature prefers to discern in the poor only that which commands admiration. As in Zech. 11.11, so in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, the poor of the flock are the ones

Charles, I, p. 464, report that the passage appears only as a marginal note in one of the Hebrew texts at Eccus. 40.22-26. The Hebrew of the insertion is supplied in Strack's *Die Sprueche Jesus; des Sohnes Sirachs*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 36, note λ. Other commiserations of poverty are to be found in Ex. Rab. 31.14 end, Lev. Rab. 34.6, Ber. 6B (line 32), Sab. 151B (lines 35, 36), Bez. 32B (line 19), Ned. 64B (line 18). See also Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Series III, p. 261, and *The Me'il Zedakah*, HUCA, 1936 (XI), 519, 520. Biblical commiserations of poverty are in Prov. 10.15, 14.20, 15.15, 19.4, 7, Eccl. 9.15, 16, Job 24.10-12.

■ Eccus. 13.24.

⁸⁷ Test. Gad, 7.6.

⁸⁸ Eccus. 40.30.

⁸⁹ Eccus. 4.31. Acts 20.35 cited by Box and Oesterley refers not to loans but to alms.

⁹⁰ Eccus. 25.21. Instead of גבר רש in Prov. 28.3, LXX reads: Ἀνδρεῖος ἐν ἀσβελαῖς, that is, גבר רשע. Among the four types in Pes. 113B (line 21) which the mind can not tolerate, is the poor man who is haughty.

⁹¹ Eccus. 1.28.

that who heed the Lord.⁹² In *Ecclesiasticus*, as in Prov. 28.11, Eccl. 4.13, 9.14, 15, a poor man can display understanding and win honor for his skill.⁹³ We have already noted how the wisdom of the poor can lift them out of their penury and obscurity.⁹⁴ By its very nature, poverty can deter one from sin.⁹⁵

The poor person is, accordingly, the recipient of the Divine favor. If he is free of envy, "he pleaseth the Lord in all things."⁹⁶ Though the nation rather than an individual may be meant when *The Psalms of Solomon* voice assurance of the Divine attention to the poor one's prayer,⁹⁷ there can be no question that individuals are denoted when *Ecclesiasticus* anticipates the Divine response to the supplications of the fatherless and the widow.⁹⁸ God comprehends the bitterness of the poor person's soul⁹⁹ and hears his complaint. "The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds"¹⁰⁰ or, as the Syriac version of *Ecclesiasticus* phrases it, "bends down the clouds." In God, the comfort of the lowly,¹⁰¹ the poor have a refuge,¹⁰² a help,¹⁰³ a gladdening of the soul.¹⁰⁴

⁹² Zad. Frag. 9.10. With regard to Eccus. 13.18, Box and Oesterley hold that, in this context, "rich" is synonymous with "ungodly" and "poor" with "pious."

⁹³ Eccus. 10.30.31. Ryssel translates ἐπιστήμην in Eccus. 10.30 with the word "Einsicht."

⁹⁴ Eccus. 11.1. This is quoted *a propos* Prov. 4.8 in Ber. 48A (lines 20, 21). See our note 66.

⁹⁵ Eccus. 20.21.

⁹⁶ Test. Gad. 7.6.

⁹⁷ In this literature, as in the Bible, "poor" is a term often sympathetically applied to Israel as a nation (S. R. Driver, article, "Poor" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, 20. Also article, "Poor" in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 1902, Vol. III, column 3810 which illustrates the national or group implications of the term by reference to Ps. 35.10; 40.18; 72.13; 74.21; 109.16 etc.). Such is the usage in Ps. Sol. 18.1, 3, "Thy goodness is over Israel . . . Thine ears listen to the hopeful prayer of the poor." Similar usage appears in Ps. Sol. 5.2, 13; 10.7; 15.2. Identical is the import of humble, ταπεινοῦ in Ps. Sol. 5.14 (12), or weak ἀσθενούντων in Jud. 9.11, or of *mansuetos* in IV Ez 11.42.

⁹⁸ Eccus. 35.14 (32.17 in some texts, 35.17 in some texts). Individuals are meant also in Eccus. 35.13 (32.16).

⁹⁹ Eccus. 4.6; 35.16 (32.20).

¹⁰⁰ Eccus. 35.17. Syriac version 32.20.

¹⁰¹ IV Ez. 14.13.

¹⁰² Ps. Sol. 5.2, 15.2.

¹⁰³ Ps. Sol. 5.13 (11).

¹⁰⁴ Ps. Sol. 5.14.

When the Messiah arrives, many will be consigned to the sword, but "the poor of the flock shall escape."¹⁰⁵ God, when judging the indigent, forbears to judge adversely.¹⁰⁶ Unto the meek are revealed the mysteries Divine.¹⁰⁷

For his poverty, the poor person bears no blame, the decisive factor here being the heavenly predetermination.¹⁰⁸ It is often reiterated that poverty and wealth alike come from God.¹⁰⁹ Toil can be utterly ineffective. "There is that laboreth and taketh pains and maketh haste and is so much the more behind"¹¹⁰ while, on the other hand, thanks to the Divine favor, even the slow and incapable can rise to competency.¹¹¹ The thought is closely akin to that of Ps. 127.2, Prov. 10.22, and Mat. 6.28. The divergent view that industry, thrift, and sobriety play a role in one's economic fortunes comes to expression only where the *Testament of Issachar*,¹¹² emulating Gen. 49.15, counsels the diligent pursuit of agriculture or where Ben Sira, in the spirit of the Book of Proverbs, stresses the need of preparing for a rainy day,¹¹³ or where Ben Sira ventures the reminder that a worker

¹⁰⁵ Zad. Frag. B. Text 9.10.

¹⁰⁶ Eccus. 35.13 (32.13). This is not the reading in the Genizah fragment. Box and Oesterley translate οὐ λήψεται πρόσωπον ἐπὶ πτωχοῦ, "He will not show partiality against a poor man." Ryssel in the Kautsch edition renders it in 32.16: "Nicht kennt er Ansehen der Person zu Ungunsten des Armen." This is not the idea of Ex. 23.3 and Lev. 19.15.

¹⁰⁷ Eccus. 3.19 (20). Some commentators are reminded of the Divine grace imparted to the humble according to Prov. 3.34; I Peter 5.5. See also the use of סור in Ps. 25.11 and Prov. 3.32.

¹⁰⁸ Material on later Jewish formulations of economic predetermination is noted in HUCA, 1936 (XI), 565, 566.

¹⁰⁹ Eccus. 11.14, 17. Aḥik. Armenian, 2.35.

¹¹⁰ Eccus. 31.4 (34.4). The translation in the popular edition, "When he leaveth off, he is still needy," as if to convey that the poor man's efforts are fruitless is justified neither by the Greek, ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύσει ἐπεδεῆς γίνεταί nor by the Hebrew וַאֲם ינוח יהיה צריך. Ryssel, in the Kautsch edition, renders it: "Wenn er ausruht wird er duerftig[er als zuvor]," although Ryssel, at this point, refers to Eccus. 11.11 which does assert that toil is futile.

¹¹¹ Eccus. 11.12, 13.

¹¹² Test. Issach. 5.3.

¹¹³ Eccus. 18.25, like Prov. 6.6-11; 10.4, 5; 21.7; 23.20, 21; 24.30-34; 28.19; Eccl. 10.18. An exhortation to thrift is found in Eccus. 18.25 by Ryssel who, in the Kautsch edition, translates it: "Sei auch fuersorglich fuer die Zukunft,

addicted to drink does not acquire wealth or that one who contemns little things will, little by little, fail.¹¹⁴

Like the Talmud,¹¹⁵ this literature ardently commends efforts to remain independent. The warning is issued that "the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from the shoulder,"¹¹⁶ and a similar fate impends "for the hand which does not labor and plow."¹¹⁷ Ben Sira pronounces it better to die than to beg,¹¹⁸ and dilates upon the humiliations which that person suffers who lives on other people's hospitality¹¹⁹ — a view like that of Bez. 32B (line 21) and Ned. 64B (line 18): "The life of him who dependeth upon another man's table is not to be accounted as life." "Better is the life of a poor man in a mean cottage than delicate fare in another man's house."¹²⁰ "It is better to die and leave one's estate to enemies than to live and be dependent on friends."¹²¹ Aḥiḳar sponsors a similar sentiment in the assertion that small means of one's own are a better recourse than the abundance of others.¹²² One should help one's impoverished neighbor but should, while doing so, take precaution against falling into poverty one's self.¹²³ After her husband was stricken with blindness, the wife of Tobit worked for wages.¹²⁴

Meanwhile, the several occupations are variously appraised.

wenn es dir gut geht; denn die Zeit kann sich aendern und dich rasch arm machen." Such is also the import in W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Wisdom of Jesus, the Son of Sirach*, Cambridge, 1912. Otherwise is the rendering of Box and Oesterley in the Charles edition and of Smend who regards it as "Warnung vor dem ploetzlichen eintretenden Gericht" (*Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach* von Rudolf Smend, Berlin, 1906).

¹¹⁴ Eccus. 19.1.

¹¹⁵ Peah VIII, 9, Ab. R. Nath. III, 1. Tos. Peah IV, 14, Ber. 8A (line 43), Sab. 118A (line 15), Pes. 113A (line 20), B. B. 110A (line 20), San. 81A (line 35). See *The Me'il Zedakah*, HUCA, 1939 (XIV), 538.

¹¹⁶ Aḥiḳ. Syr. 8.20.

¹¹⁷ Aḥiḳ. Arab. 8.18.

¹¹⁸ Eccus. 40.28.

¹¹⁹ Eccus. 29.22-28.

¹²⁰ Eccus. 29.22.

¹²¹ Aḥiḳ. Greek, 26.10.

¹²² Aḥiḳ. 2.52, 53.

¹²³ Eccus. 29.20.

¹²⁴ Tob. 2.11, 12.

Agriculture, we have seen, is commended.¹²⁵ As in Isa. 28.26, the cultivation of the soil is vested with a Divine origin.¹²⁶ Regret is voiced over the decline of agriculture due to shifts of population from the country to the city.¹²⁷ At the same time, approbrium attaches to occupations such as that of plowman, carpenter, smith, and potter which are presumed to obstruct the acquisition of wisdom. Regarding the plowman, the text in *Ecclesiasticus* observes sarcastically that "his lance is the ox goad" and that his "converse is with young steers."¹²⁸ Even lower does Ben Sira rank the merchant and the huckster — occupations, he alleges, which make wrongdoing inevitable.¹²⁹ We recall the list of stigmatized occupations in Kid. 82A-82B. That work will cease to be irksome is one of the expectations linked with the age of the Messiah when "the works shall of themselves speedily advance," without any human intervention.¹³⁰

BENEVOLENCE

As in the Talmud, the social note most resonant here is that of almsgiving. For the Apocrypha, the use of *Zedakah* in the sense of "alms" is already established.¹³¹ Ben Sira preaches with many a turn of phrase: "Neglect not to give alms,"¹³² "Withhold not a gift from the poor,"¹³³ "Despise not the supplication of the

¹²⁵ Test. Issach. 5.3; 8.18.

¹²⁶ Eccus. 7.15.

¹²⁷ Arist. 108-111.

¹²⁸ Eccus 38.24-39.11. On stigmatized callings, see *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, article, "Labor," VI, 500, second column.

¹²⁹ Eccus. 26.29.

¹³⁰ II Bar. 74.1.

¹³¹ The Genizah citations in the table on pp. 132, 133 are from Hermann L. Strack, *Die Sprueche Jesus', des Sohnes Sirachs*, Leipzig, 1903. Tob. 12.8 and 14.11 put ἐλεημοσύνη and δικαιοσύνη in close juxtaposition but do not completely identify them. In Mat. 6.1, δικαιοσύνην is identical with the ἐλεημοσύνην in 6.3. The only biblical instance of צדקה in the sense of alms occurs in Dan. 4.24, a very late passage.

¹³² Eccus. 7.10. Box and Oesterley translate: "In righteousness be not behindhand."

¹³³ Eccus. 4.3.

צדקה, translated δικαιοσύνη, later translated ελεημοσύνη

| Old Testament | Septuagint | Apocrypha | Genizah |
|----------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|
| Prov. 10.2. צדקה חציל ממו | Prov. 10.2. Δικαιοσύνη δὲ ῥύσεται ἐκ θανάτου | Tob. 4.10. ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται Tob. 12.9. Ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ ἐκ θανά- του ῥύεται Tob. 14.11. ἴδετε τί ἐλε- ημοσύνη ποιεῖ καὶ δικαιοσύνη ῥύεται | |
| Prov. 11.4. וצדקה חציל ממו | Prov. 11.4. Δικαιοσύνη ἀμώμους ὀρθοτομεῖ ὁδούς | | |
| Prov. 16.8. טוב מעט בצדקה | Not in LXX | Tob. 12.8. Ἀγαθὸν προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύ- νης Eccus. 3.14. Ἐλεημοσύνη γὰρ πατὴρς | Eccus. 3.14. צדקה אב |

| Old Testament | Septuagint | Apocrypha | Genizah |
|--|--|---|--|
| Dan. 4.24. והשיך בצדקה פרק ועויתך במחן ענין | Dan. 4.24. καὶ τὰς ἀμαρ- τίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν οἰκτιρμοῖς πενήτων | Eccus. 3.30. ἐλεημοσύνη ἐξιλιάσεται ἀμαρτίας Eccus. 7.10. ἐλεημοσύνην ποιῆσαι μὴ παρίδῃς Eccus. 12.3. τῷ ἐλεημοσύ- νην μὴ χαρίζομένῳ | Eccus. 3.30. כּן צדקה כּכפר חטאת Eccus. 7.10. ובצדקה אל תתעבר Eccus. 12.3. וגם צדקה לא עשה |
| Ps. 112.9. צדקחו עומדת לעד | Ps. 112.9. ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτοῦ μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος | Eccus. 40.17. ἐλεημοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διαμένει | Eccus. 40.17. וצדקה לעד תכון |

poor,"¹³⁴ "Turn not away from the afflicted soul,"¹³⁵ "From him that asketh turn not thine eyes away,"¹³⁶ "According to his need send him not away empty,"¹³⁷ "Make not the needy eyes to wait long."¹³⁸ Similar utterances affirmatively worded are: "Stretch thy hand to the poor,"¹³⁹ "Incline thine ear to the

¹³⁴ Eccus. 4.4.

¹³⁵ Eccus. 4.4. Tob. 4.7.

¹³⁶ Eccus. 4.5.

¹³⁷ Eccus. 29.9.

¹³⁸ Eccus. 4.1.

¹³⁹ Eccus. 7.32. II En. 51.1.

poor,"¹⁴⁰ "Give to the poor,"¹⁴¹ "Give alms of thy substance,"¹⁴² "Strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy and the stranger,"¹⁴³ "Have compassion on the poor and weak,"¹⁴⁴ "Show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men,"¹⁴⁵ "Show thyself merciful,"¹⁴⁶ "Better to give alms than to lay up gold,"¹⁴⁷ "Hide not your gold and silver in the earth,"¹⁴⁸ "Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and let it not rust under a stone and be lost."¹⁴⁹ Gold and silver are to be spent for the sake of one's fellowman also according to *II Enoch*.¹⁵⁰ Yes, he who raises the fallen is blessed.¹⁵¹ *The Testament of Benjamin*, 4.1, contrues mercy on the poor and compassion on the weak as cardinal excellences, corresponding to which Ben Sira holds that "Mercy is seasonable in the time of affliction as clouds of rain in a time of drought."¹⁵²

Giving is to be much or little in proportion to one's means,¹⁵³ nor should one be "afraid to give according to that little."¹⁵⁴ *The Fragments of a Zadokite Work* detail an arrangement by which two days' wages a month are to be allotted to the relief of the necessitous.¹⁵⁵ Tobit mentions with enthusiasm the allo-

¹⁴⁰ Eccus. 4.8.

¹⁴¹ II Esdr. 2.20.

¹⁴² Tob. 4.7, 16.

¹⁴³ Zad. Frag. 8.17.

¹⁴⁴ Test. Issach. 5.2.

¹⁴⁵ Test. Zeb. 7.2.

¹⁴⁶ Tob. 14.9. The versions of Tob. 14.9 vary considerably.

¹⁴⁷ Tob. 12.8.

¹⁴⁸ II En. 51.2.

¹⁴⁹ Eccus. 29.10.

¹⁵⁰ II En. 50.5.

¹⁵¹ II En. 44.5, 52.7.

¹⁵² Eccus. 35.20. Box and Oesterley translate: "Beauteous is His favor in a time of stress as a raincloud in a season of drought." In the Hebrew, the location is 35.26 where the text, as restored by N. Peters, reads: מִה נִאוּה חֶסֶד בְּיוֹמֵן. The Greek of 35.20 reads: ὥραϊον ἔλεος ἐν χαιρῷ θλίψεως αὐτοῦ. These readings sustain the reference to human well-doing in divergence from other readings which make the passage refer to the mercy of the Divine.

¹⁵³ Eccus. 14.13; 29.20; II En. 51.1, B Text.

¹⁵⁴ Tob. 4.8.

¹⁵⁵ Zad. Frag. 18.1-10.

cation of the third tithe ordained in Deut. 14.28.¹⁵⁶ *The Sibylline Oracles* admire that paragon race, the Jews, among whom the wealthy send portions of their harvest to the destitute.¹⁵⁷

Celebrated as an exemplar of almsgiving is Tobit both before his affliction and after his restoration.¹⁵⁸ For his surpassing philanthropy, King Ptolemy is lauded in *The Letter of Aristeas*;¹⁵⁹ and the strengthening of "all of his people who were brought low" is imputed as a merit unto Simon the Maccabee.¹⁶⁰ Zebulun, of an earlier age, would compassionately share his catch of fish with every stranger.¹⁶¹ He would even pilfer garments from his father's house in order to attire the shabby;¹⁶² while *The Sibylline Oracles* report how the "race of most righteous men," originating in Ur of the Chaldees, was ever prepared to supply widows and other necessitous persons with corn, wine, and oil.¹⁶³ We have already noted the adoration of this book for that Jewish custom.¹⁶⁴

Ben Sira frequently adverts to the conviction that benevolence fulfils a Divine command.¹⁶⁵ Benevolence is precious unto God as His signet ring. It is Divinely cherished as the apple of His eye.¹⁶⁶

That there was occasion to condemn remissness in this regard appears from *The Book of Baruch* where *The Letter of Jeremy* reproves the niggardliness of the Babylonians,¹⁶⁷ just as the Talmud, in a later century, rebukes the uncharitableness of the wealthy Babylonian Jews.¹⁶⁸ Aḥikar believes that the uncharitable are likely to be poor persons who had once been wealthy or wealthy persons who had once been poor.¹⁶⁹ Ryssel's

¹⁵⁶ Tob. 1.8.

¹⁵⁷ Sib. III, 244.

¹⁵⁸ Tob. 1.3, 16, 17; 14.2.

¹⁵⁹ Arist. 290.

¹⁶⁰ I Mac. 14.14.

¹⁶¹ Test. Zeb. 6.4, 5.

¹⁶² Test. Zeb. 7.1.

¹⁶³ Sib. III, 243.

¹⁶⁴ *Supra*, note 157.

¹⁶⁵ Eccus. 29.1, 9.

¹⁶⁶ Eccus. 17.22.

¹⁶⁷ Bar. 6.28.

¹⁶⁸ Bez. 32B (line 11).

¹⁶⁹ Aḥik. 2.71.

rendering of *Ecclesiasticus* 18.15 — "Do not deter him who does good to another and do not look askance at him who gives"—reminds us of the Rabbinic caricature of Sodom as the realm in which deeds of helpfulness were penalized.¹⁷⁰

As in Esth. 9.19 and Nehem. 8.10, benevolence can be prompted by festive occasions. *I Esdras* 9.51, 54 essentially repeats Nehem. 8.10, 12.¹⁷¹

The specific objects of benevolence are: the widow,¹⁷² the fatherless,¹⁷³ the stranger,¹⁷⁴ the homeless,¹⁷⁵ the captive,¹⁷⁶ the aged,¹⁷⁷ and the young woman in need of a dowry.¹⁷⁸ Money for widows and the fatherless is reported to have been deposited for safekeeping in the Temple at Jerusalem.¹⁷⁹ That they "can show no mercy to the widow, nor do good to the fatherless" is among the defects ascribed to the gods of the heathen.¹⁸⁰

Benevolence also ramifies into various types. Some are designated by such phrases as "bread to the hungry,"¹⁸¹ "bread to the poor,"¹⁸² "a loaf for the hungry,"¹⁸³ "filling the hungry,"¹⁸⁴ as well as "clothing the naked,"¹⁸⁵ "clothes for the naked,"¹⁸⁶ "garments for the naked,"¹⁸⁷ "covering the naked."¹⁸⁸

¹⁷⁰ See note 10, and *The Me'il Zedakah*, HUCA, 1937-8 (XII-XIII), 668 citing paragraphs 1321 and 1591 of the *Me'il Zedakah*.

¹⁷¹ For exceptions, *supra* p. 122. Attahartes in *I Esdr.* 9.49 is the same as Thirshatha in Neh. 8.9.

¹⁷² Sib. III, 242; II Mac. 3.10; Bar. 6.38; Eccus. 4.10.

¹⁷³ II Mac. 3.10; Bar. 6.38; Eccus. 4.10. Old and New Testament parallels are: Deut. 24.17-21; Isa. 1.17; Job 29.12, 13; 31.16, 17; James 1.27.

¹⁷⁴ Zad. Frag. 8.17.

¹⁷⁵ Zad. Frag. 18.4.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* See note 308.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ II Mac. 3.10.

¹⁸⁰ Bar. 6.38 (or Ep. Jer. v. 38). This may be an allusion to Isa. 9.16.

¹⁸¹ Tob. 4.16; II En. 9.1; 42.9; 63.1 (B Text). Biblical parallels are: Isa. 58.7 and Ezek. 18.7.

¹⁸² Test. Issach. 7.5.

¹⁸³ Aḥik. 8.15.

¹⁸⁴ II En. 63.1 (A Text).

¹⁸⁵ II Esdr. 2.20; II En. 42.8; 63.1 (A Text).

¹⁸⁶ Tob. 1.17.

¹⁸⁷ Tob. 4.16.

¹⁸⁸ II En. 9.1, 63.1 (A Text).

Another species of benevolence is that of lending.¹⁸⁹ Such lending, suggestive of Ps. 37.26, characterizes the merciful.¹⁹⁰ Conversely, there exists the obligation to repay.¹⁹¹ Ben Sira views such loans as *bona fide* and not, in the spirit of Deut. 15.8, 9, 10, as gifts in disguise.¹⁹² Reminding us of Ps. 37.21a, something is said about the difficulties encountered by the creditor when he attempts to recover his money.¹⁹³ The borrower's eagerness to borrow contrasts markedly with his reluctance to pay back.¹⁹⁴ Repayment is sometimes accompanied by contempt and irritation.¹⁹⁵ Possible lenders are actually inhibited by the fear of being defrauded.¹⁹⁶ Nonetheless, one should be patient and forbearing and should grant loans in spite of all the obstacles.¹⁹⁷ The very context which dwells upon the hesitancy about repaying contains the passage: "Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend, and let it not rust under a stone and be lost."¹⁹⁸

Yet another form of benevolence is that of hospitality to the wayfarer. Again it is Aḥikar who inculcates that virtue¹⁹⁹ and Tobit who provides the illustrious example.²⁰⁰ The Sodomites are censured for their defaults in this regard.²⁰¹

We may further enumerate attentions to the sick, urged both by Ben Sira and by Aḥikar.²⁰² The sick are also among the needy for whom Zebulun would boil and dress his catch of fish.²⁰³

¹⁸⁹ Eccus. 29.2.

¹⁹⁰ Eccus. 29.1. Like Mat. 5.42.

¹⁹¹ Eccus. 29.2, 3. Akin is the deprecation (Eccus. 29.16) of the person who causes the ruin of his surety.

¹⁹² On pretended loans, compare R. Jonah in Lev. Rab. 34.1 and *The Me'il Zedakah*, HUCA, 1939 (XIV), 485, 503, 543.

¹⁹³ Eccus. 29.4, 5, 6.

¹⁹⁴ Eccus. 29.5. Cf. Mat. 18.26.

¹⁹⁵ Eccus. 29.6.

¹⁹⁶ Eccus. 29.7. Like the situation prompting the Prosbul (Sheb. X, 3).

¹⁹⁷ Eccus. 29.8, 9.

¹⁹⁸ Eccus. 29.10.

¹⁹⁹ Aḥik. (Ethiopic), 8. "My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to meet him." This Ethiopic fragment, appearing in Charles' *Pseudepigrapha* p. 777 is credited to Cornill's *Book of the Wise Philosophers*.

²⁰⁰ Tob. 2.2.

²⁰¹ Wisd. Sol. 19.14, 15.

²⁰² Eccus. 7.35, Aḥik. (Arab), 2.57.

²⁰³ Test. Zeb. 6.4, 5. Charles *Pseudepigrapha*, II, 330, mentions three Mss. containing this passage and five Mss. in which it is lacking.

II Esdras 2.21 beseeches healing for the broken, the weak, and the blind.

Still another variety of benevolence consists in the act of burial. Of this virtue likewise, Tobit shines as the exemplar.²⁰⁴ The interment of the neglected dead is specifically enjoined in *II Esdras* 2.23.

Within this sphere falls furthermore the consoling of the bereaved. As Ben Sira puts it, "Fail not to be with them that weep and mourn with them that mourn."²⁰⁵ Enormous is the value attaching to compassion and to kind words. As in B. B. 9B (line 36), gracious speech is rated superior to alms.²⁰⁶ "Shall not the dew assuage heat? So is a word better than a gift."²⁰⁷ When extending aid, "uncomfortable words" must be eschewed;²⁰⁸ resort to such entails a blemish. Elsewhere Ben Sira teaches: "Let it not grieve thee to bow thine ear to the poor, and give him a friendly answer with meekness."²⁰⁹ Closely akin is the scruple against vexing "the heart of the oppressed," grieving "the eyes of him that is bitter in his soul," and wounding the sensibilities of the afflicted or, according to *II Esdras* 2.21, laughing "a lame man to scorn."²¹⁰ Zebulun who would have his children "show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men"²¹¹ acted as he preached.²¹² Zebulun would bestow sympathy when he could bestow naught else.²¹³ Similar was the conduct of Issachar.²¹⁴ Issachar not only shared his bread; he

²⁰⁴ Tob. 1.17, 18; 2.3, 4, 7; 12.13. Commentators regard Eccus. 7.33 as referring not to burial but to burnt offerings or alms or tokens of respect in connection with burial. Ryssel thinks of Suk. 49B (line 30).

²⁰⁵ Eccus. 7.34. Kindred is the thought in IV Ez. 14.13, "Comfort the lowly among them."

²⁰⁶ Eccus. 18.17.

²⁰⁷ Eccus. 18.16, in some texts.

²⁰⁸ Eccus. 18.15. Non des tristiam verbi mali, *λύπην λόγων*. On kindly words, see B. B. 9B (line 36), Maimonides, *Matnot Ani'im* X,5, Ab. R. Nath. 13 end.

²⁰⁹ Eccus. 4.8. *הט לעני אוניך*.

²¹⁰ Eccus. 4.1, 2, 3. *אל תכאב נפש חסירה*.

²¹¹ Test. Zeb. 7.2.

²¹² Test. Zeb. 6.4, 5.

²¹³ Test. Zeb. 7.3, 4.

²¹⁴ Test. Issach. 5.2.

also joined his sighs to those of his suppliants.²¹⁵ One passage, reminding us of James 1.27, contemplates heartening the poor with one's visits.²¹⁶

In line with these ideas, stress is laid upon attitudes. The poor — at least the intelligent poor — are not to be despised.²¹⁷ At almsgiving, the eye is not to be envious.²¹⁸ Although ordinarily man's goodness is conferred grudgingly and with a reluctant heart,²¹⁹ still if, when a person gives, "his heart murmur," he commits a twofold evil. He ruins both himself and his contribution.²²⁰

REWARDS OF BENEVOLENCE

Here, as so often in Jewish literature, the expectation prevails that benevolence will garner lavish rewards. Provided the recipient be godly, the giver's recompense is assured — if not from the beneficiary, at least and by all means, from God.²²¹ When adversity befalls Tobit, his wife questions whether his almsgiving could have been genuine.²²² How can misfortune follow such benevolences assuming that they be not counterfeit? Benevolence invites blessings²²³ and perfects blessings²²⁴ and gathers more profit than gold.²²⁵ The person who lends obtains a guerdon tantamount to interest on the loan — of course, a legitimate type of interest.²²⁶ Ben Sira pronounces bountifulness a fruitful garden and, echoing Ps. 112.9, proclaims that "mercifulness endureth forever."²²⁷ "Make way for every work of

²¹⁵ Test. Issach. 7.5.

²¹⁶ Ahik. (Arab), 2.57.

²¹⁷ Eccus. 10.23.

²¹⁸ Tob. 4.16.

²¹⁹ Ps. Sol. 5.15 (13).

²²⁰ II En. 63.1, 2. Cf. I Corinthians, 13.3.

²²¹ Eccus. 12.2.

²²² Tob. 2.14.

²²³ II En. 42.9.

²²⁴ Eccus. 7.32.

²²⁵ Eccus. 29.11.

²²⁶ Eccus. (Syriac), 29.1.

²²⁷ Eccus. 40.17. The Hebrew reads: וחסד לעולם לא ימוט וצדקה לעד חזק. Ryssel, in the Kautsch edition, translates: "Aber mildthaetigkeit wird wie Eden gesegnet und Almosen wird fuer allezeit fest bestehen."

mercy," exhorts Ben Sira (16.14), "for every man shall find according to his works." Charity should be prompted by concern for one's own future.²²⁸

Alms are the equivalent of burnt offerings.²²⁹ To borrow words from Ps. 50.23, "he that giveth alms sacrificeth praise,"²³⁰ and performs deeds which God will prize as the apple of His eye and treasure as His signet.²³¹ The benefactor of the fatherless and the widow is a son of the Almighty. Greater than his mother's love for him is God's love for him.²³²

Accordingly, alms procure deliverance²³³ — yes, deliverance ampler than that vouchsafed by one's own brethren.²³⁴ Alms guarantee escape from affliction.²³⁵ Through alms, one lays up for one's self a goodly treasure against the day of reverses.²³⁶ Alms stay the giver against falling.²³⁷ "Better than a mighty shield and a strong sphere," one's alms fight against one's enemies.²³⁸

These returns, in fact, operate according to the principle of "manner for manner." Zebulun assures his children that the compassion which they exhibit toward others will win for them the compassion of the Lord.²³⁹ Enoch maintains that one evades misfortune if one mitigates other people's misfortune.²⁴⁰ Whoever expends treasure "for his brother's sake" "will receive ample treasure in the world to come."²⁴¹ Nor will God's face be turned from him who turns not his face from the necessitous.²⁴² Giving alms — such seems to be the sense of *Tobit* 4.11, particularly as rendered in the twelfth century Hebrew of Fagius — earns

²²⁸ Eccus. 3.31. The Hebrew has: פועל טוב יקראנו בדרכיו.

²²⁹ As in the *Me'il Zedakah* paragraphs 65, 219, 252, 256, 579, 733, 747. (The *Me'il Zedakah* HUCA, 1936 (XI), 513). Also Suk. 49B (line 23) and Ab. de R. Nath. IV, 5.

²³⁰ Eccus. 35.2 (32.3). Cf. חודה in Lev. 7.11. Kautsch calls it a meal offering (Speiseopfer).

²³¹ Eccus. 17.22.

²³² Eccus. 4.10. The reference to the mother is not in the Hebrew.

²³³ Tob. 14.11.

²³⁴ Eccus. 40.24, ומשניהם צדקה מצלה.

²³⁵ Eccus. 9.12.

²³⁶ Tob. 4.9.

²³⁷ Eccus. 3.31.

²³⁸ Eccus. 29.13.

²³⁹ Test. Zeb. 8.1.

²⁴⁰ II En. 51.1.

²⁴¹ II En. 50.5.

²⁴² Tob. 4.7.

for the giver a corresponding gift from the Most High. Zebulun is divinely favored with an abundance of fish because he would divide his catch of fish with the needy.²⁴³ Burying the dead ensures one a forward rank in God's resurrection of the dead.²⁴⁴

Charity — as in Prov. 16.6 and Dan. 4.24 — purchases atonement and remission of sin,²⁴⁵ alms obliterating transgression as water quenches fire.²⁴⁶ Whoso clothes the naked and feeds the hungry shall find forgiveness awaiting him.²⁴⁷ A man's benevolence will actually extend to the point of availing as "repentance to his sons and daughters."²⁴⁸ Through almsgiving, one also preserves one's wealth.²⁴⁹

In addition, alms snatch one from death. Prov. 10.2 (11.4), as we have already noted, carries this sense in *Tobit* 4.10 and 12.9. Through almsgiving, King Menasseh extricated himself from the snares of the Netherworld.²⁵⁰

For the benevolent, there is also recognition on Judgment Day²⁵¹ and abundant treasure in the world to come.²⁵² They who feed the hungry, clothe the naked, lift the fallen, and succor necessitous orphans are among those qualified to occupy the Third Heaven.²⁵³

Less a Divine recompense than a natural human acknowledgment is social prestige. The alms of an unblemished rich person

²⁴³ Test. Zeb. 6.6, 7.

²⁴⁴ II Esdr. 2.23.

²⁴⁵ Tob. 12.9; Zad. Frag. 18.3, 8. Like Prov. 16.6. In Hag. 37A (line 6), *הכנסת אורחים של אדם מכפר על* is explained by Rashi to be a reference to *הכנסת אורחים*.

²⁴⁶ Eccus. 3.30.

²⁴⁷ II En. (B Text), 63.1, 2.

²⁴⁸ The phrase, "granting repentance to his sons and daughters," does not occur in all texts. Box and Oesterly report that it appears only in two codices.

²⁴⁹ Eccus. 31.11. The thought recurs frequently in Rabbinic literature. See *The Me'il Zedakah* HUCA, 1936 (XI), p. 529. Often quoted is Ket. 66B (line 34): *מלך ממון חסר ואמרי לה חסד* "Charity (or charitable expenditure) is the wealth preserving salt."

²⁵⁰ Tob. 14.10. Such is reported in the Charles edition to be the reading of Cod. Vat. In other recensions the name is not Menasseh but Ahikar.

²⁵¹ II En. 51.1. Eccus. 4.10 has: *ויצילך משחח*.

²⁵² II En. 50.5 (Text A). The thought appears in Peah I, 1, "Dividends in this world, capital retained in the world to come"; also in the Monobaz story, B. B. 11A (line 13 ff.); also in Ket. 67B (line 46) "Long the journey, scant the provision." See *The Me'il Zedakah* 1936 (XI), pp. 541, 542.

²⁵³ II En. 9.1.

shall be "declared in the congregation."²⁵⁴ To King Ptolemy is imparted the prospect that his acts of philanthropy will render his subjects well disposed and will prevent the loss of his renown.²⁵⁵ Indeed, "a gift hath grace in the sight of every man living."²⁵⁶ By visiting the sick, one acquires people's love.²⁵⁷ Such remains true despite the complaints of a fool that his beneficence brings him not thanks but calumny.²⁵⁸

Conversely, for him who neglects to grant alms, there can arise no good.²⁵⁹ Surely God hears the imprecations of the impoverished who, in bitterness of heart, curses the one who refuses aid.²⁶⁰ And even he who does clothe the naked and fill the hungry forfeits his reward if the help is accorded with unwilling heart.²⁶¹

As we find in later Jewish literature, the zeal for benevolence does not exclude certain restrictions. Thus, while assisting one's neighbor, one should observe caution against falling into that plight one's self.²⁶² Moreover, the beneficiary of one's benevolence must be a godly person, not a reprobate.²⁶³ From the ungodly,

²⁵⁴ Eccus. 31.8, 11.

²⁵⁵ Arist. 205, 226.

²⁵⁶ Eccus. 7.33. The Hebrew reads: *תן ממון לפני כל חי*, "Grant a gift" etc. The Greek, *χάρις δōματος* betokens a reading of *תן* for *תן*, "a gift hath grace." However, it may also mean: "Grace is a gift" etc.

²⁵⁷ Eccus. 7.35.

²⁵⁸ Eccus. 20.16. Box and Oesterley explain: They do not praise and thank him sufficiently. "Calumny" is the fool's exaggeration.

²⁵⁹ Eccus. 12.3.

²⁶⁰ Eccus. 4.6 (Greek).

²⁶¹ II En. 63.1, 2.

²⁶² Eccus. 29.20. One is reminded of the ordinance of Usha, Ket. 50A (line 5), limiting one's benevolence to one-fifth of one's possessions. See *The Me'il Zedakah*, HUCA 1937-8 (XII-XIII), p. 681, note 127. Eccus. 8.13 cautions against undertaking surety above one's power. To the extent that the surety may constitute aid for a poor person (Eccus. 29.14), the thought becomes relevant to our study.

²⁶³ Eccus. 12.1-7. in Tanḥ. Huk. 1: *טב לביש לא תעביר* paraphrases Eccus. 12.1. The Hebrew of Eccus 12.1 reads: *אם טוב חריע למי חטיב*. Gaster, Ryssel, Box and Oesterley emend, on the basis of the Syriac: *אם חטיב דע למי חטיב*. Similar restrictions on benevolence in *Sefer Ḥasidim* (Wistinetzky, Berlin, 1892), Nos. 840, 853, 857, 1926. See also *The Me'il Zedakah* HUCA, 1939 (XIV), pp. 542-544.

one derives evil twice as great as the good which one seeks to accomplish.²⁶⁴ To feed and keep alive the wicked is hazardous. Only the "faithful man" deserves to be sustained.²⁶⁵

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Wherein does charity differ from social justice? Charity seems to signify the relieving of poverty without regard to what people may have done to cause the poverty, while social justice holds people — that is, people other than the sufferer — accountable and directs its course accordingly. In *The Testament of Asher*, charity and social justice are brought into antithesis. That species of charity is denounced which emanates from those who commit fraud, injustice, perjury, and plunder.²⁶⁶ In like vein, Ben Sira upbraids those who bring offerings of goods unjustly exacted from the needy. Such conduct resembles the killing of the son before the eyes of the father.²⁶⁷

Oppression²⁶⁸ and unrighteousness²⁶⁹ are severely rebuked in this literature, and execrations heaped upon those ungodly ones who proclaim: "Let our strength be the law of justice; for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth."²⁷⁰ The rich not only disdain the poor; they even destroy the poor. The situation resembles that of the dog lured to his destruction by the hyena or that of the wild asses preyed upon by the lion.²⁷¹ In this connection, such traditional expressions are used as "slay"²⁷² and "swallow."²⁷³ "Sinners devour whom they oppress,"²⁷⁴ and certain kings are held to resemble sea monsters, swallowing men like fishes.²⁷⁵

²⁶⁴ Eccus. 12.5. The Greek reads: ἐμπόδισεν τοὺς ἄρτους αὐτοῦ. In the Hebrew, it is: כְּלִי לַחֵם אֶל חֲתָן לוֹ. As in Judg. 5.8, לַחֵם means "war." The Greek mistook כְּלִי for an imperative of כָּלַס "to withhold" (Box and Oesterley).

²⁶⁵ II En. 51.1.

²⁶⁶ Test. Asher 2.5, 6.

²⁶⁷ Eccus. 34.20 (31.24).

²⁶⁸ I En. 99.15, Zad. Frag. 16.4, Wisd. Sol. 2.10, II Bar. 27.11, 48.34.

²⁶⁹ I En. 99.15.

²⁷⁰ Wisd. Sol. 2.11.

²⁷¹ Eccus. 13.18–20. Like James 2.6.

²⁷² I En. 99.15. Like Ps. 94.6.

²⁷³ Test. Judah 21.7. Like Isa. 10.2.

²⁷⁴ I En. 53.2.

²⁷⁵ Test. Judah 21.7.

Here, as in the Bible, ill gotten gain provokes righteous indignation. "Polluted wealth of wickedness,"²⁷⁶ "the wealth of wickedness,"²⁷⁷ "unjust gain,"²⁷⁸ "unrighteous gain,"²⁷⁹ are characteristic phrases. "Moderate means with righteousness," in *The Psalms of Solomon* imply, of course, their opposite: abundant means without righteousness.²⁸⁰

Sometimes these invectives specify the derelictions — such as plunder,²⁸¹ the use of false measures,²⁸² or the erection of houses through the grievous toil of others and with building material which constitutes "bricks and stones of sin."²⁸³ Predictions are uttered regarding wicked kings who will enslave the sons and daughters of free men and pillage "houses, lands, flocks, money."²⁸⁴ Looting other men's goods is, elsewhere, a charge levied against the sons of Judah.²⁸⁵ Still other passages bewail the acts of those who are "devourers of the goods of the poor,"²⁸⁶ who rob the poor,²⁸⁷ who deprive the poor of their possessions.²⁸⁸ Yet another outburst excoriates certain exploiters for the wheat that they eat and the water that they drink.²⁸⁹ Also mentioned is defrauding, that is, the defrauding of the needy.²⁹⁰ Aflame with censure are the references to the violation of the biblical prohibition about removing the landmark.²⁹¹

And the guilty will be divinely punished, as the Egyptians

²⁷⁶ Zad. Frag. 8.12.

²⁷⁷ Zad. Frag. 6.11; 9.15.

²⁷⁸ Zad. Frag. 9.17.

²⁷⁹ I En. 63.10, 97.8–10.

²⁸⁰ Ps. Sol. 5.20 (17).

²⁸¹ Test. Asher 2.5; Test. Judah 21.6.

²⁸² I En. 99.2. Like Amos 8.5; Prov. 11.1.

²⁸³ I En. 99.12. Like Jer. 22.13.

²⁸⁴ Test. Judah 21.7. Cf. I Sam. 8.11–17.

²⁸⁵ Test. Dan. 5.7.

²⁸⁶ Assump. Mos. 7.6. Like Mat. 23.14, Mark 12.40, Luke 20.47.

²⁸⁷ Zad. Frag. 8.13. Sib. III, 238.

²⁸⁸ II En. 10.5.

²⁸⁹ I En. 96.5, 6.

²⁹⁰ Test. Asher 2.6, Eccus. 4.1 reading, with Box and Oesterley, תרען תלען.

²⁹¹ Sib. III, 240; Zad. Frag. 8.1 and Recension B, 9.13, 49. On landmarks, Deut. 19.14; 27.17; Prov. 22.28; 23.10; Job 24.2.

were punished for their treachery and cruelty to the Israelites.²⁹² We have already noted how woes are invoked upon the malefactors in the familiar biblical style.²⁹³ These wrongdoers shall have no peace.²⁹⁴ The *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Recension B), 9.13, expect God to pour out His wrath like water upon the oppressive princes of Judah. Noah, in *The Book of Jubilees* 9.14, lays a curse upon everyone of his descendants that might "seize the portion which had not fallen to him by lot," while the lurid place of torture prepared for those who wax rich by oppressing the needy is depicted in *II Enoch*.²⁹⁵

Ideals are also voiced affirmatively. Helping the weak in the lawcourt is acclaimed as an act of rescue²⁹⁶ and is, as such, enjoined²⁹⁷ and blessed.²⁹⁸ Especially are these social ideals expounded through the description of individuals in whom they find embodiment. The policy recommended to King Ptolemy is that of "studying the interest of the multitudes over whom he ruled."²⁹⁹ According to *The Sibylline Oracles*, social ideals are incarnated in that admirable race, the Jews.³⁰⁰ In *I Enoch*, Noah is appointed to go forth and cleanse the earth of all oppression.³⁰¹ Aḥikar counsels his protégé to support the interests of the needy in the presence of the Sultan and to do his utmost to save the poor "from the mouth of the lion."³⁰² The *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* speak of a Censor who, functioning "as a shepherd with his flock," shall "loose all of their knots" — which is thereupon explained to refer to the "oppressed and crushed in his congregation."³⁰³ The ultimate model here is God Himself Who "be-

²⁹² Eccus. 19.13 ff.

²⁹³ *Supra* p. 124 and notes 52, 53.

²⁹⁴ I En 99.13.

²⁹⁵ II En 10.5. We might add what is said about the doom of the Egyptians in Wisd. Sol. 19.13-17.

²⁹⁶ Eccus. 4.9. Like Ps. 82.4.

²⁹⁷ II Esdr. 2.20, 21. Eccus. 4.9.

²⁹⁸ II En. 42.7-9.

²⁹⁹ Arist. 190.

³⁰⁰ Sib. III, 234-247.

³⁰¹ I En. 10.20.

³⁰² Aḥik. 2.57.

³⁰³ Zad. Frag. 16.3. Like Isa. 58.6.

stows His benefits on the human race providing them health and food and all other things in due season"³⁰⁴ and Who leniently judges the underprivileged.³⁰⁵

When we considered benevolence, we noticed among the beneficiaries, the widows, the fatherless, the strangers, and the aged.³⁰⁶ These groups figure also among those compassionated as the victims of social injustice.³⁰⁷ Further listed among those in need of consideration, protection, and opportunity are the lame, the maimed, and the blind.³⁰⁸

Yet another commiserated class is that of servants or slaves. These unfortunates must not be mistreated.³⁰⁹ Among the grievous derelictions of Aḥikar's foster son, Nadan, is his beating, killing, or otherwise abusing Aḥikar's bondfolk.³¹⁰ According to *II Esdras*, God says to Israel: "As for the servants whom I have given thee, there shall not one of them perish; for I will require them from thy number."³¹¹ The misdeeds of Noah's sons, marking the deterioration of the world, include their beginning "to sell male and female slaves."³¹² Echoing Prov. 17.2, Ben Sira goes so far as to announce that free people will subordinate themselves unto a slave that is wise.³¹³

The Book of Jubilees quotes the Sabbath law of Ex. 20.9, 10

³⁰⁴ Arist. 190.

³⁰⁵ Eccus. 35.13 (32.13). Cf. *supra* note 106. Box and Oesterley render the passage: "He will not show partiality against the poor man." The Hebrew (Eccus. 35.16) reads: לֹא יִשָּׂא פָנִים אֶל דָּל.

³⁰⁶ *Supra* p. 136.

³⁰⁷ II Esdr. 2.20; Eccus. 35.14, 15; II En. 42.9; 50.5; Zad. Frag. 8.13; Sib. III, 242. Biblical antecedents are: Exod. 22.21; Deut. 24.17; Isa. 10.2; Ps. 68.6; 94.6; Prov. 23.10.

³⁰⁸ II Esdr. 2.21. II Esdr. 2.22 reads: "Keep the old and young within the walls." E. P. Eddrup (in *The Apocryphal Books*, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, New York, 1881) observes regarding "the old and young": "The most helpless and feeble cases that stand in need of protection." Such may, accordingly, as in Rabbinic teaching, constitute charity even if the beneficiaries be members of one's own family. See Maimonides *Matnot Aniyyim* X, 16 which is based on Ket. 50A (line 41) and, to some extent, on Kid. 31B-32A.

³⁰⁹ Eccus. 7.20.

³¹⁰ Aḥik. (Syriac), 3.2; 4.5.

³¹¹ II Esdr. 2.26.

³¹² Jub. 11.2.

³¹³ Eccus. 10.25.

and Deut. 5.15 with their solicitude about the manservant and the maidservant,³¹⁴ while others of these writings applaud the Jewish practice of manumission. Judith grants freedom to her maid,³¹⁵ and King Ptolemy purchases the liberation of a hundred thousand Jewish captives with funds from the royal treasury.³¹⁶ *The Book of Jubilees* speaks of a release every fifth (not seventh) year,³¹⁷ but a hiatus which Charles finds in the text at this point prevents our knowing whether this is or is not attended by the provisioning of the released bondman in the mode of Deut. 15.13, 14, 18.

Also with regard to the payment of wages does this literature exhibit scruple. In the spirit of Lev. 19.13, Tobit directs: "Let not wages tarry."³¹⁸ King Ptolemy is advised by one of the Jewish sages that the way in which to ensure the permanence of his works is to avoid compelling anyone to toil without pay. "It is deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually." There is also compunction about dismissing workers from their jobs.³¹⁹

Deviations from this humanitarian attitude, however, are not lacking. A passage in *Ecclesiasticus* recommends for servants "correction," "work," and "fetters." "If thou let him go idle, he shall seek liberty." "Idleness teacheth much evil." "If he be not obedient, put on more heavy fetters." "An evil servant" is to undergo "tortures and torments."³²⁰ We are apprised that a master's rage at a servant who declines to obey continues unabated even after the servant does obey.³²¹ Nor does such protracted wrath seem to impress Ben Sira as devoid of justification.

³¹⁴ Jub. 50.7.

³¹⁵ Jud. 16.23 (24).

³¹⁶ Arist. 20-22.

³¹⁷ Jub. 7.37.

³¹⁸ Tob. 4.14.

³¹⁹ Arist. 258, 259.

³²⁰ Eccus. 33.25-28. This author is similarly harsh in his prescriptions for the rearing of children (Eccus. 30.1-13). We are reminded of Prov. 29.19. That idleness causes deterioration is expressed in B. M. 77A (line 16) which, speaking of the laborers of Mahoza, says לא עבדי חלשי B. M. 64B, 65A suggests that one does not obtain interest on a loan if one utilizes the debtor's unoccupied slave; because the owner benefits if the slave is kept from deteriorating through inactivity.

³²¹ Eccus. 20.21.

Additional ways of safeguarding the interests of the master are indicated in Aḥikar's counsel against obtaining a slave that is quarrelsome or thievish or addicted to running away;³²² and in the caution against treating one slave better than another or caressing one slave in the presence of another. "Thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end . . . or which thou wilt have need of at last."³²³ Similar advice is offered by Ben Sira: "Be not excessive toward any."³²⁴ No sooner does Ben Sira terminate his insistence that slaves be held in rigid discipline than he virtually reverses himself by recommending that slaves be shown the utmost consideration, on the grounds that an ill treated slave will make his escape and the money paid for the slave will be lost.³²⁵ Among the Pseudepigrapha, Charles places *Pirke Abot* with its familiar animadversion upon the thievishness and the lasciviousness of the servile class.³²⁶

To the category of the socially handicapped belongs finally the individual who is caught in the meshes of the law. Utterances on this point occur in *The Letter of Aristeas*. The wise men who come from Palestine to translate the Pentateuch into Greek urge upon Ptolemy, King of Egypt, a rule of clemency. "Observing that the human race increases and is born with much trouble and great suffering . . . you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of man is made up of pains and penalties. For, if you understood everything, you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful." Again, "If you exhibit clemency and inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them, in accordance with their desserts, you will turn them from evil and lead them to repentance." For having "surpassed all men in clemency," King Ptolemy is complimented by one of the Jewish emissaries.³²⁷

³²² Aḥik. (Syr. A), 2.24.

³²³ Aḥik. (Arab.), 2.33, 34.

³²⁴ Eccus. 33.29.

³²⁵ Eccus. 33.30, 31.

³²⁶ Abot II, 8.

³²⁷ Arist. 188, 208, 290. The thought is that of punishing with greater forbearance than the culprit deserves. βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους επιεικέστερον [ἦ] καθὼς εἰσιν ἄξιοι is the reading in Arist. 188 as emended by Andrews. Anticipated here is the French adage: "Tout comprendre est tout pardonner."

WORLD PEACE

The pseudepigraphic books sketch, in fervent language, the picture of a world aureoled with peace. It is urged to "have done with swords and moanings and killing of men and deeds of violence,"³²⁸ the sword being the tool of malice,³²⁹ the eject of covetousness,³³⁰ and the mother of the seven evils: "bloodshed, ruin, tribulation, captivity, dearth, panic, destruction."³³¹

War dates from the deterioration of the world which began under the sons of Noah.³³² According to *I Enoch*, it was Gadreel, the seducer of Eve, who introduced "the shield and the coat of mail and the sword of battle and all the weapons of death" among the children of men.³³³ Elsewhere this sinister initiative is ascribed to Azazel.³³⁴ Yet another name for the father of war is Beliar³³⁵ — all of which are, of course, but variants for Satan. War is listed among men's punitive afflictions.³³⁶ That all men desire peace is taken for granted.³³⁷ In *IV Maccabees*, the heroes, as Maldwyn Hughes points out, are not the Maccabean patriots but the Maccabean martyrs.³³⁸

Ardent are the ruminations on the irenic days of the Messiah. In the Messiah's presence, the mountains which supply the metals used for armament shall dissolve,³³⁹ melting like wax touched by fire. "The prophets of the Mighty God shall take away the sword³⁴⁰ . . . No war shall there be any more³⁴¹ . . . No

³²⁸ Sib. IV, 163, 164.

³²⁹ Test. Benj. 7.1.

³³⁰ Sib. III, 235.

³³¹ Test. Benj. 7.2, Test. Jud. 22.1.

³³² Jub. 11.2.

³³³ I En. 69.6.

³³⁴ I En. 8.1 alluding to Lev. 16.10.

³³⁵ Test. Benj. 7.2.

³³⁶ Test. Jud. 22.1, Jub. 23.19, 20. However, in Test. Jud. 22.1, the wars seem rather an addition to the evils than a punishment for the evils. *Supra* note 331.

³³⁷ Ad. Est. 13.2 (In Kautsch edition, 2.2.)

³³⁸ H. Maldwyn Hughes, *The Ethics of the Jewish Apocryphal Literature*, London 1909, p. 111.

³³⁹ I En. 52.6, 8, 9.

³⁴⁰ Sib. III, 781.

³⁴¹ Sib. III, 753.

more shall the trumpet hiss forth the blast of war's turmoil³⁴² . . . neither shall there be any sword throughout the land nor battle din³⁴³ . . . At last piteous ruin shall be stopped and no man shall fight any more with swords or steel nor with javelins, for these things shall no more be permitted³⁴⁴ . . . Tranquil peace shall make its way to the land of Asia³⁴⁵ . . . naught but peace shall come upon the land of the good."³⁴⁶ Indeed, "there shall be a great peace throughout the earth and king shall be friendly with king."³⁴⁷ All of which accords with a Messiah who:

"Shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow,
Nor shall he multiply for himself gold and silver for war,
Nor shall he gather confidence from a multitude for the
day of battle."³⁴⁸

THE GOLDEN AGE

Under Simon, the Maccabee, according to *I Maccabees*, the Golden Age seems actually to have been achieved, with its peace and its plenty and its bounteousness toward those in want.³⁴⁹ But the most radiant portrayals are those relating to the Golden Age of the future.³⁵⁰ The dominant feature of that Utopia is the world peace already described. At the same time, certain non-societal factors occupy a portion of the scene — factors such as salubrious air,³⁵¹ immunity to storms,³⁵² abundance of corn, fruit, wine, honey,³⁵³ milk³⁵⁴ and, in the manner of Isa. 11.6-9, the innocuousness of wild beasts.³⁵⁵ Societal factors take the form

³⁴² Sib. V, 253.

³⁴³ Sib. III, 751.

³⁴⁴ Sib. V, 381-383.

³⁴⁵ Sib. III, 367.

³⁴⁶ Sib. III, 780.

³⁴⁷ Sib. III, 755, 756.

³⁴⁸ Ps. Sol. 17.37 (33).

³⁴⁹ *I* Mac. 14.8-15. Much of this is suggestive of *I* Ki. 5.5, Mic. 4.4, Zech. 8.4.

³⁵⁰ Sib. III, 234-237, 367-380, 741-758, 788-794; Sib. V, 247-255.

³⁵¹ Sib. III, 368.

³⁵² Sib. III, 369.

³⁵³ Sib. III, 745, 746.

³⁵⁴ Sib. III, 749.

³⁵⁵ Sib. III, 788-794. Much of this is suggestive of Lev. 26.4 and Ezek. 34.27. Non-societal factors appear also in *II Baruch*, paragraphs, 29 and 30.

of economic plenty,³⁵⁶ justice,³⁵⁷ charitableness,³⁵⁸ virtue,³⁵⁹ beneficent laws,³⁶⁰ freedom from covetousness,³⁶¹ concord,³⁶² avoidance of false measures,³⁶³ absence of cattle thefts³⁶⁴ and of the exploitation of the poor by the rich.³⁶⁵ There will be "affection, faithfulness, friendship from strangers and fellow citizens," while "lawlessness, murmuring, envy, wrath, and folly shall flee from men;³⁶⁶ penury too shall flee and distress and murder and destructive strifes, and baleful feuds and thefts by night."³⁶⁷

Some accounts of "the pangs of the Messiah" which are to precede the Golden Age³⁶⁸ dwell upon monstrosities of nature³⁶⁹ and other matters without social relevance; although other accounts portray social upheavals somewhat after the same pattern as that of modern revolutions; persons of scant means, poor repute, and low status wresting the ascendancy from persons of abundant means, worthy repute, and lofty social rank.³⁷⁰ One delineation pictures an epoch of civil strife between opposing classes; poor arrayed against rich, young against old, and the lowly against the great.³⁷¹

BIBLICAL BACKGROUND

Throughout the above presentation, we have had occasion to notice how, almost at every turn, this literature reflects the teachings of the Bible.³⁷² The language itself is frequently borrowed from the Bible. Do the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha

³⁵⁶ I Mac. 14.10, 12; Sib. III, 234.

³⁵⁷ Sib. III, 234, 374.

³⁵⁸ Sib. III, 243-245.

³⁵⁹ Sib. III, 234.

³⁶⁰ Sib. III, 373.

³⁶¹ Sib. III, 236.

³⁶² Sib. III, 375.

³⁶³ Sib. III, 237.

³⁶⁴ Sib. III, 239.

³⁶⁵ Sib. III, 241, 242.

³⁶⁶ Sib. III, 376, 377.

³⁶⁷ Sib. III, 379, 380.

³⁶⁸ II Bar. 27 entire; 48.31-37; IV Ez. 6.14-18, 21-24.

³⁶⁹ IV Ez. 21-24. Like Ezek. 38.20; Hos. 4.3; Zeph. 1, 3.

³⁷⁰ II Bar. 70.3, 4.

³⁷¹ Jub. 23.19. Like Mat. 24.6-29, Soṭ. IX, 15.

³⁷² Even the idea of "manner for manner" (*supra* p. 140) is one of biblical inception (Prov. 11.25b, 21.13), although the phrase itself, "manner for manner," occurs neither in the Bible nor in the Apocrypha nor in the Pseudepigrapha.

rapha offer any social material other than that of biblical precedent?

Referring to the previous portions of this study not by page numbers but by the numbers of the reference notes, we may mention first, the World Beyond (252) including the Third Heaven (253), the felicitous destination of the benevolent. We likewise recall the place of post-mundane torture reserved for the oppressors of the poor (295). These represent views of post-biblical inception. The novel factor here, however, lies not in the social domain but in the theological. In themselves, the rewards of the charitable and the punishments of the oppressive furnish topics of frequent biblical incidence.³⁷³ The only new element is that which concerns the Life Beyond. Again, while the Bible dilates extensively upon the evils of war,³⁷⁴ it does not impute a Satanic origin to war (333-335) — once more a new idea of theological rather than social import.

Not anticipated in the Bible is the arrangement embodied in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* of allotting to the poor the earnings of two days every month (155). This we may deem a social innovation, unless we pronounce it an extension of the *Ma'asar 'Ani* prescribed in Deut. 14.28, 29. Only in a remote way can we call Prov. 29.19 the biblical precursor of the severities which a brief passage in *Ecclesiasticus* proposes for the discipline of slaves (320, 321).

More distinctly variant from biblical conceptions is the opprobrium affixed to certain occupations (128, 129). The Bible treats no occupation with disdain. Likewise beyond the biblical purview is the worker dismissed from his employment (319). Nor does the Bible contemplate anyone who can bestow alms and, at the same time, commit oppression and exploitation (266). Similarly remote from biblical thinking are the circumstances such as the giver's own security or the recipient's unworthiness than can impose restrictions upon one's benevolence (262-265). To these we might add the charitably provided dowry (178).

³⁷³ Isa. 58.6-11; Ezek. 16.49, 50; 18.5, 7, 9, 16, 17; Ps. 41.2, 3; 109.8, 16, 112.9; Prov. 11.24, 25; 17.5; 19.17; 21.13; 22.9; 28.27; Job 22.7, 9-11; Dan. 4.24.

³⁷⁴ The passages are listed in the Year Book of the C.C.A.R. 1936, p. 213, note 43.

DISTRIBUTION OF IDEAS

It need not elude our attention that, within the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha themselves, the various ideas and ideals are unevenly distributed. Some of the items appear in one of the books only. *Ecclesiasticus* is the only book which contributes such points as: the contrast between poor and rich (54-58), the shortcomings of the poor (88-91), economic predestination (108-111), the Divine source of philanthropic obligation (165, 166), the benevolence of lending (189-198), the benevolence of consoling (205), the duty of repaying loans (191-196), the wealth preserving efficacy of alms (249), the rigid control of slaves (320, 321). The reference to festive seasons as occasions for charity appears only in *I Esdras* with its repetition of Nehem. 8.10, 12 (171). Only in *The Book of Tobit* do we meet the doctrine that charity rescues from death (250). Visiting the poor is extolled only in *The Story of Ahikar* (216). The rewards in store for the benevolent on Judgment Day are promised only in *II Enoch* (251); and reflections on how to deal with law violators arise only in *The Letter of Aristeas* (327).

In several instances, *Ecclesiasticus*, while not the only book containing a given thought, is one of only two books containing that thought. Dilations on the advantages of wealth (21-23), as well as advice to slave owners (322-326), can be found only in *Ecclesiasticus* and in *The Story of Ahikar*; laudations of the poor, only in *Ecclesiasticus* and in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (92-95). Ponderings on thrift appear only in *Ecclesiasticus* and in *The Testament of Issachar* (112-114). Qualifications with regard to the sufferings of the poor occur only in *Ecclesiasticus* and in *The Testament of Gad* (86, 87). *Ecclesiasticus* and *The Letter of Aristeas* are alone in noting how charitable deeds win public acclaim (254-258). *Ecclesiasticus* and *II Enoch* are the only writings in the group which exclude the unworthy from charitable benefits (263-265). These books are also the only ones that denounce the uncharitable and the grudging (259-261). That benevolence and, at the same time, tendencies toward social injustice can coexist in the same person is noted only in *Ecclesiasticus* and in *The Testament of Asher* (266, 267).

Another thought expressed in two but not more than two of these books touches the virtue of benevolent burial, proclaimed in *The Book of Tobit* and in *II Esdras* (204). These are also the two books which alone expand upon the duties connected with the payment of wages (318, 319). Punishments for the uncharitable are specified only in the apocryphal *Book of Baruch* and in the pseudepigraphic *Story of Ahiḳar* (167-170).

Then there are the views propounded in as many as three of these sources. *Ecclesiasticus* is frequently one of the three. The drawbacks of wealth are enumerated in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *The Story of Ahiḳar*, and in *The Book of Baruch* (24-30). Helpfulness toward the sick is commended in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *II Esdras*, and in *The Testament of Zebulun* (202, 203). Encomium on economic independence is voiced in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *The Book of Tobit*, and in *The Story of Ahiḳar* (115-124). The rewards of benevolence are announced in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *The Book of Tobit*, and in *II Enoch* (221-238). The woes of the poor are deplored in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *The Story of Ahiḳar*, and in *The Wisdom of Solomon* (67-85). *The Story of Ahiḳar* and *The Wisdom of Solomon* range themselves with *The Book of Tobit* to constitute the three writings which class hospitality among charitable acts (199-201).

When a given idea is proffered by groups of four of these writings, *Ecclesiasticus* again figures a number of times. *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Book of Baruch*, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and *The Story of Ahiḳar* contain passages tracing the lines of equality between rich and poor (59-66). *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Letter of Aristeas*, *The Testament of Issachar*, and *II Baruch* furnish material on the classification of occupations as worthy or unworthy (125-230). Amounts of charitable gifts are conjectured in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *The Book of Tobit*, in *The Sibylline Oracles*, and in the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (153-157). The merit of treating the poor graciously is stressed in *Ecclesiasticus*, in *II Esdras*, in *The Testament of Zebulun*, and in *The Testament of Issachar* (206-215). *Ecclesiasticus* pairs again with *The Book of Tobit* when *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Book of Tobit*, *The Psalms of Solomon*, and *II Enoch* elaborate upon charitable attitudes (217-220); while *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Book of Tobit*, and the *Frag-*

ment of a *Zadokite Work* figure among the four — the other being likewise *II Enoch* — which credit almsgiving with efficacy toward atonement for sin (245–248).

The Book of Tobit has to be numbered among the four writings — *The Book of Tobit*, *II Esdras*, *II Enoch*, and *The Testament of Zebulun* — which utilize, in social connections, the concept of “manner for manner” (239–244). *The Sibylline Oracles* and the *Fragment of a Zadokite Work*, included among the books alluding to the amounts of one’s gifts (*supra* 153–157), also stand jointly — this time together with *II Maccabees* and the *Epistle of Jeremy* — among the writings which specify the types of persons for whom benevolence is imperative, although all of the types are not specified in all four of these works (172–180).

Five of these writings participate in regarding the poor as objects of Divine favor (96–107).³⁷⁵ Five supply our charitable exemplars (158–164),³⁷⁶ five contain references to food and clothing as matters of charitable concern (181–188),³⁷⁷ and five foretell the punishment in store for oppressors (293–295).³⁷⁸ Six dwell upon the ethical aspects of wealth (31–53).³⁷⁹ Six enjoin charitable practice (131–152),³⁸⁰ and six expand upon the handling of servants and slaves (309–317).³⁸¹ Seven of these documents allude to peace among the nations (328–348).³⁸² Eight resound with exhortations to install social justice (296–308),³⁸³ while eleven concur in denouncing the exploitation of man by man (268–291).³⁸⁴

Surely dates and backgrounds can be cited to account for these consonances and divergences. But questions of dating and background we leave to the vast erudition which has been

³⁷⁵ Eccus., IV Ez., Ps. Sol., Test. Gad, Zad. Frag.

³⁷⁶ Tob., I Mac., Arist., Test. Zeb., Sib.

³⁷⁷ II Esdr., Tob., II En., Test. Issach., Ahik.

³⁷⁸ Eccus., I En., II En., Jub., Zad. Frag.

³⁷⁹ Eccus., I En., Assump. Mos., Ps. Sol., Test. Jud., Ahik.

³⁸⁰ Eccus., Tob., II En., Test. Zeb., Test. Issach., Test. Benj.

³⁸¹ II Esdr., Jud., Eccus., Jub., Arist., Ahik.

³⁸² Ad. Est., Ps. Sol., Test. Jud., Test. Benj., Jub., II En., Sib.

³⁸³ II Esdr., Eccus., I En., II En., Arist., Sib., Ahik., Zad. Frag.

³⁸⁴ Eccus., I En., II En., Wisd. Sol., Assump. Mos., Ps. Sol., Test. Jud., Test. Asher., II Bar., Sib., Zad. Frag.

expended upon this literature. To such scholarship we also relinquish the query as to how much of the material which we have reviewed presents usages of actual practice and how much of it embraces naught but academic theory. We have attempted merely to set forth the ideas and ideals which these writings harbor. To the extent to which those ideas and ideals have been correctly reported here, the purpose of this study has been fulfilled.

YÔM TÔB

FRANZ ROSENTHAL, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

A NUMBER of years ago, when first noting some scattered instances of the combination of the words "day" and "good" in different languages, I supposed it to be a mere common-place that *yôm tôb* acquired the meaning of "holiday" under the influence of — in the last instance — an astrological connotation. Moreover, it was a foregone conclusion with me that the history of the Hebrew expression had been discussed at length in every hand-book and also frequently elsewhere.

Both assumptions proved to be erroneous. No discussion of the development of the expression has become known to me. Of course, the literature which might contain some reference to the subject is unlimited. However, the complete silence of the most current works of reference (the best notice I found, that of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*,¹ is scarcely exhaustive and merely says that *yôm tôb* as a technical term for "festival" came into use in Post-Biblical times) will justify confronting the problem. The astrological influence which I expected to find in the expression was, in accordance with the general disregard of the problem, never observed. My own observations set down hereafter made me much less positive in this respect, as will be seen.

At the time of the Mišnâh (and Tôseṗtâ), the two meanings of *yôm tôb* which have been used by the Jews ever since, were current already. *Yôm tôb* is a general designation for all legal holidays unless they have a different legal and ritualistic charac-

¹ Vol. V, p. 374, s. v. *Festivals*. Cf. also J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, Basle 1639, s. v. *yôm*; J. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. *Feste* (2nd ed. Abt. I, p. 363 ff., Strelitz 1884); H. Speyer, *Der Festtag bei den Propheten*, Breslau 1935, p. 58 (*Bericht d. Jüd.-Theol. Seminars . . . für das Jahr 1934*).

ter, as is the case with the Šabbât² and the fast days, including, as it seems, Yôm hak-kippûrîm.³ Yôm lôḥ is used in opposition to yôm šôm in Men XI.9.⁴ It is used in contrast with the Šabbât and Yôm hak-kippûrîm in Meg. I.5, and after the strenuous service of the Yôm hak-kippûrîm, the High-Priest made a yôm lôḥ for his friends (Yômâ VII.4).

This last passage forms a connecting link with the other meaning of yôm lôḥ, that of a joyous day, a day of well-being and plenty.⁵ With the exodus from Egypt, God brought the children of Israel "from mourning to a yôm lôḥ, a joyful day," a phrase that is derived from Esth. 9.22 in Pes. X.5. When a custom referred to in Ta'an. IV.8 was still alive, the fifteenth day of the month of Âḥ and Yôm hak-kippûrîm (it would be more

² Probably the most ancient testimony for the legalistic differentiation between "Šabbât" and "holiday" is found in connection with Lev. 23.11 (and 15). There, Šabbât was used with reference to the holiday, and the ritual tradition understood the passage in this sense. But already in the time of the LXX, Šabbât could no longer refer to a holiday and therefore the LXX to Lev. 23.11 has τῆς πρώτης "of the first (day)" instead. Probably the LXX hesitated to insert simply the Greek equivalent of yôm lôḥ in this place, as was done in the Book of Esther (cf. below p. 161). The Targûms, both Targûm Onkelos and the Palestinian Targûms, insert here and in Lev. 23.15 yômâ lâḥâ, in order to express unmistakably that the literal interpretation of Šabbât in this context is not permissible.

³ The reference to Yôm hak-kippûrîm quoted below does not contradict this statement. — It was also difficult to apply to Yôm hak-kippûrîm the usual formula employed with the other holidays: yôm lôḥ šel-. However, Yôm hak-kippûrîm, through Biblical reference and by its nature, was very close to the "holidays." For Philo, it is a εορτή (cf. below note 81). A recension of the Palestinian Targûm does not hesitate to paraphrase Lev. 23.27: yôm hak-kippûrîm hû mikrâ kôdeš yihyeh lâkem, by: yôm šôm kippûrayyâ hû yôm tâḥ w-êrâ' kaddeš yehwê l'kôn (cf. P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens* II, Stuttgart 1930 [*Beitr. z. Wiss. vom AT und NT* 2, 14], p. 51). And Yôm hak-kippûrîm can be referred to in present-day Jewish usage as yontef.

⁴ Cf. also Ta'an. III.9; *Megillat Ta'anit*; b. Ta'an. 12a, 17b; b. Pes. 50b, etc.

⁵ As a good instance from the Talmûd, one may compare b. Ber. 46a where, for the recuperation of the sick Rabbi Zêrâ, a yômâ lâḥâ for the other scholars is promised and, in fulfilment of this promise, a dinner is given for them. Or b. Yeb. 17a, where it is said that the Jews will make a yômâ lâḥâ because of the destruction of Palmyra.

correct to say: the day on which Yôm hak-kippûrîm falls⁶) were *yâmîm tôbîm* "joyous days." On one occasion, we learn from Ta'an. III.9, the rain for which a fast had been held fell before noon, and permission was given immediately to eat and drink and make a *yôm tôb*, and later to recite the great Hallel. According to Mid. V.4, a *yôm tôb* (which was accompanied by the recital of special blessings) was made when no blemish was found in the priests.

To these instances from the Mišnâh, we may add two occurrences found in *M'gillat Ta'anî*. According to this document, the seventh day of the month of Kislew and the second day of Šêḥât are, without any further specification, joyous occasions for the Jews: *yôm tôb*.

The Jewish sources from the time of the redaction of the Mišnâh to the Hebrew Bible are conspicuous by their apparent lack of the use of *yôm tôb*. If we are not misled by the foreign linguistic garb in which the relevant writings appear (and in all likelihood we are not⁷), this silence may be considered proof that the expression *yôm tôb* was rarely used and, therefore, was not generally established in designating the legal holidays —

⁶ Cf. J. Morgenstern, *The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel*, HUCA I, 1924, p. 22 f.; 40 ff. L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, Vol. 1, Philadelphia 1938, p. 55 f.

⁷ But whoever knew Greek as well as Philo or Josephus, would never have used any word but *εορτή*, even if in Hebrew or Aramaic he would have said *yôm tôb* or *yôm tôb*. It is, for instance, characteristic of Josephus that he has *εορτή* in the Pûrîm story (*Ant.* XI.293). When, in his reproduction of the decree of the King, which is inserted in the Greek translation after Esth. 8.12, Josephus says that the thirteenth day of the month of Adâr is to be a "good one" for the Jews, the friends of the King (*ἔστω δ' ἀγαθὴ μὲν τοῖς εὐνοοῦσιν ἡμῖν, ὑπόμνησις δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων κολάσεως*, *Ant.* XI. 282), the expression recalls the passage in Dio Cassius quoted below (p. 171) rather than *yôm tôb*. The sacred character of a day is expressed by both Philo and Josephus through the correct Greek word *ιερός* (cf. Homer's *ιερόν ἡμαρ*). Philo, *De decalogo* 161: . . . ἵνα μὴν ἕκαστος λαμβάνῃ γέρας ἐξαίρετον μίαν ἱερὰν ἡμέραν εορτώδῃ πρὸς εὐθυμίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἐκ χειρίας (cf. the Šabbât as *ιερά ἡμέρα*, *De spec. leg.* II. 86. But the first and the last day of the Festival of the Unleavened Bread are called *ἀγίαι* (*De spec. leg.* II. 157), rendering *mikrâ kôdeš* Lev. 23.7, 8). According to Josephus, *Ant.* XVI.27, the Jews of Asia Minor (Ionia) complain that they were constrained to go to court *ἐν ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις*.

though we are going to show that it came into use during the last two centuries before the Christian Era. It is quite remarkable that the book of the Damascus sect (if it has to be dated in this period or rather somewhat later) always uses *mō'ēd*, not *yōm tōb*.⁸

The New Testament furnishes us with but one instance, and this in a quotation from Ps. 34.13 according to the LXX wording⁹ of the passage: *καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς* (1 Pet. 3.10).

The Books of Maccabees do not yield any richer harvest. In the beginning of the letter in which Ptolemy invites Alexander to meet him, we read: *Ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ἐπέστρεψας εἰς γῆν πατέρων σου καὶ ἐκάθισας ἐπὶ θρόνου βασιλείας αὐτῶν*. "It is an auspicious day on which you returned to the country of your ancestors and ascended their royal throne" (1 Macc. 10.55). Here the meaning "auspicious," with its astrological connotation, is certainly more in place than "joyous" would be. For the general avoidance of *yōm tōb* in the Books of Maccabees, one may compare 1 Macc. 10.34 or 13.52.

Ecclesiasticus 14.14 has the phrase: *μὴ ἀφυστερήσης ἀπὸ ἀγαθῆς ἡμέρας*; 11.25 has, as a variant reading: *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀγαθῇ* instead of *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀγαθῶν*, which is contrasted with *ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κακῶν*. Both passages refer to a "day of well-being," or rather, as R. Smend suggests in his translation,¹⁰ "present well-being." In both cases, the Hebrew text (which, in the first instance, has its exact correspondence in the Syriac text) reads: *tōbat yōm*. Consequently, they have no direct bearing on our subject.

Turning now to the Hebrew Bible, we first have to consider three passages in the Book of Esther. (1) One of them, Esth. 9.22, we have already come across in a Mišnaic quotation. It uses *yōm tōb* as the opposite of *ēhel*. (2) In Esth. 8.17, the permission to defend themselves which the King gave to the Jews, causes joy and gladness, a feast (*mišteh*), and a *yōm tōb*. Remarkably enough, the Greek version renders *yōm tōb* *εὐφροσύνη*

⁸ Cf. S. Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, Cambridge 1910, p. 3; 6; 12 (*Documents of Jewish Sectaries I*).

⁹ Cf. below p. 162.

¹⁰ *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, Berlin 1906.

"joy," a word which, more strangely yet, it had immediately before used for rendering *šāšōn*. (3) According to Esth. 9.19, the fourteenth day of the month of Adâr was established as an occasion for joy and for a feast (*mišteh*) and a *yôm tōb* and sending presents one to another. Here the Greek version differs considerably. Whereas the Hebrew has: *šimhâh ū-mišteh w*-yôm tōb*, the Greek has *ἡμέραν ἀγαθὴν μετ' εὐφροσύνης*.¹¹ Moreover, the Greek text of 9.21 adds that the days of the event should be established as "good ones." Further, in 9.22, it gives for *la'asôl ôlām y'mê mišteh w*-šimhâh*, the translation: . . . ἀγειν ὅλον ἀγαθὰς ἡμέρας γάμων μετ' εὐφροσύνης . . .¹² "to establish the 14th and the 15th day of the month of Adâr and the whole month as *yāmim tōbim* of marriages with joy . . ."

There can be no doubt that the Hebrew text which we read did not employ the expression *yôm tōb* in the technical sense of designating the legal holiday (an assumption which is frequently made in ancient and modern times). But *yôm tōb*, in these places, ranking as it does inconspicuously among "joy" and "feast," merely designates a merry day of plenty. The matter is different in the case of the Greek text. Here it is quite evident that the Greek equivalent of *yôm tōb* is meant to refer to Pûrîm as a legal holiday. Starting from the sense "legal holiday" which the expression seems to have in the Greek version, it appears that the inexact rendering of *yôm tōb* in Esth. 8.17 is not due to an oversight. The days on which the King's letter arrived in the different Jewish settlements were, of course, not established as legal holidays.¹³ And one might even venture to explain how it came about that we find the above-mentioned insertion in Esth. 9.22. In the discussion whether it is permitted to work on Pûrîm or not (a question which has been decided in the affirmative), we read in b. Meg. 5b that one authority interpreted Esth. 9.19:

¹¹ The Greek, here and in the following verses, shows a number of divergences from the Hebrew text.

¹² The variant reading which follows the Hebrew text more closely is a later correction.

¹³ Rabbi Y'hûdâh's interpretation of *šimhâh* in Esth. 8.16 as *yôm tōb* (b. Meg. 16b, with reference to Deut. 16.14, *w*-šamhātâ b'haggeḡd*) is only incidental, as it seems.

šimḥāh ū-miṣteḥ w-yôm ṭōḥ*, in the sense that the first word involved the interdiction of mourning, the second that of fasting, and *yôm ṭōḥ* that of working. Another authority, however, pointed to the omission of *yôm ṭōḥ* in the otherwise identical context of Esth. 9.22, in order to contend that working is permitted on Pûrîm. In view of this discussion, it is perhaps not too daring to assume that the Greek text of Esth. 9.22 reflects the opinion of those who wanted Pûrîm to be considered a legal *yôm ṭōḥ* on which working was not permitted. At any rate, since we are going to see that there are no older references, the Greek text of Esth. 9.19–22 is the oldest certain¹⁴ instance of the usage of *yôm ṭōḥ* as "legal holiday."

We may mention in passing that the LXX renders Ps. 34.13: *dhēb yāmîm lîr' ôṭ ṭōḥ*, ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς. The position of the Greek words strongly suggests (if it is the original one) that ἀγαθὰς is a very old corruption of ἀγαθόν (or even ἀγαθά?). Neither the different position of words of the quotation in the NT (see above) nor the testimony of the Syriac translation (or any other version) would be a sufficiently safe basis for subjecting the Hebrew text to a correction which would mean simplifying it. Whatever we may think about the text of this passage, it has the meaning of "having a good time."

Zech. 8.19: *mô'adîm ṭōḥîm* is used in contrast to fast days and simply means "times of plenty." Similar to *yôm ṭōḥ* in Esth. 8.17, *mô'adîm ṭōḥîm* is used here in connection with *šāšôn* and *šimḥāh*. However, there is obviously nothing in the verse to warrant the suggestion that since *mô'ēḏ* is the common word for "festival," this passage is the prototype of *yôm + ṭōḥ* in the same meaning of "festival."

The passage 1 Sam. 25.8: *kî 'al yôm ṭōḥ bânû* (*bnw*), presents some problems. The Jewish interpreters understand *yôm ṭōḥ* in this place in two ways according to the two meanings which

¹⁴ Since Lev. 23.11 cannot be considered a clear instance, cf. above note 2. — The date of the Greek text of the book of Esther is uncertain. B. Jacob suggested that it was written before 30 B. C. (*ZATW* 10, 1890, p. 290). Torrey's interesting contention that the Greek Esther in both its recensions is not based upon our Hebrew text (*JBL* 61, 1942, p. 131 f.) would not modify the results of our discussion.

were familiar to them. Following Raši, *yôm ṭôḥ* may refer to a legal holiday and, in this case, David's men were asking Nâḥâl for a dinner, because it was the eve of the New Year's festival. Or it may refer to an occasion of good eating and drinking and, in this case, it was on such an occasion that they came to Nâḥâl to ask him for gifts in his abundance. Similarly David Kîmḥî held that, on the joyful occasion of shearing the sheep (cf. verse 11), plenty of food was prepared to allow them to partake of it. This interpretation, in its general outlines, is widely accepted and seems to be the correct one. David and his men seize the good opportunity of the *yôm ṭôḥ*, the day of plenty, to quasi-invite themselves and to claim the best part, lest they come and take it by force.

The singular usage of the preposition 'al (which, of course, cannot depend on the verb "to come"¹⁵) should be noticed.¹⁶ However, this peculiarity is hardly sufficient to suspect some kind of foreign influence and to understand the passage in the sense of Akk. *ina ûmi mitgari* or the like.¹⁷ In this case, the phrase, "because we came 'al *yôm ṭôḥ*," would mean to say that their coming on an auspicious day obliges Nâḥâl to show them favor. But in spite of the fact that such a translation seems to have been advocated by no less a scholar than A. Klostermann,¹⁸ it is for the present hardly probable.

The small number of cases in which *ṭôḥ* is connected with *yôm* as a predicate, does not contribute much to our further

¹⁵ If there were any possibility of understanding the passage to the effect that the direction of our coming was towards a *yôm ṭôḥ*, we should expect in Biblical language the preposition *el*. 'al connected with *bô* can mean only "against" (2 Chron. 14.10), or, literally, "upon."

¹⁶ M. Löhr(-O. Thenius), *Die Bücher Samuelis*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1898 (*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum A. T.*) remarks *ad loc.* that "'al bei Zeitangaben ist ungewöhnlich!" In fact, the only other instance of such a usage of 'al in the Bible which I am aware of, might be Amos 3.14: *b'yôm pokdî piš'ê Yisrâ'el 'âlâw*. But for many reasons it is unlikely that 'âlâw refers to *yôm*.

¹⁷ See below p. 167.

¹⁸ *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige, Nördlingen 1887* (*Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments*), *ad loc.*: ". . weil wir an einem glücklichen Tage gekommen sind."

enlightenment. Passages like Ps. 84.11 and probably also Eccl. 7.10¹⁹ show that "good" is understood there in an ethical sense. If the exact opposite of *yôm râ'âh* which occurs frequently were mentioned anywhere, we would then be able to make the identical statement — whereas the days spent *bat-tôb*, Job 21.13 and 36.11, are those spent in joy and luxury, and those opposite to the *yôm râ'* of Amos 6.3.


The preceding survey tends to show that in ancient times, Hebrew *yôm tôb* predominantly meant the day of well-being, plenty, and pleasure. But we still hesitate to derive the meaning of holiday from this meaning. One may point to the passages in the Book of Esther and to some of the passages in the *Mišnâh* and say that, from the frequent combination of merry days with religious ceremonies, the usage of *yôm tôb* was expanded to all days characterised by religious rites. However, this transition is by no means as self-evident as it seems to us who are used to it as a fact. The reason why a "good day" is not simply identical with a legal holiday of religious sanctity is obvious. If we wish someone a good day, *bonjour*, *Guten Tag*, and so on, we wish a pleasant time. But it is no holy time, no holiday, which we have in mind; and if "good" in connection with a time-period assumes a religious connotation in modern languages, it is caused by special circumstances.²⁰ For neither *ἀγαθός* nor *bonus* nor *good* nor *tôb* and its equivalents in other Semitic languages originally had any religious connotation. In Hebrew where *tôb* is used in relation to the deity and in relation to a communal life based upon religion, and where further the word was subjected to

¹⁹ Well-being, material advantage seems to be the dominant idea in Eccl. 7.1 and 7.14, as well as in Dt. 6.24.

²⁰ Cf. J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, iv, 1, 6, Leipzig 1935, s. v. *gut* (H. Neumann), col. 1263, cf. col. 1302 ff. and cols. 1227 and 1299, to the effect that the ethico-religious meaning of German *gut* is dependent on Latin *bonus*. This also applies to the English and the French usage (for the former cf. *A New English Dictionary*, Oxford 1901, s. v. *good* A 5 ff., and for the latter cf. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, Vol. VII, Paris 1842, s. v. *dies boni*, *bon jour*). Latin *bonus* seems to have acquired its religious connotation mainly from its being used as an epithet for the gods (cf. *Juppiter Optumus Maximus*).

ethico-philosophical speculation, it acquired very early some religious and ethical meaning;²¹ and so did its Indo-European equivalents for almost identical reasons.²² But *tôb* never acquired the connotation of religious holiness and awe. In this meaning, other roots like *kdš* were used, as with reference to *yôm* in Nehem. 8.9–11; 10.32.²³ If, consequently, *yôm tôb* was singled out as the technical term for the legal holiday, it was either because special historical conditions favored this extension of meaning, or because, under the influence of other ideas probably foreign, it happened that the words *yôm* and *tôb* adopted a connotation which made them fit as an expression for holiday.

For the latter alternative which we want to consider first, no inner Jewish evidence is available. Thus, it will be necessary to observe the usage of "good+day" in the languages spoken by the surrounding nations.

For *Egyptian*, we may compare the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, s. v. *nfr* "good," and especially s. v. *hrw* "day."²⁴ We can do no better than quote what we find s. v. *hrw* v: "*hrw nfr*: (a) froher Tag, Festtag. Besonders auch in Verbindung mit : sich einen frohen Tag machen. Oft als Zuruf: feiere einen

²¹ Cf. K. Hj. Fahlgren, *š'dākā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im A. T.*, Uppsala 1932, pp. 152–157. Fahlgren naturally starts from the religious connotation of the words under investigation, a point of view which is in certain respects necessary and fully justifiable but not always in keeping with the historical facts.

²² For the Greek *ἀγαθός*, for instance, cf. G. Kittel and others, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N. T.*, s. v. *ἀγαθός* B (W. Grundmann), Stuttgart 1932. For the Latin *bonus*, see above note 20.

²³ Cf. also the Odes of Solomon 15.3, and Philo and Josephus: *ἡμέρα ἡμέρα* (above note 7). — In discussing our problem, the danger of giving thought to points which have nothing to do with it is greater than that of overlooking something relevant. Still, it might not be entirely superfluous to mention that the eschatological amplification of "The Day" with epithets like "great" or "awful" cannot be adduced in this connection in any manner.

²⁴ Ed. by A. Erman and H. Grapow, Vol. II, Leipzig 1928, pp. 254 and 499. The *Belegstellen* only were available for the first passage. Note there the repeated occurrences of the astrologically "auspicious day." Cf. also Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* I, Leipzig 1921, p. 228 ff., § 830 f. (*Studien z. Paläographie u. Papyruskunde* 21). Further, H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten . . .*, *AbhPAW*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1939, 11, p. 38 n. 5; 39.

frohen Tag (mit Bezug auf Gelage u.ä.). Seltener auch mit *sm3*: einen frohen Tag feiern. (b) günstiger Tag (bei der Tageswählerei, beim Kultus, u.ä.)." Here, we have the meaning of *yôm tôb*, as found in Jewish usage, together with the astrological meaning.

The usage of *hrw nfr* for a day with good weather, which we find noted s. v. *nfr* VIII, probably does not result from astronomical observations but from the consideration of a day with good weather as a pleasant, fair, or beautiful day. Interestingly enough, also the 'Amârna letters contain an identical phrase: *ki-i û-mu i-ti-bu* "when the day becomes good" (Knudtzon No. 7, l. 59), referring, as the context shows unmistakably, to the weather conditions. The Greek *εὐημερία* in the meaning of "good weather" must be compared.²⁵ The direct continuation of the old Egyptian expression is indicated in W. E. Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*:²⁶ *εὐοοῦ πορχε*. As Greek equivalent, *εὐημερία* is given, but unfortunately its specific meaning has not been indicated. The ancient "Tageswählerei" is also continued in Coptic; as evidenced by a document in Vienna, a *Koptische Bauernpraktik*, where we read: "Der zweite des Monats ist gut," etc.²⁷

We may add that the Egyptians knew a masculine proper name, *hrw-nfr*,²⁸ which probably meant that its bearer was born on a joyful day, or on an auspicious one. The Greeks knew the names *Εὐήμερος* and *Ἀγαθήμερος*.²⁹ The latter occurs, as far as I know, no earlier than in Christian times, and it may, in some cases at least, be nothing but the Greek translation of the Egyptian name. Other peoples use the identical expression as a name,

²⁵ Cf. also below p. 172 f.

²⁶ Oxford 1939, p. 240a.

²⁷ Cf. *Führer durch die Ausstellung der Papyrus*, Erzherzog Rainer, Vienna 1894, p. 45, text no. 132. W. C. Till, in *Mittheilungen d. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, Vol. 6, 1936, pp. 108-149. Cf. also Hopfner, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ Cf. H. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, Leipzig 1924, p. 43. H. Ranke, *Die ägypt. Personennamen*, Vol. I, Glückstadt 1935, p. 231 n. 4; p. XXVI.

²⁹ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.*, and Fr. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Heidelberg 1922, *sub vocibus*.

as the Persians *Rôzbeh*³⁰ or the Jews *Yôm-tôb*, so frequent in later Judaism.³¹

In *Akkadian*, the astrological connotation is dominant. We need not quote any instances of the statement occurring over and over again that a day or a month is *magru*, *mitgaru*, *šemû* "auspicious" and that an enterprise is begun on such a day or in such a month.³² But we also have a few instances where precisely *ṭābu* appears in the same connection. In an Assyrian letter of R. F. Harper's great collection (No. 673, l. 11),³³ we read: *ûmu ṭābu a-mur* "Search out an auspicious day," with the reply on rev. l. 1 f.: *arabšimānu ṭāba ûmu 17^{kam} ṭāba* "the month of Siman is auspicious, the 17th day is auspicious." Similar passages are contained in Nos. 77; 365;³⁴ 384; 652;³⁵ 1140³⁶ of the same collection.³⁷ The phrase: *ina arḫi ṭābi ûme šemê* "in an auspicious month, on a favorable day," which is found twice in texts of Assurbanipal,³⁸ may be mentioned here.

The *Persian* usage, it seems, is not completely independent of the *Akkadian* one. For it seems a fact that astrological notions were adopted by the Persians when they came in contact with the

³⁰ Cf. F. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, p. 266 f., s. v. *Rôzweh*. Justi calls attention to the ideogrammatic writing of this name: *yôm šappîr*.

³¹ Cf. also Jewish *Ṭābyômî* and Mandaic *Ṭābyômîn* (M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, Vol. 2, Giessen 1915, p. 71).

³² Cf. the Assyrian dictionaries *sub vocibus*, and, for a few additional references: R. C. Thompson, *The Prisma of Esarhaddon* . . ., London 1931, p. 9; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben* . . ., Vol. 1, Berlin-Leipzig 1931, Nos. 20 and 26; J. Hehn, *Siebenzahl und Sabbat* . . ., Leipzig 1907, p. 110, etc.

³³ Cf. L. Waterman's translation of the Harper letters: *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Ann Arbor 1930-1936, and R. H. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven 1935 (*American Oriental Series* Vol. 6), No. 340, p. 231.

³⁴ l. 7 f.: *arḫu an-ni-û ṭa-ba-a*, rev. l. 1 f.: *arabšabâṭu arḫu ṭābu šû-u ûmu 17^{kam} ṭa-a-ba*.

³⁵ l. 14: *ûmêmeš-šu ṭābûtemeš*.

³⁶ l. 1 ff.: *naphar 8 ûmême ša arabAyyari ša a-na e-piš ši-bu-ti pa-la-aḫ ili ṭa-ba-a-ni*.

³⁷ Cf. also B. Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig 1915, p. 119 (*Leipziger Semitistische Studien* 6. 1-2).

³⁸ M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916 (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* 7), Vol. 2, p. 86/7 and 188/9. Cf. also Harper, Nos. 365 and 406.

Akkadians (or with the Aramaic successors of the Akkadians).³⁹ Though we are not able to mention any reference to the "good day" in very ancient times,⁴⁰ it is not too bold a statement to say that the later usage is but the continuation of that of past periods. In Firdawsī's *Šāhnāmah*, we find (but only in the latter part of the work) *rôzbeh* in the approximate meaning of "lucky" which, it seems, we are not able to define more closely. The frequently used *nêkrôz*, however, evidently derives its meaning from astrological connotations, as evidenced by a variant reading in Mohl's (IV, p. 274, verse 3169) and Vuller's edition (III, p. 1443, verse 3162). The former reads:

Jehândâr-i-nêk-ahtar-i-šâd-rôz

"The ruler of the world who is under good stars and has joyous⁴¹ days,"

whereas the latter precisely reads *nêkrôz* instead of *šâdrôz*.⁴²

Mandaic references should properly be added here, but the only available notice, which moreover remains uncertain since not given in the original language, is contained in E. S. Drower's *Mandaean of Iraq and Iran*:⁴³ "That day as it was a feast, a happy day . . ."

³⁹ Cf. J. Bidez-Fr. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, Paris 1938, préface.

⁴⁰ An expression in the *Bundahišn*, which F. Justi had rendered "inclusive" (Leipzig 1868, p. 59 ff.) was translated as "auspicious day" by E. W. West (Oxford 1901, p. 94). But H. S. Nyberg states that it means "Schaltmonatskalender" (*Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift 1934, Program 2, p. 10 ff.; 60 f.) — aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ* 1, p. 997 (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser u. Araber*, Leyden 1879, p. 279), relying upon Persian sources, calls a lucky day *yawm šāliḥ*. We cannot be certain whether the Persian original used here was a word meaning "good."

⁴¹ The word translated "joyous" here means "happy," defined through the preceding expression.

⁴² Acknowledgment is due to F. Wolff's splendid *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935. We may further refer here to the expression *beh rôzgâr* meaning "lucky, successful." — F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, s. v. *hoš*, mentions *hoš-rôz* "A holiday." — It may be annotated that a religious connotation was inherent in *beh* since ancient times. In connection with a period of time, I only know *pančak-i-vêh* (*ŠAPPÎR*), which Nyberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 40 f., translates "die heiligen Fünfwochen."

⁴³ Oxford 1937, p. 367.

A modern continuation of the "good+day" in the sense of an auspicious day is exhibited in the wish *yûmuh ʔâva* "may your day be auspicious" which is used as a toast in *modern Eastern Aramaic* and which is answered with: *kulli yûmânuh ʔâvi* "may all your days be auspicious."⁴⁴

Though used a great distance from the old Semitic territory, a formula occurring in (*Neo*-)*Punic* inscriptions furnishes in its wording a close parallel to the expression which we are investigating. Five inscriptions which testify to the absolution of a vow (*ndr*)⁴⁵ — *ndr* in this case referring to the concrete object on which the inscription was written — in gratitude of a divine favor, contain the words *bym n'm wbrk*: *bym n'm '(?)s(?) bym brk*,⁴⁶ *bym n'm wbrk*,⁴⁷ *bym n'm wb'rk*,⁴⁸ *bym n'm wbrk*.⁴⁹ A Greek fragment (found at the same place as the inscriptions mentioned in note 49) was read and published by J.-B. Chabot as: *Αγαθη ημε . . .*, and equated by him with the Punic *bym n'm*.⁴⁹ We may safely add to these inscriptions the Latin ex-voto from Africa *CIL* VIII, No. 9323, which starts with the words *Die Bono*. The Punic formula which offered some difficulties to its interpreters⁵⁰ is not to be connected syntactically with the statement contained in part of these inscriptions (*RÉS* I, Nos. 303 and 331) that the deity heard the voice of the supplicant and blessed him. One might consider this possibility in *RÉS* I, No. 331, where that statement is immediately followed by *bym n'm* etc., at the end of the whole inscription. However, since the formula also occurs in other connections and since it is put conspicuously at the beginning, it is clear that the formula refers

⁴⁴ A. Socin, *Die Neu-aramaischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mossul*, Tübingen 1882, p. 44/5, l. 3 = transl. p. 180, note 43. R. Duval, *Les dialectes Néo-Araméens de Salamas*, Paris 1883, p. 4, l. 19 f. = transl. p. 4.

⁴⁵ In one case, it is *mtni 'š ʔn'*. ⁴⁶ *RÉS* I, No. 331.

⁴⁷ *RÉS* I, No. 304 (=306), and J.-B. Chabot, *JA* XI. 11, 1918, p. 250.

⁴⁸ *RÉS* I, No. 303 (=305).

⁴⁹ R. Dussaud, *Bull. archéol. du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1914, p. 45 = J.-B. Chabot, *CRAI* 1916, p. 128. Two almost identical inscriptions.

⁵⁰ Cf. Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New Haven 1936 (*American Oriental Series* Vol. 8), p. 91. Glossary s. v. *brk*, who calls it "an obscure formula."

to the time of the absolution of the vow. Therefore the comparison with Is. 49.8, which was proposed by Ph. Berger on the publication of *RÉS* I, No. 331⁵², is void of any foundation. In view of the Greek inscription (if correctly interpreted) and, especially of the Latin *ex-voto*, there can be no doubt that both *n'm* and *brk* are adjectives and that we must translate: "On a good and blessed day" or, in the case of *RÉS* I, No. 331: "On a good day which is (at the same time) a blessed day." Ch. Clermont-Ganneau compared herewith the *yôm tôb* of the Book of Esther, which he interpreted as a *jour de fête*,⁵² and he as well as R. Dussaud wondered whether we might have here a reference to a great local festival (*fête*) on which the vow was fulfilled.⁵³ Since, however, the formula occurs repeatedly, it does not seem likely that always special occasions are referred to, but rather the "good and blessed day" is thus called because the day on which a vow was fulfilled was under the special grace of the deity. It was a holy and auspicious day for the dedication of the *ex-voto*.

Though the Punic formula probably is entirely independent of Latin influence, it should be kept in mind that Latin *bonus dies* also has a religious connotation. *Bonus dies* occurs rarely in the sense of a "pleasant, enjoyable day".⁵⁴ Petronius, *Sat.* 30, finds in Trimalchio's house a *tabula* on which the lucky and unlucky days were noted down,⁵⁵ and St. Augustine, *De civit.*

⁵² *Actes du 11^e Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes à Paris 1897*, Paris 1898, 4^{me} section, p. 283 f.

⁵³ *Recueil d'archéol. orientale*, Vol. V, Paris 1903, p. 104 f.

⁵⁴ *Loc. cit.* (above note 49).

⁵⁵ Plautus, *Menaechmi* 597; Virgil, *Georg.* 3.66. The Latin references are culled from the *Thesaurus s. v. bonus* 17b (Vol. 2, col. 2092b, l. 68 ff.) and *dies* IVe (Vol. 5, col. 105b, l. 11 ff.).

The wish for a pleasant day, as used in salutations, which is so wide spread in modern languages is apparently without precedent in Latin as far as the evidence of the *Thesaurus* goes. In Greek we have, according to E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, New York-Leipzig 1893, s. v. *kalós*, instances of this usage from a period not earlier than the 10th cent. (Constantinos Porphyrogenetos): *καλὴ ἡμέρα ὑμῖν*, and the like (but cf. also below note 74).

⁵⁵ ... altera (sc. tabula) lunae cursum stellarumque septem imagines pictas; et qui *dies boni* quique incommodi essent, distinguente bulla notabantur.

Dei V. 7, refers to an unlucky day in the astrological election of days by *diem non bonum*. But, in a number of instances, *bonus dies* is the day of religious sanctity.⁵⁶ In the Greek form (*ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα*), *bonus dies* appears in Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* LI, 19.⁵⁷ in order to characterise the day on which C. Julius Octavianus (Augustus) took Alexandria from Antonius (30 B. C.). Here, the exclusively religious connotation of this expression is clear from the use of *μιαρὸς* "unclean, accursed" which, in contrast, is applied to Antonius' birthday.

Finally, we have to consider the *Greek* usage. We can state at the outset that the combination of *ἡμέρα* with *ἀγαθός* (*καλός*) is comparatively rare. Homer knows a *ιερόν ἥμαρ*, but frequently mentions a *κακὸν ἥμαρ*, a "bad day,"⁵⁸ and similar adjectives modifying "day," most of them of unpleasant meaning. Hesiod, *Opera et dies* 504, calls days with bad weather *κάκ' ἡμέρατα*. Frequently, however, a day is designated as "good" (*ἀγαθὴ*) or "the very best" (*ἀρίστη*) — this means auspicious for undertaking some agricultural work (766, 781, 783, 814, 820). A very pleasant day because of the good weather after a storm is, in the hypocritical words of Clytaemestra, the return of Agamemnon (Aesch. *Agam.* 900);⁵⁹ and very beautiful is the light of a day which has brought relief from the assault of an enemy (Soph. *Antig.* 100 f.).⁶⁰ A fragment of Sophocles' *Athamas*, *λευκὴν ἡμέραν* "white day," is explained as "good day" by the anonymous anti-Atticist who preserved the fragment for us.⁶¹ But this reference to "good+day" belongs to the period after 200 A. D., the approximate date of that author. The exact

⁵⁶ Plautus, *Poen.* 497; Catullus 14.15; Horace, *Carm.* III, 21, 6; Ovid, *Fast.* 1, 71 f. Cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 2nd ed., Leipzig-Berlin 1923 (=1929), p. 148. Cf. also above note 20.

⁵⁷ *τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἐάλω, ἀγαθὴν τε εἶναι...*

W. Crönert, in the first issue of his new edition of Passow's Greek Dictionary (Göttingen 1912), s. v. *ἀγαθός*, where I found this reference, says: *faustus*. — Cf. also above note 7.

⁵⁸ κ 269, 288, ο 524. I 251, 597, Υ 315, Φ 374.

⁵⁹ *Κάλλιστον ἥμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χειμάτος.*

⁶⁰ *Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, τὸ κάλλιστον ἐπταπύλῳ φανέν Θήβᾳ τῶν προτέρων φάος...*

⁶¹ A. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragm.*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1889, Sophocles No. 5.

meaning of fragment and gloss is somewhat uncertain, and we can scarcely say whether we should interpret them with Herodianus, Grammarian of the second century A. D., as "to spend a pleasant and joyful day," or whether, in view of Aesch. *Agam.* 668,⁶² we should understand the "white day" as the "bright day" with fair weather bringing (in the *Agamemnon*) relief from the anguish of the preceding storm on sea. The Persian epic uses the "white day" (*rôz-i-sapêd*) as a metaphor, comparing hopelessness with the nightfall and darkening of a "white day." The same expression, meaning "lucky day," appears in modern Persian,^{62a} and "May your day be white" is said to have been an Arabic greeting used in Cairo.⁶³

From Egyptian papyri we learn that, in accordance with the ancient usage of *hrw nfr*, one could say: *ἡμέραν καλὴν ἡγαγον* "I spent a pleasant day."⁶⁴ The same phrase occurs in an invocation of the goddess Isis from Oxyrrhynchus. There, it is used in parallel with *πανήγυρις: τὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν βόστρυχον τῶν τὰς καλὰς ἀγόντων ἡμέρας εὐθηνίαν*. This parallelism evidently was the reason why F. Preisigke rendered *καλὰς ἡμέρας* "Festtage."⁶⁵ The editors of the papyrus, however, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt,⁶⁶ contended that the idea of "joyous days of plenty" is expressed here, and it seems difficult to decide who is right. Grenfell and Hunt, in their translation, gave this expression still another meaning by rendering: "lucky days." From the 4th cent. A. D., we have a passage in a papyrus from Egypt where the idea of a joyous day is expressed by *ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα: ἀπα[ν]τ[ή]σης εἰς τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἡμέραν* "Please,

⁶² *λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ*.

^{62a} Cf. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, quoted by I. Goldziher, in *Globus* 60, No. 17, 1891, p. 258b. J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, s. v. *rôz*.

⁶³ J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, London 1830, p. 210 and 435. The *dies albae*, *al-ayyâm al-biḍ* probably are something different.

⁶⁴ According to F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, Vol. 1, Berlin 1925, s. v. *ἡμέρα* and *καλός*, this passage is derived from E. J. Goodspeed, *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, Chicago 1902, No. 3, l. 18. But it is not contained in this edition.

⁶⁵ *Loc. cit.* (above note 64).

⁶⁶ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 11, London 1915, No. 1380, l. 134 f., and p. 193.

come upon the good day (=festival?)."⁶⁷ Two inscriptions on lintels, both found in the Hawrân and presumably not older, but rather more recent than the preceding papyrus: Εἰς καλὰς ἡμέρας, and Ἐς καλὰς ἐμέρας,⁶⁸ may convey the wish for joyful and pleasant days, as an apotropaic formula.

A day might be good and pleasant because it is under the special protection of a good deity. An inscription discovered in Dura-Europos acclaims Serapis, to whom it is addressed, with the words: Εἰς Ζεὺς Σέραπισ καλὴν τὴν ἡμέραν.⁶⁹ The same idea is conveyed by an inscription from Rome, where ἡμέρα is replaced by ὥρα:⁷⁰ καλὴ σου πᾶσα ὥρα Εὐεργέτα Σάραπι.⁷¹ Likewise as an *acclamatio*, a much discussed phrase contained in the magical papyrus Osloensis from the 4th cent. A. D. is interpreted by E. Peterson⁷² and A. Nock⁷³ as follows: ἀγαθὲ (=αἰ) σου ὥραι, ἀγαθὲ σου ἡμέραι, ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τοῦ κόσμου "good are your hours, good are your days, the Good Daemon of the world." In the last edition of the same papyrus, however, the reading of S. Eitrem's editio princeps: ἀγαθῇ σου ὥρα, ἀγαθῇ σου ἡμέρα "in your good hour, on your good day," is upheld.⁷³ This reading (which seems to me less likely than the

⁶⁷ J. Nicole, *Les papyrus de Genève*, Vol. I, 2, Genève 1910, No. 61, l. 10 f.

⁶⁸ R. Dussaud-Fr. Macler, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, in *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* 10, 1902, p. 661 (Greek inscriptions No. 55); E. Littmann-D. Magie Jr.-D. Reed Stuart, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria, Publ. of the Princeton Univ. Archaeol. Exped. to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*, III A, Leyden 1907-1921, p. 102 f. (No. 175).

⁶⁹ *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season*, New Haven 1936, p. 45 (Inscr. No. 623, M. Crosby).

⁷⁰ The ὥρη τοῦ ἔτους καλλίστη "the best season of the year" is, of course, something entirely different (Herodotus, *Hist.* VII, 50. 4; cf. also Plato, *Epinomis* 987a).

⁷¹ Cf. R. Cagnat, *Inscr. Graec. ad res Rom. pertinentes*, Vol. 1, Paris 1911, No. 105=G. Kaibel, *CIG* 14, Berlin 1890, No. 1928. E. Peterson, *EIS ΘΕΟΣ*, Göttingen 1926, p. 316 f., and the Dura-Europos Report quoted above.

⁷² *Classical Review* 40, 1926, p. 27.

⁷³ S. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, I, Oslo 1925, p. 12; 27; 86. K. Preisendanz and others, *Pap. Graec. Mag.*, Vol. 2, Berlin-Leipzig 1931, p. 170, No. XXVI, l. 216. (Eitrem himself evidently re-edited the Oslo papyrus in the collection of Preisendanz).

other one) would make the "good hour" and the "good day" the astrologically auspicious ones.⁷⁴

The astrological significance of *καλή ἡμέρα* is evident in a passage of the great Copto-Greek magical papyrus in Paris which likewise dates from the 4th cent. There, a person is advised to address the magical herb which he is going to dig out, with the following words: *Δαμβάνω σε σὺν Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ καὶ Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι καὶ ἐν καλῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἐν καλῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐπιτευκτικῇ ἐπὶ πάντα* "I seize you with Good (*ἀγαθός*) Fortune and with a Good (*ἀγαθός*) Daemon and in a good (*καλός*) hour and on a good (*καλός*) day which lets everything succeed."⁷⁵ Whether a similar expression used in a love charm (Sword of Dardanus⁷⁶) which we find in the same papyrus l. 1817 f.: *ἀγαθῇ ἡμέρᾳ γένοιτο τῷ ὀνόματι* "May the name have a good day," likewise has some astrological connotation, or whether merely a pleasant day is wished to the magical "name," can hardly be decided.

The astrological literature in the Greek language furnishes us with a number of instances, though it seems that more specific expressions like, above all, *εὐχρηστος*, are preferred to *ἀγαθός* and *καλός*. The Esdras astrologus occasionally uses *ἡμέραι ἀγαθαί* or *καλαί*,⁷⁷ and so does the astrological treatise attributed to David and Solomon.⁷⁸ Further instances are found in works of related contents.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Some of the passages quoted in E. A. Sophocles's Dictionary (above note 54) may be understood as an *acclamatio*.

⁷⁵ K. Preisendanz and others, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, 1928, p. 168/9, No. III, l. 3000. Cf. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 4th ed., Tübingen 1923, p. 217 ff. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia 1913, p. 56, note 31. In this connection, one may compare Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. W. Kroll, Vol. I, Berlin 1926, p. 63: *καλαῖς ὥραις εἰσῆλθες, μέγιστε βασιλεῦ*.

⁷⁶ Cf. R. Mouterde, *Le glaive de Dardanos*, *Mél. de l'Univ. St. Joseph* 15, Beyrouth 1930/1, pp. 51-137.

⁷⁷ *C(orpus) C(odicum) A(strologorum)*, ed. by F. Cumont and others, Brussels 1898-1936, VI, p. 51; X, p. 32; XII, p. 60. Cf. X, p. 32; 47. *Εὐχρηστος* is used II, p. 38; VIII, 3, p. 13; 17.

⁷⁸ *CCA* X, p. 125 f. Cf. X, p. 196 ff.; 243 ff.; XI, 2, p. 175 ff.

⁷⁹ *ἡμέρα+ἀγαθός*: *CCA* V, 3, p. 90 f.; VIII, 3, p. 10; 30; 43; XII, p. 45. — *ἡμέρα+καλός*: VIII, 1, p. 11; 214; VIII, 4, p. 104 ff.; XI, 1, p. 25; 134 ff.;

We have reached the end of our investigation of "good+day" in the linguistic usage of the peoples surrounding the Jews and mingling with them. The main result seems to be that the different connotations which the combination "good+day" may have are not so much conditioned by the internal development of the linguistic usage in one and the same language as they are shaped by foreign conceptions which gained influence over a certain language under certain circumstances. If this is so, we might assume that, for instance, the astrological connotation which was at home in Babylonia (and also in Egypt) might have influenced the expression *yôm tôb* so that it could be used by the Jews for the designation of those days which alone were "auspicious" for them, their holidays. The religious connotation which we found in Punic parallels and which, from the ethical meaning of *tôb*, might perhaps have developed in the Hebrew word itself, might also have played a rôle in the development of *yôm tôb*. However, it would be strange in this case that *yôm tôb* is not applied to the Šabbât and the fast days.⁸⁰ Though all these assumptions cannot be disproved at present, there also seems no way of proving positively that in fact foreign influence helped shape the meaning of *yôm tôb*.

Consequently, the transition from "day of plenty" to "holiday" is, with more likelihood, to be explained as an inner-Jewish development. The historical conditions under which this transition might have taken place are not difficult to guess. It was a time when the sacred character of the festivals was but faintly sensed by the Jews, when oppression was not overwhelming and when each holiday could be celebrated as an occasion of joy.

XI, 2, p. 155; XII, p. 75. — *ἡμέρα+καλός καὶ ἀγαθός*: III, p. 32 ff.; IV, p. 44; 142 ff. — *ῥα+ἀγαθός* and *ῥα+καλός* likewise occur frequently. Occasionally, also *καιρός* and *χρόνος* are provided with the same adjectives. *χρόνος+καλός* refers to the weather. — Cf. also the scholiasts to Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* (Chr. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg 1829, Vol. 1, p. 410 ff.). — For medieval Latin works of this type cf. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol. I, New York 1923, p. 678 ff.

⁸⁰ One might say, however, that the distinction in law and rite which became inherent in the expression *yôm tôb*, prevented this extended usage. At any rate, the influence of the ethical meaning of *tôb* is very unlikely in itself.

All this points to the Maccabean period in which also the first instance of the technical usage of *yôm tôb* occurs in the Greek translation of the Book of Esther. The *M^gillat Ta'anit* and other sources clearly show that, in the Maccabean period, there was a strong tendency to celebrate festivals of little religious but mainly of national importance, and the attempt seems to have been made to give these festivals an importance approximating that of the old religious festivals. These national festivals were all of a joyful character, destined to celebrate happy occasions of national greatness.⁸¹ In this spirit, any day of a special character, unless it was a fast day or the Šabbât with all its peculiar injunctions and its exceptional position inherited of old, might have been considered a *yôm tôb*, a day of wordly happiness and enjoyment. Thus *yôm tôb* offered itself as a convenient legal term to distinguish the holidays and their laws from the common days.

⁸¹ The Greek conception of *ἐορτή* might also have had some influence. Philo, *De spec. leg.* I. 191, defines *ἐορτή* as a time of joy (... *ἐορτή καιρός ἐστιν εὐφροσύνης*), and he feels called upon to explain why a serious festival like *Yôm hak-kippûrîm* is called an *ἐορτή* (*ibid.* II. 193 f.). The passage *Nehem.* 8.10 f., where the holy character of the day is invoked in order to keep the people from crying as they did because of Ezra's reading of the *Tôrâh*, appears in Josephus, *Ant.* XI. 156 (following the Greek 1 *Ezra* 9.52 f.) remarkably enough in the wording: *εἶναι γὰρ ἐορτήν καὶ μὴ δεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ κλαλεῖν*.—E. Bickermann, *Die Makkabäer*, Berlin 1935, p. 37 (*Bücherei des Schocken Verlags* 47) considers the institution of those festivals an imitation of Greek custom.

Later, *yôm tôb* might simply be considered identical with *simhâh*, as in b. Meg. 16b (cf. above note 13).

THE BENEDICTORY FORMULA IN THE TARGUM TO THE SONG OF SONGS*

LEON J. LIEBREICH, Trenton, N. J.

THE subject of the present inquiry is the opening part of the second verse of the first chapter of the Targum to the Song of Songs, which reads as follows: 'אמר שלמה נביא בריך שמיה דה' דיהב לן אוריתא על ידוהי דמשה ספרא רבא'.¹ The writer's aim is to demonstrate the unique character of the passage just cited, and to determine the specific function which it performs in the Targum to the Song. Since, however, the passage in question cannot be properly evaluated apart from its immediate context, it will also be necessary to examine the first verse of our Targum, as well as the remainder of the second verse.

I

The Targum to the Song of Songs has been aptly characterized as an aggadic commentary,² or an allegorical Midrash in Aramaic, which bases itself squarely upon the Hebrew text of the Song of Songs.³ Each verse of this Targum is, accordingly, a

■ The writer desires to convey his cordial thanks and deep indebtedness to Prof. Alexander Marx, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and to Doctor Isaiah Sonne, of the Hebrew Union College, who most generously read an earlier draft of this paper in manuscript, making some valuable suggestions, and directing the author's attention to several important references and bibliographical items.

* References to the Targum to the Song are to the text in the edition of Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, Leipzig 1873, pp. 145-163.

² See Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 2nd ed., p. 68.

³ See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Allegorical Interpretation," I, p. 407. S. Salfeld, *Das Hohelied Salomo's bei den jüdischen Erklärern des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1879, p. 8, describes the Targ. to the Song as "ein Midrasch in chaldäischer Sprache." Cf. J. Mann, *HUCA*, XIV (1939), p. 333. W. Riedel,

targumic(-midrashic) rendering of the corresponding verse in the Hebrew Song of Songs. Well-nigh every word in the Song is accounted for in the process of targumic(-midrashic) interpretation. Frequently, the same word, or group of words, in the Hebrew Song, is furnished with more than one interpretation in the Targum.⁴ The biblical basis underlying a particular targumic interpretation may not always be apparent. Where, however, as in many instances, talmudic and midrashic parallels accompanied by their scriptural proof-texts are available, it is possible, with their aid, to determine the precise word, or combination of words, which lies back of a given targumic interpretation. A marked dependence upon talmudic and midrashic literature, as well as upon the Targumim of Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan, is reflected in the Targum to the Song.⁵ At the same

Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche, Leipzig 1898, p. 40, has this to say about the Targ. to the S.: "Eine Charakteristik des Targums braucht kaum noch gegeben zu werden. Es ist nicht eine mehr oder weniger wörtliche Uebersetzung, auch keine Umschreibung, sondern ein Midrasch, der sich freilich genau an die Wortfolge anschliesst." Cf. P. Churgin, in *Gibeath Saul, Essays contributed in Honor of Rabbi Saul Silber*, Chicago 1935, p. 92: מחרום שה' ש דורש את המקראות. הוא מדרש על שה' ש.

⁴ This characteristic of the Targ. to the S. has been observed independently by Elyakim Rothenburg in several instances in his commentary on the Targ. to the Five Scrolls (*Ge'ullat ha-Ger*, Prague 1618), and by W. Riedel (*op. cit.*) in one of the notes to his German translation of the Targ. to the S. Thus the former, to cite one example, in the course of his comment on Targ. to the S. 1.11, remarks: זה פי' שלישי; של מלך חורי; and the latter makes the following observation on 4.15 (*op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 2): "Der Targum enthält eine doppelte Erklärung des Verses." For examples of dual interpretation of scriptural words in other Targumim, see Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, II, pp. 7,215; and S. Waldberg, *'Imre Da'at*, Cracow 1904, 31b-33a. It will be observed below, in the course of this study, that שיר השירים אשר לשלמה and ישקני מנשקות פיהו are each interpreted twice.

⁵ The following works pay particular attention to the talmudic, midrashic and targumic sources of the Targ. to the S.: (1) John Gill, *An Exposition of the Book of Solomon's Song . . . to which is added the Targum . . . faithfully translated . . . together with some Explanatory Notes upon it*, 2nd ed., London 1751, pp. 535-64; (2) Ephraim Silber, *Sedeh Yerushalayim*, Czernowitz 1883, 1a-10b and 68b-69a; (3) B. Schmerler, *'Ahabat Yehonatan*, Vol. III, Bilgoraj 1935, pp. 223-6, 243-4, 245-6; and (4) P. Churgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.

time, instances are not wanting, where our Targum cannot be traced to any of the sources now extant.⁶

With these observations in mind,⁷ we now turn to the first verse of the Targum to the Song, which, for the sake of analysis, is arranged below in a form which exhibits (1) the division of the verse into its component units of interpretation; (2) the relevant text-words in the Song of Songs, upon which each unit of interpretation is based; and (3) the apposite midrashic counterpart to each unit of interpretation:

MIDRASH

TARGUM

| | |
|--|-----------------------|
| ד"א שיר השירים... ר' | 1. שיר השירים — שירין |
| יוחנן בשם ר' אחא בשם ר"ש בר | ותושבחן ⁸ |
| אבא נאמר שירים ושבח. | |
| (Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, | |
| ed. Wilna 1887, 1.1, 3b ⁹) | |

⁶ Cf. Churgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 92, 93–4.

⁷ A complete examination of the method underlying the Targ. to the S. lies outside the scope of the present investigation. Only such characteristics of this Targ. are discussed which are required for a proper understanding of the verses embraced in this study, viz., Ch. 1, vv. 1–2.

⁸ D. de S. Pool, *The Old Jewish-Aramaic Prayer the Kaddish*, Leipzig 1909, p. 61 bottom, notes that this expression (which occurs also in our Targ. 4.11) is parallel to שירתא חשבחתא in the Kaddish. He observes (*loc. cit.*) that "שירתא וחשבחות — שירות וחשבחות is a usual expression for Psalms." Cf. *JQR* (N. S.), II (1911–12), p. 284 bottom. That שירות וחשבחות is a general term for poetic portions of Scripture is illustrated by a striking example found in Morning Service of the Prayer Book, where שירות וחשבחות (שירה... שבחו) occur with reference to the Song at the Red Sea. It is interesting to note that Targ. to Ps. 48.1 has שירתא וחשבחתא / שיר מומור (cf. Targ. to Ps. 66.1, 83.1, 88.1 and 108.1) and to Ps. 67.1, חושבחתא ושירתא / שיר מומור (cf. Targ. to Ps. 30.1, 65.1, 68.1 and 92.1).

⁹ The reading in Yalkut Shimeoni on the Song, 980, is: שיר השירים נאמר שיר ושבח. Like the plural (שירות וחשבחות), discussed in the preceding note, the phrase שיר ושבח is found in the Mekilta, ed. Lauterbach, I, pp. 215, 223 (p. 203: שיר שבח), also in connection with the Song at the Red Sea. Cf. the liturgical שיר ושבח, the prayer concluding the *Pesuke de-Zimra*, which, according to their present arrangement, include Pss. 100 and 145–150, as well as other scriptural passages, among them Ex. 15. On the position of Ex. 15 after ישחבה in some rituals, see J. Mann, *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 284 bottom.

MIDRASH

אמר ר' יודן בר סימון ולא עוד
אלא ששרתה עליו רוח"ק
ואמר ג' ספרים הללו משלי
שה"ש וקהלת.

(ib., 1.1, 1b¹³)

TARGUM

2. אשר לשלמה — די אמר
שלמה¹⁰ נביא¹¹ מלכא דישראל
ברוח נבואה¹²

3. לשלמה — קדם ריבון כל שיר השירים אשר לשלמה
למלך שהשלום שלו עלמא ה'¹⁴

(ib., 1.2, 4a¹⁵)

¹⁰ אשר לשלמה / די אמר שלמה reflects the Targumist's understanding of the force of the *Lamed* in לשלמה (*Lamed auctoris*). Cf. C. D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, London 1857, p. 2.

¹¹ On the inspiration of Solomon and the Song, see Prof. L. Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, VI, p. 301, n. 93.

¹² Further in this verse of the Targ. we read: ברוח ... אמר שלמה. R. H. Melamed's edition of our Targ. (*Targum to Canticles*, Philadelphia 1921) has ברוח קודשא in both places. Similarly, Targ. to Eccl. 1.2, ed. Lagarde: ברוח שלמה ... חזא; ed. A. Levy, *Das Targum zu Koheleth*, Breslau 1905: ברוח קודשא ... חזא. That נבואה (רוח) and רוח קודשא are interchangeable terms may be seen from 'Abot deR. Nathan, ed. Schechter, where Recension A (p. 102 bottom) has עשרה שמות. עשרה שמות נקראת נבואה, and Recension B (p. 95), וקרא רוח הקודש. Furthermore, both נבואה and רוח הקודש are among the ten synonyms for prophecy enumerated in Mishnat R. Eliezer, ed. H. G. Enelow, p. 109. Cf. Silber, *op. cit.*, on Targ. to the S. 1.1, and G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, pp. 237, 421. The two expressions are combined in Targ. to Ps. 51.13 (רוח נבואת) and in Targ. to Lam. 2.9 (רוח נבואת קודשא), and in Targ. to Lam. 2.9 (רוח נבואת קודשא). The last-mentioned reference is observed by Silber, *loc. cit.*

¹³ Similarly Shir ha-Shirim Rabba 1.1, 2a, 2b top, 2b end, 3b; and Kohelet Rabba 1.1, 1a.

¹⁴ Since the name of God does not appear in the Hebrew Song of Songs, an early effort was made to find some mention of it by associating the name of Solomon with God. Already in the Mekilta, ed. Lauterbach, I, pp. 108-9, "Solomon" is a name by which God is designated, the proof-text being לשלמה in 3.7 of the Song. Cf. Shebu'ot 35b, and Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 277, n. 2. Furthermore, in our Targ. 8.11 we have the equation: לשלמה / דמרי עלמא דשלמא עימיה. In view of these considerations, there can be no doubt that לשלמה in the present verse is derived by means of a second interpretation of לשלמה.

The expression ריבון כל עלמא ה' occurs only here in our Targ. Elsewhere, it is found in Pseudo-Jon. (ed. Ginsburger) on Num. 23.19, and in Fragmentary Targ. (ed. Ginsburger) on Gen. 30.22. The form ריבון כל עלמא ה' is

MIDRASH

TARGUM

ד"א שיר השירים עשר
שירות ה' שירת אדם ונז'.
(Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim,
ed. Schechter, p. 10, line
195)

4. השירים — עסרתי שירתא¹⁶
אתאמרו בעלמא הדין...
שירתא קמיתא אמר אדם וכו'¹⁷

appears in Pseudo-Jon. on Gen. 18.30, 31, 32; Num. 23.19; and Deut. 32.4; as well as in the fragments of the Palestinian Pentateuch-Targum published by Kahle (in *Masoreten des Westens*, Stuttgart 1927–30, II) on Gen. 37.33 (p. 17) and 38.25 (p. 19). ריבון כל עלמא occurs in our Targ. 1.4, 5.2, and 7.12 (cf. Micah 4.13 לארץ כל הארץ, Targ. עלמא; קדם ריבון כל עלמא); in 1.16 and 2.3; and לריבונהו (ed. Melamed: לרבוהו) in 8.6. Onkelos (ed. Berliner) on Ex. 23.17 and 34.23 has 'רבון עלמא ה' / הארץ ה'. In the last passage Pseudo-Jon. renders: 'רבון עלמיא ה'.

¹⁵ Similarly Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim Rabba 1.5, 9a; 3.7, 21a.

¹⁶ For the sources in which the ten songs are enumerated, see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 11, n. 59; and Midrash Zuta, ed. Buber, 2nd ed., Wilna 1925, p. 6, note 32. In our Targ. and its parallel in Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim (עשר שירות) עסרתי שירתא is derived from השירים. In the former the derivation is implicit; in the latter, however, it is explicit. To understand the basis of the derivation it must be noted that the orthography of השירים is מלא דמלא, which is a deviation from the Masoretic norm. Hence, the superfluous *yod* was midrashically interpreted to mean "ten." That this Masoretic irregularity must have been the basis for עסרתי שירתא (עשר שירות) is confirmed by a quotation from a Ms. of an anonymous commentary on the Song, published by Schechter, *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim*, p. 53, which reads: השירים ליה ומלא יוד כי יוד שירות הן.

It is interesting to note that similar to our Targ., which opens with an enumeration of ten songs, are the Targ. to Ruth which opens with an enumeration of ten famines, and the Targ. Shenit to Esther which opens with an enumeration of ten kings.

[Similarly Pesahim 117a with regard to the book of Psalms; also Mid. Ps. 1.6; Yalkut Makiri 1.1; Midr. Hallel opens with: בעשרה לשונות של שבח. נאמר הספר הזה (תהלים). See Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, p. 127. — EDITORS.]

¹⁷ Though the Targ. and its midrashic parallel (in Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim) vary in detail with respect to the particular songs included, they are the only sources (cf. the reference at the beginning of the preceding note), in which the first song is the Song of Adam (i. e., Ps. 92, according to the Aggadah; see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, V, p. 112, n. 103), and the ninth, the Song of Songs. Although Tanhuma, *Beshallah*, 10 (towards the end) already counts the Song of Songs as the ninth song, the Song of Adam is absent from the list. Cf. Bacher, *Terminologie*, I, p. 186, n. 2.

MIDRASH

TARGUM

5. שיר השירים — שראדין ושיר השירים משובחת
מבכה מן כולהו¹⁸ מכולם.

(ib., p. 10, line 198)

The first three units of interpretation, in the above structural arrangement of the verse, together state that the Song of Songs comprises the "songs and praises," which King Solomon addressed to God by means of the prophetic spirit with which he had been endowed. The last two units of interpretation combined, assert that the Song of Songs which the inspired Solomon composed is the most excellent of the ten songs, sung by various individuals on different occasions in the course of Israel's history. Thus, the theme of the verse as a whole is the inspired authorship and composition of the Song of Songs. From the standpoint of its contents, therefore, the first verse of the Targum, like the corresponding Hebrew verse which is a superscription to the Song of Songs, is essentially in the nature of a superscription, or a general introduction, to the Targum to the Song.

II

The Targum proper, like the Hebrew Song of Songs which it paraphrases, begins with the second verse of the first chapter. The heading with which the verse is supplied, namely, **אמר** **שלמה נביא**,¹⁹ at once informs the reader that at this point the inspired Solomon's discourse commences. The first words uttered by the speaker are: **ברוך שמיא דה' דיהב לן אוריתא על ידוהי דמשה**: **ספרא רבא**.²⁰ The initial word, **ברוך**, stamps this utterance as a

¹⁸ This targumic interpretation and its midrashic counterpart display an understanding of **שיר השירים** as the superlative degree. Cf. C. D. Ginsburg's commentary on the Song, p. 1.

¹⁹ This heading also opens 1.17 and 8.5 of our Targ. Cf. further the respective headings at the beginning of the following verses: 7.2 **אמר שלמה**; 8.12 **אחאמר נבואה למלכא שלמה**; 8.13 **אמר שלמה בסוף נבואתיה**.

²⁰ An interesting parallel is found in Mahzor Vitry, ed. Hurwitz, 2nd ed., Nürnberg 1923, p. 159 top (also p. 172), **על דא יתברך וישתבח שמיא, לנא אורייתא על ידי משה רבנא** כולא דאחרעי בנבייא צדיקיא ויהב לנא אורייתא על ידי משה רבנא

benediction. It is short and simple, consisting of a benedictory word followed by the mention of God's name (ברוך שְׁמִיהּ דְּה'י'), a characterization of God as the Giver of the Torah (דיהב...), and references to Israel, who received the Torah (לן), and to Moses, through whose instrumentality the Torah was given (על ידויה דמשה ספרא רבא²²).

We now propose to adduce a group of rabbinic and midrashic parallels to the above benediction, and, by examining the context of each passage in which the particular parallel is found, to identify the blessing pronounced by Solomon at the beginning of the second verse of the Targum as a benedictory formula, adopted by the Targumist, in conformity with midrashic usage, as an appropriate opening with which to begin his Targum(-Midrash) to the Song. The following are the parallels referred to:

1. Sifre Deut., 305, ed. Finkelstein, p. 324: משיב הקדוש ברוך: הוא ואומר לו למשה תן לו תורגמן ליהושע ויהא שואל ודורש ומורה הוריות

לשובחי ולברוכי בריך שְׁמִיהּ דְּקודשא ואמר אמן which constitutes the benediction recited on the Festivals (Passover and Pentecost) after the reading of the Haftarah with its corresponding Targum and before the customary Hebrew benedictions with which the Haftarah is normally concluded. See further Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, p. 493, lines 24–26; Bacher, in *MS*, XXII, p. 227; and Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, II, p. 247, note 1. On the practice of reading the Haftarah with Targum see Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 2nd ed., p. 193 and the note thereto on p. 547. An abridged form of the above Aramaic benediction at the close of the Haftarah accompanied by Targum is preserved in the Italian Rite, ed. Luzzatto, Livorno 1856, Part I, 107b, 115b, 119b, 125a, 130b (for Passover); and 152a top and 156a bottom (for Pentecost).

²¹ בריך שְׁמִיהּ (שְׁמָא) occurs only here in our Targ. The expression 'דֵּה' / 'דֵּה' occurs in Pseudo-Jon. on Gen. 24.27; Targ. to Ps. 41.14, 89.53, 106.48, 124.6; Targ. to Ruth 4.14; and Targ. to II Chron. 6.4.

²² The epithet ספרא רבא which is appended to the name of Moses is used specifically both here and in 2.4 of our Targ., as well as in Targ. to Ps. 62.12, in contexts which make mention of Torah. In Pseudo-Jon. on Gen. 5.24 Enoch is identified with the angel Metatron, who is called ספרא רבא (see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 325, n. 40, and p. 446, n. 50). The fuller form, משה ספרא רבא דִּישְׂרָאֵל, which occurs in 3.3 of our Targ. with no reference to Torah, is also found in Sifre Deut., 357, ed. Finkelstein, p. 428 (among the variants); Onk. Deut. 33.21 (where it is the equivalent of מחקק; cf. Targ. to Judg. 5.9 לספרי / לחוקק); and Sotah 13b. On Moses "the great scribe," see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 165, n. 955 towards the end.

בחי"ך שכשתפטר מן העולם לא יהו ישראל אומרים לו בחי"ך רבך לא היית מדבר ועכשיו אחה מדבר ויש אומרים העמידו מן הארץ והושיבו בין ברכיו והיה משה וישראל מגביהים ראשיהם לשמוע דבריו של יהושע מה היה אומר.²³ ברוך ה' אשר נתן תורה לישראל על ידי משה רבינו כך היו דבריו של יהושע

This Aggadah seems to furnish an example of a familiar phenomenon, which consists of referring back a current practice to an ancient worthy. The formality of reciting a benediction (*Berakah*) preparatory to an exposition of a scriptural text (*Derashah*), which, in view of the above passage, must have already been in vogue in tannaitic times, is ascribed to Joshua. For the Aggadah depicts Joshua as שואל ודורש,²⁴ and all that is preserved of his *Derashah* are the opening words, namely, the benediction: ברוך ה' אשר נתן תורה לישראל על ידי משה רבינו.²⁵ The verbal similarities between the blessing pronounced here by Joshua and that pronounced in the Targum by Solomon are striking. With one minor exception, namely, the variation in the title affixed to the name of Moses in the two benedictions, the Targum's בריך שמיא דה' דיהב לן אוריתא על ידוהי דמשה is an almost literal translation of Sifre's ברוך ה' אשר נתן תורה לישראל על ידי משה.²⁶

2. Shabbat 88a: בריך רבך רחמנא דרש הוא גלילאה עליה דרב חסדא בריך רחמנא.²⁷ דיהב אוריאן תליתאי לעם תליתאי על ידי תליתאי ביום תליתאי בירחא תליתאי

This *Babli* passage consists of the outline of a homily, which in its expanded form, though minus רחמנא בריך, or a similar phrase, is preserved in the Midrash.²⁷ The words בריך דרש . . . indicate that the homilist began his exposition with the recitation of a benediction. The latter, however, is here skillfully

■ On this passage see Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, p. 399, and the notes thereto in VI, p. 141.

²⁴ On the use, and other occurrences, of this expression see S. K. Mirsky, "Ha-derashah bi-tekufat ha-Mishnah voha-Talmud," in *Horeb*, VII (1943), pp. 78-9.

■ Cf. the following liturgical benediction cited in *JQR* (N. S.), XXXIII (1942-43), p. 361: הנותן תורה לעמו ישראל על ידי משה רבינו.

²⁶ E. Silber, *op. cit.*, in his comment on 1.2 of the Targ., directs attention to this talmudic parallel. J. N. Epstein, in *JQR* (N. S.), XII (1921-22), p. 310, adduces Shabbat 88a as a parallel to the passage from She'eltot discussed below.

²⁷ Pesikta deR. Kahana, ed. Buber, 105a-b; Tanhuma, ed. Buber, II, p. 73; and Tanhuma, *Yitro*, 10. See Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 79-80, and VI, p. 30, n. 179. Cf. Buber, Pesikta deR. Kahana, 105a, note 102.

interwoven with the theme of his homily, which is, the significance of the number three in relation to Torah, Israel and Moses. If for the second and third תליתאי their corresponding equivalents are substituted, the resultant text reads: ... דרש בריך רחמנא דיהב אוריין . . . לעם ישראל על ידי משה. Understood in this light, the passage assumes the character of a benedictory formula, with which the targumic benediction is in substantial agreement.

3. She'eltot, ed. Dyhernfurth, 2a (First *She'elta*): בריך שמיא דקב"ה דיהב לנא אורייתא ומצוותא ע"י משה רבנא לאלפא עמיה בית ישראל.²⁸

The respective researches of Prof. L. Ginzberg²⁹ and A. Kaminka³⁰ on the structure of the *She'eltot* deal fully with the special place, which the above benediction occupies as an introductory formula to the *Derashah* within the framework of a *She'elta*. Of particular interest are the abbreviations בריך שמיא³¹ and דקב"ה³², by which the benediction preceding the *Derashah* is designated in the *She'eltot*. Familiarity with the benedictory formula and the frequency of its occurrence made it unnecessary to quote it in full. A mere reference to it by means of the initial word(s) was sufficient.

As compared with the targumic benediction, the *She'elta* version is more elaborate. The two pluses which it exhibits, namely, ומצוותא and לאלפא עמיה בית ישראל, may be explained as allusions to Ex. 24.12b: ואתנה לך את לחת האבן והתורה והמצוה אשר כתבתי להורחם. The combination אורייתא ומצוותא is a reminiscence

²⁸ For further occurrences of this passage in *She'eltot* see J. N. Epstein, in *JQR* (N. S.), XII (1921-22), p. 309, and in *Tarbiz*, VI (1935), p. 488, lines 43-44.

²⁹ *Geonica*, I, pp. 89 ff.

³⁰ "Die Komposition der Scheëltoth des R. Achai und die Rhetorik in den babyl. Hochschulen," in *Adolf Schwarz Festschrift*, pp. 446-7.

³¹ So in Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, p. 381, line 18. See also J. N. Epstein, in *JQR* (N. S.), XII, pp. 309-10.

³² See J. N. Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 310 top; A. Kaminka, *op. cit.*, pp. 442, 447 top (ברוך שמיא וכו' דרשה); and J. N. Epstein, in *Tarbiz*, VII (1936), p. 16, line 21, p. 20, line 15, p. 26, line 8, and p. 30, line 51.

³³ See Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, p. 364, lines 4-5: בריך דרשא: (cf. I, p. 91, n. 2), and p. 366: דרשא . . . ולענין . . . בריך; and J. N. Epstein, in *JQR* (N. S.), XII, p. 310.

of והתורה והמצוה, and לאלפא עמיה בית ישראל sounds like an echo of להורות (Onkelos: לאלופיהון). In view of the fact that the *Derashah*, which followed the benedictory formula in the *She'elta*, consisted of "literal extracts from the Babylonian Talmud,"³⁴ it is also possible that in לאלפא עמיה בית ישראל there was a tacit reference to the interpretation of להורות in Berakot 5a: להורותם גמרא. In which case, לאלפא עמיה בית ישראל was in the nature of a hint to the listener, preparing him for the particular type of *Derashah* which was to follow. The *She'elta* formula, minus the above additions which may be regarded as parenthetical, reads: בריך שמיה דקב"ה דיהב לנא אורייתא ע"י משה (רבנא). The targumic benediction would thus tally with the simple form of the *She'elta* formula.

4. Tanhuma, ed. Buber, V 16 (Tanhuma, 'Ekeb, 1): והיה עקב: חשמעון וגו' וז"ה למה אירא בימי רע עון עקבי יסבני יתברך שמו של הקב"ה שנתן תורה לישראל שבה שש מאות ושלוש עשרה מצות קלות וחמורות וגו'.³⁵

This passage contains a homily on the importance of the observance of the minor, as well as the major, precepts of the Torah. The verse Ps. 49.6, which has a verbal link (עקבי) with the weekly Pentateuchal reading (עקב), is first given. From the context it is clear that שנתן תורה לישראל is the benedictory formula introducing the exposition. Except for the omission of reference to Moses, this benediction is a further parallel to that of our Targum.

That in the course of time copyists allowed themselves the liberty of dropping the benedictory formula, is clearly illustrated by Yalkut Shimeoni on Psalms, 758, where our Tanhuma passage is quoted as follows: למה אירא בימי רע עון עקבי יסובני אמר דוד: תרי"ג מצות נתת לנו קלות וחמורות וגו'.

5. Seder Eliyyahu Rabba, ed. Friedmann, 79: ברוך המקום: ברוך הוא שנתן דברי תורה לישראל שילמדו מהן דרך ארץ שלא ירבו עוונותיהן בעולם.

If the phrase ברוך הוא in the above passage is read together with המקום, to which it bears the same relation as it does to

³⁴ Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, p. 91.

³⁵ L. Landshuth, *Maggid me-Reshit*, Berlin 1855, p. VII, adduces this passage as a parallel to the benedictory formula in the Passover Haggadah (ברוך המקום ברוך הוא וגו').

הקדוש in the cognate *הקדוש ברוך הוא*,³⁶ both form and context indicate that *ברוך המקום ברוך הוא שנתן דברי תורה לישראל* constitutes a benedictory formula. Closely related to it is the parallel in the Passover Haggadah: *ברוך המקום ברוך הוא שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל*.³⁷ Seder R. Amram³⁸ and Abudrahim³⁹ read: *ברוך המקום שנתן תורה לישראל*.⁴⁰ Again we miss the reference to Moses. Otherwise, the benedictory formulas under this heading are but other variations of our targumic benediction.

The above comparative study leaves no doubt as to the character and purpose of the targumic benediction. The Targum is essentially a Midrash on the Song of Songs. Verse 1, the general introduction to this "Midrash," presents the king-prophet Solomon as the author of the Song. At verse 2, the beginning of the Targum proper to the Song, the Targumist, in the heading to the verse (*אמר שלמה נביא*), announces the dis-

³⁶ So A. L. Gordon, in his commentary on the Prayer Book (*Iyyun Tefillah*) in *Siddur 'Ozar ha-Tefillot*, Wilna 1914, I, p. 964 top.

³⁷ Cf. M. Friedmann, Seder Eliyyahu Rabba, *Introduction*, p. 118. For a discussion of this passage in the Haggadah, see Landshuth, *loc. cit.*; and M. Friedmann, *Me'ir 'Ayin 'Al Seder Haggadah*, Vienna 1895, pp. 87-8. Landshuth (*loc. cit.*) draws attention to the liturgical parallel, *ברוך שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל* (בקדשתו), in *והנלה ותראה* of the Prayer Book, which in *Siddur R. Saadiah Gaon*, ed. Davidson-Assaf-Joel, Jerusalem 1941, p. 118, is found in *ברוך שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל* (for Sabbaths). Cf. the Sephardic ritual (*Seder ha-Tefillot*, ed. D. de S. Pool, New York 1936, p. 72): *ברוך המקום שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל ברוך הוא*. It should be noted, in passing, that the benedictory formula preceding *כנור בנים ונו'* in the Haggadah is not found in *Siddur R. Saadiah Gaon* (p. 137, line 15), nor in an old recension of the Passover Haggadah, published by Prof. Ginzberg in *Ginze Schechter*, II, p. 260, line 11.

³⁸ Ed. Warsaw 1865, I, 39a top.

³⁹ Ed. Warsaw 1877, 60b.

⁴⁰ So also the Sephardic Passover Haggadah. The respective comments of Abudrahim and the author of *Shibbole ha-Leket* on this Haggadah passage are to the point. Abudrahim, *loc. cit.*: *ומפני שעתה הוא מתחיל לדרוש פסוקי' אשר ברוך המקום ובו' כאדם שרוצה לדרוש ואומר ברוך: ברוך: ברוך: אל עליון ואח"כ מתחיל לדרוש שנתן תורה לישראל ברוך הוא יש מפרשין לפי שרצו לדרוש מקראות הללו הכתובים ארבעה בנים מתחיל בברכות התורה וכן פירש רבינו ישעיה וצ"ל התחלת הדרשה היא ומברך תחלה ואח"כ דורש*.

course to be delivered by the inspired author, that is, Solomon. Since, as has been shown, it was customary to pronounce a *Berakah* prior to a *Derashah*,⁴¹ the Targumist, in compliance with a favorite practice, represents Solomon, the *Darshan par excellence*, as reciting the *Berakah* before his discourse, which is a *Derashah* on the Song of Songs. The blessing pronounced by Solomon is thus the conventional benedictory formula, which the Targumist utilized as a most fitting opening, or exordium, to his Targum to the Song.

At the same time, it should be observed that it would be contrary to the method of the Targumist to fail to operate with the Hebrew text of the Song, which it is his task to interpret. Consequently, the benedictory formula, besides being appropriate in and by itself, is also closely bound up with the verse in the Hebrew Song. For the all-important reference in the formula relates to Torah, and the first part of the second verse of the Song was, in the domain of the Midrash, associated with the Sinaitic Revelation.⁴² There was thus a doubly good reason for commencing the Targum with the words: "Blessed be the Name of the Lord, who hath bestowed the Torah upon us through Moses, the great scribe."

III

The benedictory formula, placed at the beginning of the second verse of the Targum to the Song, will now be examined in relation to the remainder of the verse of which it is a part. On the basis of its underlying structure, the entire second verse of the Targum may be arranged in the following form:

⁴¹ The passages assembled above from Sifre, Babli, She'eltot, Tanhuma and Seder Eliyyahu Rabba point to the continued prevalence of the custom through the tannaitic, amoraic, geonic and medieval periods.

⁴² Cf. Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, 1.2, 4a: . . . פיהו . . . ד"א ישקני מנשיקות פיהו . . . ורבנין אמרין הדיבור עצמו היה מחזר על כל אחד ואחד מישראל ואומר לו מקבלני את עליך . . . והוא אומר הן והן מיד הדיבור נושקו על פיו ישקני מנשיקות פיהו זה עמידתן לפני : Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim, p. 11, line 225; and Yalkut Shimeoni on the Song, 981, (s. n. מדרש); הר סיני ישקני מנשיקות פיהו דברי תורה שנתנו בנשיקה. See Ginzberg, *Legends*, III, pp. 95-6, and VI, p. 38, n. 210.

אמר שלמה נביא

1. י ש ק נ י — בריך שמיה דה' דיהב לן אורייתא על ידוהי דמשה ספרא רבא
2. מ נ ש י ק ו ת פ י ה ו — כתיבא על תרין לוחי אבניא ושיחא סידרי משנה⁴³
ותלמודא⁴⁴ בגירסא⁴⁵
3. י ש ק נ י מ נ ש י ק ו ת פ י ה ו — וזה מתמליל עימן אפין באפין כגבר
דנשיק לחבריה
4. כ י ט ו ב י ם ד ד י ך מ י י ן — מן סניאות חיבתא דחביב לן יתיר
משבעין עממיא⁴⁶

The four parts into which the verse is divided in the above arrangement are so many distinct units of interpretation. We now propose, after first making an observation on the text of this targumic verse, to substantiate the dependence of each unit of interpretation upon the specific scriptural text-words which are assigned to it.

A careful reading of the benedictory formula in conjunction with the text immediately following reveals the presence of an awkward syntactical construction. The word **כתיבא** is separated from **אורייתא** which it modifies, thus making it necessary to supply **אורייתא** before **כתיבא**. To avoid this awkwardness, the Targumist might easily have made the text read: 'ברוך שמיה דה' דיהב לן על ידוהי דמשה ספרא רבא אורייתא כתיבא על תרין לוחי אבניא וכו'. In view of his failure to do so, it may reasonably be inferred that his procedure was first to delimit the scope of the benedictory formula up to and including **רבא**, and then, by keeping **אורייתא** in mind, to continue with the interpretive process from **כתיבא** to the end of the verse. The delimitation of the targumic benedictory formula is thus confirmed on syntactical grounds, as well as on the basis of the rabbinic and midrashic parallels assembled in the preceding section of this study.

In a general way we have already noted the existing link

⁴³ **שיחא סידרי משנה** occurs again in 5.10 of our Targ. (in the editions of Lagarde, and of Melamed, but not in the ordinary editions).

⁴⁴ The reading is **וגמרא** instead of **ותלמודא** in ed. Melamed (variants) and in *Shalosh Megillot Shir ha-Shirim Rut Kohelet*, Jerusalem 1911.

⁴⁵ **בגירסא** stands in contrast to **כתיבא**, and is the nearest Aramaic lexical equivalent which the Targumist could find for the Hebrew **שבעל פה** (תורה).

⁴⁶ Similarly, 4.10 of our Targ.: **מה טבו דריך מיינ** — **כמה טבן עלי**. Cf. 1.4: **מיינ** — **ונהי מתרחקין מבתר טעות עממיא**. **חיבתחך יתיר משבעין אומי**

between the benedictory formula, which centers around Torah, and the first part of the second verse of the Song, which is midrashically combined with the Revelation on Mt. Sinai.⁴⁷ More specifically, however, the benedictory formula is derived exclusively from ישקני, which the Targumist understood to mean "God gave us the Torah," and מנשיקות פיהו serve as text-words for the second unit of interpretation in our arrangement of the verse. By resorting to a favorite midrashic device, which operates with the plural construction of a scriptural noun as the basis of interpretation,⁴⁸ the Targumist attaches to מנשיקות, which as a plural is suggestive of two, the connotation "the two-fold Torah," that is, the Written Law and Oral Law.⁴⁹ A parallel to the equation, מנשיקות פיהו = "two-fold Torah," is found in a Commentary on the Song of Songs attributed to Saadia:⁵⁰ ישקני מנשיקות פיהו הטעם הם המצות והחקים שנתן הקב"ה לישראל על ידי משה ואהרן ומרים הצדיקים והוא תורה שבכתב ותורה שבעל פה.⁵¹

⁴⁷ See note 42 above.

⁴⁸ Other examples of the use of this device in the Targ. to the S. are:

1. 1.3: שטניך — דהוה מתרבי על רישי מלכין וכהנין, based, as noted by Silber *ad loc.*, on Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, 1.3, 6b: דבר אחר לריו שטניך טובים: ר' אחא בשם רבי תנחום ברבי חיאי שני שמנים הם שמן כהונה ושמן מלכות. Cf. Targ. to Eccl. 7.1;

2. 1.8: על משכנות — לבית כנישתא ולבית מדרשא, influenced by Sanhedrin 105b: בקש לומר שלא יהו להם בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות מה; טובו אהליך יעקב לא חשרה שכינה עליהם ומשכנותיך ישראל; משכנותיך — ומדרשי בית שכינתך: 43.3; משכנות — בתי כנישיא

3. 7.13: לכרמים — לבית כנישתא ולבית מדרשא, based on 'Erubin 21b: ונשכימה לכרמים אלו בתי כנסיות ובתי מדרשות

4. 1.3 (by a change of vocalization): עלמות — עלמא הדין ועלמא דאחי, based on 'Abodah Zarah 35b: ולא עוד אלא שנחל שני עולמות אחד העולם: הוה ואחד העולם הבא שנאמר עלמות קרי בה עולמות. (For other occurrences of this passage see S. Waldberg, *Darke ha-Shinnuyim*, Lemberg 1870, 39b, note 220).

Cf. further 1.7: עדרי — עדרי בנוי דעשו וישמעאל; and 1.8: דוד — דוד רעים — ושלמה רעיתא דישראל.

⁴⁹ As regards the derivation of "Oral Law," it is not unlikely that the Targumist also operated with a verbal association of פיהו in the Hebrew text with פה in the familiar expression תורה שבעל פה.

⁵⁰ In S. Wertheimer, *Sefer Geon ha-Geonim*, Jerusalem 1925, I, pp. 82–3 (=C. D. Ginsburg, *The Song of Songs*, London 1857, p. 37, note 1).

⁵¹ Wertheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 83, note 6, remarks: נר' שדורש מנשיקות שמים תורה: שבכתב ושבע'פ.

As indicated in our division of the verse, the text-words **יִשְׁקֵנִי מְנַשִּׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ** are interpreted a second time, resulting in a third unit of interpretation. The Targum's **לַחֲבֵרִיָּה** clearly reverts to **יִשְׁקֵנִי מְנַשִּׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ**. Having established the connection between **יִשְׁקֵנִי מְנַשִּׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ** and the Sinaitic Revelation, the Targumist now utilizes the same text-words to describe that Revelation, in accordance with Scripture, as a direct emanation from God Himself. For **וְהוּא מִתְמַלֵּיל עִמָּן אִפִּין בָּאִפִּין** is an unmistakable allusion to Deut. 5.4: **עִמָּכֶם ה' בְּפָנִים**.⁵² A similar association of the first half of the second verse of the Song with Deut. 5.4 is found in Rashi's Commentary on the Song: **וְנֹאמַר דּוֹנָמָא שְׁלוּ עַל שְׁמֵי שְׁנָתָן לְהֵם תּוֹרְתוֹ וְדַבֵּר עִמָּהֶם בְּפָנִים**: **וְהוּא יִשְׁקֵנִי מְנַשִּׁיקוֹת פִּיהוּ**.⁵³

In the fourth, and last, unit of interpretation it is perfectly obvious that **חִיבְתָּא דְחִיבִי לֵן** is directly traceable to the text-word **לֵן**, and **מִשְׁבַּעִין עֵמְמִיא** is an interpretation based on *Gematria*, or the numerical value, of **לֵן** in the text-word **מִיֵּין**.⁵⁴ Shir ha-Shirim Rabba⁵⁵ offers a perfect parallel:

⁵² Onk. and Pseudo-Jon. here render **בְּפָנִים** by **עִם מַמְלָל** and **מַמְלָל עִם מַמְלָל**, respectively (Samaritan Targ., ed. Brüll, Frankfurt a.M. 1874–1879: **אִפִּים בָּאִפִּים**). Similarly, in Ex. 33.11 **בְּפָנִים אֵל**, Onk. **עִם מַמְלָל**, Pseudo-Jon. **מַמְלָל קִבֵּל מַמְלָל**. On the other hand, in Gen. 32.31 **אֵל פָּנִים** becomes in Onk. **אִפִּין בָּאִפִּין** and in Pseudo-Jon. **אִפִּין כָּל קִבֵּל אִפִּין**, while in Deut. 34.10 **אֵל פָּנִים** is **אִפִּין בָּאִפִּין** in Onk., and **מַמְלָל כָּל קִבֵּל מַמְלָל** in Pseudo-Jon. With the latter cf. the fragments of the Palestinian Pent.-Targ. (ed. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, II, p. 62), where the rendering is **מַלְל לְקַבֵּל**. In Judg. 6.22 and Ezek. 20.35 **אֵל פָּנִים** is **אִפִּין בָּאִפִּין**.

⁵³ Rashi is not dependent on our Targ. See Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, II, pp. 179–80, note 3: "Raschi hat das Targum zu den Hagiographen nicht gekannt."

⁵⁴ Other examples of interpretations by *Gematria* in our Targ. are contained in:

1. 1.4: **בְּכָךְ — בְּעֶסְרִין וְתֵרְתִין אֲחִיִּין דְּמַחְבָּא בְּהוּן**, parallel to which, as noted by Gill *ad loc.*, is Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, 1.4, 8a: **בְּכָכָהּ אֲמַר רַבִּי יִצְחָק בְּכָכָהּ שְׁכַחְתָּ לָנוּ בְּתוֹרָה בִּי'ת שְׁנִים כִּלְף עֶשְׂרִים הֵרִי בְּכָכָהּ**. Similarly, Pesikta deR. Kahana, ed. Buber, 147a, 194a, and Pesikta Rabbati, ed. Friedmann, 202b; and

2. 5.10: **דְּוִדִּי — וְעִסְקִי בְּעֶשְׂרִין וָאַרְבַּעַה סְפָרִין דְּאוֹרִייתָא וּפְתַגְמִי נְבוּאָה וְכַחֲבִי** (in the editions of Lagarde, and of Melamed, but not in the ordinary editions), for which a parallel is found in Midrash Tehillim, ed. Buber, p. 166: **וְאֵין דְּוִדִּי אֵלָא אַרְבַּעַה וְעֶשְׂרִים סְפָרִים שְׁכָן דְּוִדִּי בְּגִמְטְרִיא אַרְבַּעַה וְעֶשְׂרִים**.

⁵⁵ On 1.2, 6a (noted by Silber, *ad loc.*).

דודיך אלו ישראל מיין אלו אומות העולם י' עשרה י' עשרה
 נ' חמשים שבעים אומות ללמדך שחביבין ישראל לפני
 הקב"ה יותר מכל האומות.⁵⁶

Having completed the analysis of the structure of the verse, we now turn to its contents which may be outlined as follows:

1. The benedictory formula: God gave the Torah to Israel;
2. Definition of Torah: Written Law and Oral Law;
3. An allusion to Deut. 5.4: The directness of the Revelation on Mt. Sinai; and
4. Reason for Israel's receiving the Revelation: God's love for Israel.

Although structurally the above four parts of the verse have been shown to comprise so many separate and independent units of interpretation, contextually they are interrelated. The first of these, the benedictory formula, is the central unit of interpretation, around which the succeeding ones revolve. For the second unit elaborates upon the term Torah in the benedictory formula by defining it as two-fold, and the third makes allusion to Scripture with reference to the direct, or intimate, character of the Sinaitic Revelation. Similarly, the last unit takes up the term Israel in the benedictory formula by stating the reason why the Revelation was communicated to Israel, which is, that of all nations Israel was the most beloved of God.

Especially noteworthy is the contextual relationship between the benedictory formula and the unit of interpretation immediately following. The former contains the simple statement that God gave the Torah to Israel through Moses. But as a result of its juxtaposition to the second unit of interpretation, the benedictory formula is given added content, which is, in substance, that the Torah which Moses received was written on the

⁵⁶ In Midrash Tannaim, ed. Hoffmann, p. 211, the same thought is derived from another proof-text, as follows: אף חבב עמ' מלמד שחיבב מכל אומות העולם. In Tanhuma, ed. Buber, IV, p. 9 and Bemidbar Rabba, 2.3, 4b top, the idea of "seventy nations" is obtained from ין in the Song 2.4. On the seventy nations see Ginzberg, *Legends*, V, pp. 194-5, n. 72, and Moore, *Judaism*, III, p. 62.

two tables of stone, and that both the Written Law and Oral Law were given to Moses on Mt. Sinai.⁵⁷ Structurally, however, it must be borne in mind, the second unit of interpretation does not form an integral part of the benedictory formula.

IV

The present study would be incomplete, if it did not, in conclusion, reckon with one more midrashic passage containing a benedictory formula, which has affinities not only with the targumic benedictory formula as such, but also with the remainder of the second verse of the Targum to the Song. We refer to Tanhuma, *Noah* 3,⁵⁸ which is a *Derashah* of the Geonic period, actually expounded on "the Exilarch's reception Sabbath, on which a sermon was delivered by the Geonim, or, to be accurate, by the Gaon of Sura."⁵⁹ The theme of the sermon is the importance of the Oral Law, and of the Sura and Pumbedita Academies.⁶⁰ It is not surprising that this *Derashah* should be introduced by the following benedictory formula: (אלה תולדות נח) יתברך שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה שבחר בישראל משבעים אומות (נח) כמו שכתוב כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו ונתן לנו את התורה בכתב ברמז צפונות וסתומות ופרשום בתור' שבע"פ וגלה אותה לישראל.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Relative to the aggadic concepts here involved, see Silber, *ad loc.*; Ginzberg, *Legends*, VI, p. 50, n. 258; III, pp. 141-2; and VI, p. 60, n. 308 and Al-Nakawa's *Menorat ha-Maor*, ed. Enelow, III, p. 217, note on the two-fold Torah.

⁵⁸ Found also in Mishnat R. Eliezer, ed. H. G. Enelow, pp. 257 ff., where, according to the editor, it "was inserted . . . by the copyist."

⁵⁹ Ginzberg, *Geonica*, I, p. 5, n. 1.

⁶⁰ On the composite structure of Tanhuma *Noah* 3, which accounts for the two-fold theme of the homily, see Ginzberg, *Ginze Schechter*, I, pp. 18 bottom, and 543-4.

⁶¹ There are two parallels to the passage immediately following this benedictory opening. The first is in the work of Ben Baboi, published by Prof. Ginzberg in *Ginze Schechter*, II, p. 638 bottom, and reprinted by B. M. Lewin in *Tarbiz*, II (1931), p. 394. The second parallel is found in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, I, p. 21, and is reprinted by Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 400. The latter parallel is regarded by Prof. Ginzberg (*op. cit.*, I, p. 18) as מדרש מעין תנחומא (cf. further *op. cit.*, II, p. 639), and by Lewin (*op. cit.*, p. 384) as another recension of Ben Baboi. On this whole question see also V. Aptowitzer, in *HUCA*, VIII-IX (1931-32), pp. 415-17. The parallels referred to, however, are irrelevant

The benedictory formula just cited is composed of four clearly defined elements in the following order:

1. Offering of praise to God: יהברך שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה;
2. Israel, the chosen people: שבוחר בישראל משבעים אומות (plus Deut. 32.9 as proof-text);
3. God, the Giver of the Torah: ונתן לנו את התורה; and
4. The two-fold Torah: בכתב . . . ופרשום בתור' שבע"פ.

These four elements in the Tanhuma formula appear also in the second verse of the Targum, but in a different order, namely:

1. Offering of praise to God: בריך שמה דה';
2. God, the Giver of the Torah: דיהב לן אורייתא;
3. The two-fold Torah: כתיבא . . . בנרסא; and
4. Israel, the most beloved of God: דרביב לן יתיר משבעין עממא.⁶²

to the purpose of the present study, inasmuch as they do not contain the benedictory opening יהברך שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה.

A partial parallel to the benedictory formula in Tanhuma *Noah* 3 is found in a Genizah fragment of a Midrash on Deut., פרשה עקב, published in *Genze Schechter*, I, p. 145. The beginning of the fragment which contained the benedictory word followed by the mention of God is missing. Otherwise, the passage reads as follows: "ובחר בישראל מכל האמות ושמן חלקו ונחלתו כי חלק יי עמו וגו' והתקין להן את התורה קודם שיברא את העולם שנ' יי קנני ראשית דרכו וגו' ונגלה בכבודו על הר סיני ונתנה להם שנ' ועל הר סיני ירדת וגו'". The features common both to the latter as well as Tanhuma *Noah* 3 are the reference to Israel as the chosen people, Deut. 32.9 as the proof-text, and the reference to the giving of the Torah to Israel. That the reference to the two-fold Torah, which is omitted in the aforementioned Genizah fragment, did not form an integral part of the benedictory formula as such, will be shown below, when the reason for its inclusion in Tanhuma *Noah* 3 is explained.

⁶² In the *locus classicus*, Deut. 7.6-8, we read: בך בחר ה' אלהיך להיות: . . . לו לעם סולה מכל העמים. . . לא מרבכם מכל העמים חשק ה' בכם ויבחר בכם . . . כי מאהבת ה' אהבך. . . God's love for Israel is thus the reason for the election of Israel. Cf. Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 398: "The peculiar love of God for Israel is the ground of his choice of Israel to be their God and they his people." Cf. the juxtaposition in the liturgical אהבת אלהים מכל העמים אהבת אותנו and, in connection with another part of the Prayer Book, J. Mann, in *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 288. In the words of a citation found in Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, p. 57: "To love means in fact, to choose or to elect." Ideologically, therefore, דרביב לן יתיר משבעין עממא is tantamount to שבוחר בישראל משבעים אומות in Tanhuma.

therein of the reference to the election of Israel which lies outside the scope of the targumic benedictory formula, can be explained as follows. Minus the proof-text, which is inserted parenthetically, and the mention of Torah as two-fold, which merely leads up to the topic of the *Derashah*, the Tanhuma benedictory formula reads: יתברך שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה שבחר בישראל משבעים אומות . . . ונתן לנו את התורה אשר בחר בנו מכל העמים ונתן לנו את תורתו in Berakot 11b, the conclusion is inescapable that the Tanhuma benedictory formula is patterned after the customary benediction preceding the public reading of the Torah in the synagogue.⁶⁵ That the Tanhuma formula is not an isolated instance, but that, on the contrary, it was a favorite type, is illustrated by two other examples belonging to this category, namely, (1) at the beginning of one of the recensions of Eldad ha-Dani:⁶⁶ ישתבח שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה שבחר ישראל מכל האומות ונתן להם תורה ומצות והבדיל משבעים לשונות וגו' and (2) at the beginning of *Milhamot Melek ha-Mashiah*:⁶⁷ יתברך שמו של הקב"ה שבחר בישראל משבעים אומות שנאמר כי יעקב בחר לו יה ישראל לסגולתו וחפץ להצדיק ולזכותם ונתן להם תורה מרובה שנאמר ה' חפץ למען צדקו יגדיל תורה ויאדיר. Interesting in this connection is the fact that another recension of Eldad ha-Dani preserves the form,⁶⁸ ישתבח שמו של אלהינו המלך מלכי המלכים שבחר בישראל מכל

⁶⁵ In Berakot, *loc. cit.*, it constitutes one of the benedictions preceding the private study of Torah. Cf. its position in the Prayer Book at the beginning of the Morning Service.

⁶⁶ In D. H. Müller, *Die Recensionen und Versionen des Eldad Had-Dani*, Vienna 1892, p. 52 (Recension D) and p. 53 (Recension H); Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, II, p. 102, and V, p. 17; and A. Epstein, *Eldad ha-Dani*, Pressburg 1891, pp. 47, 55.

⁶⁷ Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 52 (Recension R): ישתבח שמו של הקב"ה שבחר ישתבח שמו של מלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה שבחר בעמו ישראל והבדילם לחלק ולגורל משבעים לשונות וצוה אותם לקיים מצותיו ולעשותם (ואבדל אחם מן העמים) where והבדילם is another version of the concept of the election of Israel, based on Lev. 20.26 (מִן הָעַמִּים).

⁶⁸ In Jellinek, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 117. Cf. Mahzor Vitry, ed. Hurwitz, 2nd ed., p. 736 bottom.

⁶⁹ In Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 52 (Recension B); Jellinek, *op. cit.*, III, p. 6; A. Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

האומות ונתן לנו תורת אמת וחיי עולם נטע בתוכנו מצות ישרים וחי בהם⁷⁰ where *האומות* מכל ישראל *בשחר* is based on the benediction preceding the reading of the Torah, and *ונתן לנו תורת אמת וחיי עולם*⁷¹ on the benediction following the reading of the Torah.

As a result of the foregoing remarks, we may reasonably conclude that the customary *Berakah* preceding a midrashic exposition was not bound by a rigid adherence to a fixed or stereotyped textual form. Two different formulations of the benediction are known to have been current. The category to which, among others, the targumic benedictory formula belongs, represents the simpler type, which consists of an offering of praise to God who gave the Torah to Israel, with no reference to Israel as the chosen people. On the other hand, the category, of which *Tanhuma Noah* 3 is a specimen, reflects a more elaborate type, which, by virtue of its being an adaptation of the benediction preceding the reading of the Torah, consists of an offering of praise to God who chose Israel from among all the nations and gave them the Torah.⁷²

⁷⁰ Cf. the liturgical *ברוך* (הוא) *אלהינו שבראנו לכבודו והבדילנו מן החושים ונתן* *ברוך* לנו תורת אמת וחיי עולם נטע בתוכנו. On the use of this benediction see A. Marx, *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram*, Berlin 1908, Heb. pt., p. 15; Seder R. Amram, ed. Frumkin, II, p. 117; Ginzberg, *Geonica*, II, p. 300; and J. Mann, in *HUCA*, II (1925), p. 300.

⁷¹ First mentioned in *Masseket Soferim*, XIII 6, ed. Higger, p. 244.

⁷² Variations of this type, as well as other types of benedictory formulas, must have been current. An example of the former is found in *Halakot Gedolot*, ed. Hildesheimer, Berlin 1888, p. 15: *יחברך שמו של הקב"ה שברך בשרא*ל *מסבעים* אומות וקידש שמו ביניהם וכשם שנחקדש למעלה כך קידש את ישראל מלמטה והזהירן על העריות (the list of prohibited marriages follows). Traces of an entirely different type of benedictory formula are observed in *Tanhuma*, ed. Buber, V, p. 13 top: *ברוך* *אמר* ר' *יונתן* בשעה שפתח יהושע ואמר *ברוך* *אמר* ר' שמואל בר נחמני *אמר* ר' *שחר* בצדיקים ובמסנותם (cf. *Debarim Rabba*, ed. Lieberman, Jerusalem 1940, p. 41, and the editor's notes thereto).

[Benedictory formulas, in addition to those treated in this essay, are contained in the following homilies in Eisenstein's *Ozar Midrashim*: pp. 21, 32, 57, 192, 251, 371, 436. — EDITORS.]

A NEW FRAGMENT OF MAḤZOR YANNAI

(A Supplement to *Piyyute Yannai*)

ISAIAH SONNE, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

I

GLEANINGS

ONE of the outstanding American contributions to Mediaeval Jewish studies is undoubtedly the discovery and reconstruction of the *Maḥzor Yannai* by Davidson.¹ The existence of such a Maḥzor once established, and the contours of the single composition, the *Ḳeroba*, outlined, the scholars endeavored to gather together that Maḥzor's *disjecta membra*. In less than two decades that aim was almost achieved by the publication of Zulay's *Piyyute Yannai*,² in which fragments of *Ḳerobot* to 110 *Sedarim* of the Triennial Cycle (not counting 28 to festivals and special Sabbaths) are brought to light. All that remains to be done in this direction is limited to the work of gleaning some still hidden portions of the Maḥzor, supplementing Zulay's compilation. Such a supplement is what we are now offering.

The special interest of our Yannai fragment, however, consists in the fact that it leads us back to a publication antedating the time when the *Maḥzor Yannai* was discovered. It should be remembered that the first treatment of the Maḥzor, (incognito, to be sure), came from the Hebrew Union College. As far back as 1898, Caspar Leviaš, while teaching at the Hebrew Union College, received through the medium of one of the students,

¹ *Maḥzor Yannai, A Liturgical Work of the VII. Century, edited from Genizah Fragments, with notes and introduction by Israel Davidson . . . and additional notes by Louis Ginzberg*, N. Y. 1919.

² *Piyyute Yannai, Liturgical Poems of Yannai, collected from Geniza-Manuscripts and other sources, and published by Menahem Zulay*, Schocken, Jewish Publishing Company, 1938. In the second vol. of *Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry*, Schocken Verlag, 1936, pp. 213-391, Zulay published his "Yannai Studies" (*Mehkere Yannai* — MY) which can be considered as introductory to the PY.

Mr. William Fineshreiber, some Hebrew manuscript fragments which Levias examined. Among them was a "Maḥzor fragment, a much mutilated parchment leaf, in old square hand, containing four entire *piutim*, and the last part of a fifth *piut*."³ The leaf would have remained in oblivion, like the other fragments examined by Levias, were it not for the fact that the text happened to be "partly vocalized with the recently discovered so-called Palestinian vocalization," which persuaded Levias that "a publication of it will not fail to attract attention." He was right. The fragment attracted the attention chiefly of those interested in the Palestinian vocalization, but little attention, if any, was given to the content. Only several years after Davidson's discovery, one of P. Kahle's collaborators, M. Kober, in preparing the edition of the liturgical texts with Palestinian vocalization, succeeded in identifying the Levias fragment as a leaf from *Maḥzor Yannai*.⁴ As such it was reedited by Kahle,⁵ and then incorporated in Zulay's compilation.⁶

Two years ago I happened to examine some of the Genizah fragments in the Library of the Hebrew Union College,⁷ and suddenly my attention was attracted by a fragment consisting of a double leaf, the text of which is vocalized with the Palestinian vocalization. Upon more accurate examination, the fragment proved to be a portion of the *Maḥzor Yannai* and, surprisingly enough; our fragment stops exactly at the point at which the Levias fragment starts. There can be no doubt that the two fragments are parts of the same MS.⁸ It seems therefore as if the

³ Levias, C., "The Palestinian Vocalization," in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. XV (1898-99), pp. 157 ff. The Hebrew text in pp. 161-164.

⁴ Kober, Max, "Zum Machsor Jannai," in the *Jahrbuch der juedisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XX (1929), pp. 21 ff. See especially p. 26.

⁵ Kahle, Paul, *Masoreten des Westens*, I, 1927, pp. 24-27 (Hebrew section). See also p. 25 (German section).

⁶ PY, N. 21, 1. 10 — N. 22, line 30; pp. 47-52.

⁷ I take this opportunity of thanking my friend Dr. Walter Rothman, librarian, for all the facilities so generously offered including the use of the valuable MSS of the Library.

⁸ A consideration of the paleographical peculiarities as indicated by Levias, especially the various substitutes for the divine names, leads to the same conclusion.

Hebrew Union College which furnished the first portion of the *dissecta membra*, was destined to furnish also one of the last portions. This is in accordance with the best Jewish tradition which teaches that whoever starts a good work should have the privilege of bringing it to completion (המחיל במצוה אומרים לו גומר).

Moreover, our fragment offers the opportunity of partially repaying P. Kahle for the many services he rendered those of us whose chief interest lies in Yannai's liturgical compositions. In reediting Levias' text, Kahle complains as follows:⁹ "Obviously it is an awkward thing to depend on the copy of Levias as far as these Yannai-texts are concerned. I therefore tried to get hold of the original or a photograph of these texts . . ." Levias referred him to Mr. Fineshreiber whose answer reads as follows: "The parchment in question was one of a large number of similar manuscripts which I received from a Syrian lady who told me that her father had a large amount of parchment manuscript which he accumulated in Syria. I tried very hard to procure the whole collection, but for some reason he would not part with them. The young lady in question is married, and I have lost all track of her." Kahle adds that he is publishing this information in the hope that it may contribute to a rediscovery of the lost text. We have reported here all the information concerning the origin of Levias' fragment because, in all likelihood, it also applies to *our* fragment. Now, although we were not able to satisfy Kahle's hope and to recover the lost leaf, nevertheless we are glad to offer him as compensation facsimiles of two leaves belonging to the same manuscript.

II

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRAGMENT

Two leaves, viz., a double-leaf, vellum, 235mm x 215mm (entire page) — 178mm x 170mm (written space),¹⁰ 29 lines. The writing of the external pages of both leaves (1r and 2v) is clear and

⁹ Kahle, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 87-88.

¹⁰ The almost square form of the written space makes it at once evident that our fragment does not belong to the same MS from which all the Yannai texts with Palestinian vocalization, reproduced by Kahle, emanate. There

legible; that of the internal pages (lv and 2r) is greatly faded, and in certain places, the left bottom of leaf 2 for instance, almost illegible. Both leaves are damaged. Leaf 1 has holes on top (lines 1–4) and bottom (ll. 22–29, left corner); ll. 10–12 slightly damaged. Leaf 2, small holes on ll. 3–4, 6–9; larger hole on ll. 12–17. The two leaves are not continuous; between 1 and 2, there is a lacuna of two leaves.

As to the peculiarities of the handwriting, I refer to Levias and the facsimiles. But I cannot omit pointing out the form of the Tetragrammaton which consists of two *Yods*, the second twisted in such a way that it assumes the form of a small final *Mem*. Misled by this, Levias transcribed it ים, and rendered it erroneously אלהים.¹¹

As to content,¹² the entire fragment contains portions of four *Ḳerobot*, two portions on each leaf. Leaf 1: a) *Ḳeroba to Seder 29* (Gen. 30:22 — Mann, p. 244 ff.). Beginning: ויברא — Letter ב of the alphabetical composition of section VI. End of the *Ḳeroba* on lr., line 18. In Zulay's compilation, the *Ḳeroba* to this *Seder* is represented only by a part of section V.¹³

b) On line 19 follows the beginning of *Ḳeroba to Seder 30* (Gen. 31:3 — Mann, p. 255 ff.), which at the end of lv. stops in the middle of letter פ, section VI. A portion almost identical is to be found in the compilation of Zulay.¹⁴ However, section I, being badly mutilated, will be completed and corrected in our Appendix.

are also differences in the number of the lines, and in the substitutes for the divine names. Nevertheless, since both MSS show great similarity as far as the general character of the handwriting is concerned, we may well assume that both originate in the same region and were written approximately at the same time.

¹¹ Cp. Levias, l.c., p. 162, line 6, and Kahle, l. c., p. 24 (Hebr. sect.), end of section IV. The error was discovered and corrected by Zulay in his "Yannai Studies" (MY), p. 329, N. 26. See also PY, p. 48, note 28.

¹² In the indication of the *Sedarim* of the Triennial Cycle, I follow Mann, J., *The Bible as Read . . . I*, 1940. In the indication of sections and parts of each *Ḳeroba*, I follow the division and arrangement (8 or 9 sections) adopted by Davidson and Zulay.

¹³ PY, N. 18, p. 41.

¹⁴ PY, N. 19, I–VI, pp. 41–44.

Leaf 2: c) *Ḳeroba to Seder 32* (Gen. 33:18 — Mann, 269 ff.). Beginning: Last line of section IV. End of the *Ḳeroba* on 2v. line 23. There is no *Ḳeroba* portion to this *Seder* in Zulay's compilation. The only line, the last one, which Zulay had was erroneously inserted by him in another *Ḳeroba*.¹⁵

d) On line 24 follows the beginning of *Ḳeroba to Seder 33* (Gen. 35:9 — Mann, p. 282 ff.) and stops at the end of Section I. The other sections of this *Ḳeroba* in Zulay's compilation are taken from Levias' text which, as we have seen, is the continuation of our fragment. Section I was supplemented by Zulay from such a mutilated Genizah leaf that it seems to us more convenient to reproduce the entire section I from our MS than to correct Zulay's corrupt and defective text.¹⁶

Of the four portions mentioned above, we therefore reproduce here three (a, c, d) which are missing in Zulay's compilation. The remainder, portion (b), is used in the Appendix containing corrections and variants.

In view of the fact that we give facsimiles of the fragment, we feel justified in omitting the reproduction of the Palestinian vocalization from our printed text. We simply transcribe the Palestinian system into our Tiberian system, except for two signs which at times may appear ambiguous. In addition, the facsimiles allow us to dispense with the usual list comparing the two systems with each other. We refrain from making any comment on the peculiarities of the fragment as far as vocalization is concerned, because we prefer to leave this matter to the specialists.

III

NEW TASKS AND AIMS

As pointed out above, the studies of the *Mahzor Yannai*, seen from the point of view of external structure and arrangement, can be considered as settled satisfactorily and conclusively by

¹⁵ See PY, p. 47, end of N. 20; see also Zulay's "studies" (MY), p. 280, note 3.

¹⁶ PY, N. 21, p. 47 ff.

the works of Davidson and Zulay. But, from another angle, the Yannai studies appear to be in an initial stage. As a matter of fact, so far little has been done to penetrate to the central processes of Yannai's compositions and to establish their inner structure, which puts the scholars before a series of problems barely touched upon. Such problems are: Is there a well determined connection between Yannai's compositions and the Bible verse of the *Seder* (Kober)?¹⁷ What use did Yannai make of the Midrashim, especially those of the *Yelamedenu* and of the *Midrash Rabbah* to the respective *Sedarim* (Mann)?¹⁸ Do the Midrashim used in the compositions link the last five sections of the *Ḳeroba*, serving as their principle of order? Finally the question: Does Yannai represent the end of the long Midrashic tradition or does he initiate a new epoch in Hebrew literature?¹⁹ It is apparent that systematic research into the sources used by Yannai and of their effect on the structure of his poems forms the indispensable preliminary for any attempt to solve any of these problems. True, the cryptical style which Yannai sometimes uses compels most of the scholars to look for his sources, and Ginzberg's notes to Davidson's *Maḥzor Yannai* are certainly very illuminating. Still, since their main concern was the explanation of obscure phrases, they left almost untouched such portions as read smoothly.

I do not intend at present to deal with these problems, but I mention them because they guided me in the composition of the notes in which I endeavor, as far as possible, to unearth linkages and connections hidden beneath the surface. In so doing, I perform rearguard work as far as the gathering of the *Ḳerobot* is concerned. At the same time, I am trying to make a most modest contribution to the vanguard work of those studies which seek to disclose the inner structure of Yannai's liturgic poetry.

¹⁷ In his above mentioned (note 4) article. See especially pp. 26-27.

¹⁸ *The Bible as Read* etc., Prolegomena, p. 19.

¹⁹ Cp. Spiegel, S., "Zum Machsor Yannai," in *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1930, p. 94 ff. See especially p. 97.

קרובות יניי

סדר כמ*: בראשית ל:כב ויזכור אלהים את רחל

ו. ויאן** [א] ...

ויבֿרא בנרזיָה חדשה נבבֿטֿנָה

וינֿל סגינרה קרוב גיוֿה

וידפֿוק מנעול טורד דלֿנתה

⁵ ויהֿמה האנזין לחישת הגיגה

ויופיע להחיות נמימתה וכוֿה

ויזכנור שתיקת זכונתה

ויחדש תשות כוח חילה

ויטע שתל זרוע טוהנה

¹⁰ ויזצרו תאס דיבוק ייחודה

ויזנן אורח ריבוע כריסה

וילבב לב תשוקת לובה

* מניין הסדרים עפ"י י. מאן בספרו: התורה – קריאתה ודרשותיה בביהכ"ז העתיק – ח"א, 1940. סדר כט מקביל למס' יט ב. פיוטי יניי, עמ' מא.

חלוקתה של כל קרובה היא עפ"י דורסון-זולאי.

** הנקודות ממעל לאותיות ה.א.ב, בין בראש בין בסוף ובין באמצע הטור, נוספו על ידינו לשם הבלטת ה.א.ב, ואינן בכתב-היד.

1. עפ"י המדרש: עיקר מיטריין לא הוה לה וגלף (צר צורה, ברא) לה הקב"ה עיקר מיטריין (ב"ר מז: ב; תנח' ויצא, מז).

2-4. נקודת המוצא של הפיטן הוא הפסוק: כי לא סגר דלתי בטני (איוב ג:10), ודברי ר' יהושע: כשם שדלת לבית כך דלתות לאשה (בכורות מה, א). הפיטן קושר נימה בנימה: סגר ב.דלת, ו.דלת ב.דפק' (שופ' יט:22), ו.דפק' ב.מנעול' (שה"ש ה:5,2).

5. מיתתה עפ"י הכ': ואם אין מתה אנכי (ברא' ל:6), והמאמר: מי שאין לו בנים חשוב כמת (תנח' ויצא, יט).

7. שתיקת זכותה – זכות שתיקתה, ובכונה עשה זאת הפיטן כדי לקשר בקשר הדוק את המלה האחרונה שבטור עם הראשונה: ויזכור זכותה. מיוסד על המדרש: מה זכירה זכרן שתיקתה לאחותה (ב"ר עג:ד).

11. אורח ריבוע. עפ"י המדר': ארחי ורבעי (תהל' קלט:3), זה הזרע (מדרש תהל' שם), ועי' גדה לא, א. וגם הקליר אומר: בעון אורח רב עי' (בקרובה אשא דעי למרחוק) במובן זה.

וַיִּמְלֹא חֶסְרוֹן מַעוֹת מִיֹּנֶהָ

וַיִּנְהַר מַחֲשָׁבֵי נִשְׁמַת נִירָה

וַיִּסְנֶה מִיָּעוֹט חֲנִינַת סִגוּלָה ¹⁵

וַיַּעַן אֶתֶּר סִיח עֲטִיפֹתָהּ

וַיִּפְתַּח מִסְגּוֹרֶת מִסְכּוֹרֶת פְּעוֹלָתָהּ

וַיִּצָּר וְנֹלַד בַּחֲלָל צִירֶיהָ

וַיִּקְפֵּא זָרַע אוֹם קֶרְבֶּיהָ

וַיִּנְחַם כָּרוֹב רַחֲמָיו אֶת נַחֲמָה ²⁰

וַיִּשְׁמַע לַחֲשָׁה וַיִּשַׁע שְׁוַעֲתָהּ

וַיִּתֵּן לָהּ הַיִּרְיוֹן תּוֹלְדוֹת

ז. וּבָכָן כִּי אַתָּה

תּוֹמֵךְ תּוֹלְדוֹת שׁוֹמֵעַ תְּפִילוֹת

רוֹאֶה נוֹלְדוֹת קוֹרֵא דוֹרוֹת

13. כמעט ברור שיש כאן רמז לקהלת א:15: מעות לא יוכל לתקון וחסרון לא יוכל להמנות (תיקון: להמלות - להמלות), ומשמעות הטור: שה' מילא את החסרון ותיקן את המעות שבמעה. וצריך איפוא לנקד: מעות נה. וזו' בקמץ). המעתיק - המנקד טעה כנראה והבין. חסרון מעות (כסף)."

14. נשמת נירה / - נר נשמתה, עי' למעלה ט'6. עפ"י משלי כ:27.

16. סִיח עֲטִיפֹתָהּ / - שיח תפילתה, עפ"י הכ': תפלה לעני כי יעטוף (תהל' קב:1). מיוסד על ב'ר ע'ג: ג: ר' יודן בשם ר' אייבו, בהרבה תפלות נפקדה רחל.

18. בַּחֲלָל צִירֶיהָ / השווה דברי ר' אליעזר: כשם שצירים לבית כך צירים לאשה (בכורות מה, א). ועי' למעלה ט'2-3. עי' פיוטי יניי, סי' מב, עמ' צז, ט'46-46: ק'... דלתות לבטן, ק'... צירים לרחם. וגם כאן: בטנה - דלתה (1-2), ציריה - רחמה (17-19).

19. אום / זה יעקב, עפ"י הב': ולאם מלאם יאמץ (ברא' כה:28). משמעותו זרע יעקב הקפיא קרביה, ומיוסד הוא על הכ': ובנבינה תקפיאני (איוב י:10) ומדרשו בבב' יד:ה.

ז. הרהיט הזה, המונה והולך תוארי ה', ביחוד תוארי פעולותיו, בסדר א'ב יש בו הרבה מן השיגרה החוזר ונשנה בקרובות נאי וקליר. רובו ידוע לנו מתוך הפיוטים, לאל עורך דין ו.האוחז ביד מדת המשפט. ובכל זאת יש שאותם המשפטים בעצמם פושטים את כלליותם ומקבלים כאן מובן מצומצם מתאים לענייננו.

2. השווה תנח' בראשית, ל: אמר ר' יהושע זשה' מי פעל ועשה קורא הדורות מראש... וכן אהה מוצא כשהיה הקב"ה רואה צדיק נולד הוא בכבודו קורא אותו שמו.

| | |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| פוקד עקרות | צופה עתידות |
| סולח עונות | עונה עתירות |
| מונה ספורות | נותן תעצומות ⁹ |
| כולל אהבות | לובש צדקות |
| טוב לכל פעולות | יודיע יצירות |
| זוקף כפופות | חוקר ניסתרות |
| הונה טובות | ומחזיק רפות |
| גולה עמוקות | דורש נשכחות ¹⁰ |
| אוהב טהורות | בוחר לבבות |

ח. ועל כל מעשיו יתגדל

ועל כל מפעליו יתקדש

בטהרה ובקדושה בפי אילי קודש

ככו=ככתוב וקרא.

ט. ערבות תשקוד עקרות תפקוד

קברות תפתח בעם אום לשמך קקקן=קדוש קדוש קדוש

7א. גם ב.האוחז', אבל כאן מובנו מצומצם: ה.יציר' הוא הוולד בבטן האשה, ונרדף הוא ל.רואה את הוולד'. השווה קרובתו של יניי לס' תוריע (פיוטי יניי, עמ' קלא, קלג): .רואה נולד בצורת הוולד'; .יודע יצירת כל יציר עד לא נוצר'.

8ב. תהלי' קמה:14. רמו לב'ר עא:ב (תנח' ויצא, י): חוקף לכל הכפופים, אילו העקרות כיון שהקב'ה פוקדן בבנים הן נזקפות.

ט. כל ה.שלישייה' הזאת מיוסדת על מאמרו של ר' יוחנן: שלשה מפתחות בידו של הקב'ה . . . ואילו הן: מפתח של גשמים ומפתח של חיה ומפתח של תחית המתים . . . מפתח של חיה מניין דכתיב ויזכור אלהים את רחל (תענית ב, ע"א). בב'ר ענ: הסדר: מפתח של קבורה, של גשמים, של רחם. בתנח' ויצא, טו הסדר: גשמים וכלכלה, קברות, עקרות. בלשון הלך יניי אחרי התנחומא, אבל בסדר הלך אחרי התלמוד.

1א. ערבות/ מן האמור זה צריך לרמוז על מפתח של גשמים, ומשמעותו כמו מדבר ציה וערבה (ירמ' נ:12). צריך איפוא לנקד ערבות (ה.ריש' בקמץ). ואפשר שהיה כתוב 'רעבות' ומרמו על מפתח של כלכלה או פרנסה שג'ב נחשב במקומות הנ"ל.

קו=קדושו מערבותו כי יונעם

ק' מעקרות כי יפקדם

ק' מקברות כי יפתחם ⁵

ק' מיוצאי רחם כי יעש חיים וחסד

ק' מיוצאי קבר כי תחיים ותעמידם ברוב חסד

ק' ממזכירך במסגר וקורא למו ויצאו

בדבר חפץ חסד וגו' לעז כל = וגומר לעומתם כל

¹⁰ ממו=ממקומו שמע תפלת רחל וזכרה

ממ הקשיב נאקת תחנונה ויפקדה

ממ ראה שחקה כי נישכחה מבן ויפקדה וגו' פעו=פעמים

סדר לב: בראשית לג:יח ויבא יעקב שלם

ד.

הרחיבו ולא הצמיאו

בגן רווה הצמיחו ובכל הצליחו. קדוש.

⁶. יעש חיים וחסד / איוב י:12, ועי' ויק' יד:ג שדורש את הכתוב על יצירת הוולד.

⁸. מכיון שנזכרו מקורם, רחם, וקבר, הטור הזה מן הדין שירמו על נשמים. אבל איך משער אני שהטור הזה מוסב על נח, זה עפי' התנח' נח, יר: צא מן התבה זש' הוציאה ממסגר נפשי... כשהיה נח בתוך התבה היה תדיר מתפלל... ומה היה מתפלל הוציאה ממסגר נפשי. והוא: ממזכירך במסגר קרוא למו ויצאו. יניי כנראה הולך בשיטת התלמוד בתענית המאחד את מפתח של נשמים עם הפתח של פרנסה (נשמים היינו פרנסה), ומפתח של פרנסה נמסר לנח לפי התנח' במקום הנו'.

סדר לב:

1. הרחיבו / עפי' הכ' ויחפור באר אחרת... כי עתה הרחיב ה' לנו וברא'

כו:22.

2. ישע' נח:11.

ה. איש תם בחזורו שלם ושלום /

בליוני מלאכי שלום הישיג מנוחת שלום //

בטָרם יום מנוחה נודע לעניו /

יושב אוהלים יידעו לבניו //

8 וְשִׁנְתָּח בְּדַמְךָ חֶמֶה קָבַע גָּבֹל שַׁבָּת /

וליוצאי חלציו צינה יציאות שבת //

דיגל מחנו ריבע אַלפִים לכל רוח /

וייחן וינח שם בַּנְחַת רוּחַ //

הַנְּחָה עֲשֶׂה פָּנֵי מְשַׁכְּנוֹתָיו /

ומשַׁאֲתָ נָתַן לַבְּנֵי שְׂכִינֹתָיו //

10

1. הטורים 1-8 מיוסדים על המדרש: ויחן את פני העיר, נכנס בערב שבת עם דמדומי חמה מבעוד יום וקבע תחומין מבעוד יום, הדא אמרת ששמר יעקב את השבת קודם שניתן (ב'ר עטו: בסוף). הפיטן או איזה מדרש מצא מקום לקשור את זה עם המלה, שלם. - ש ל ו ם ' רמז לשבת שחותרים בו, פורש סוכת ש ל ו ם '. וכדרכו לקשור נימה בנימה הרכיב גם מאמרו של ר' יוסי בר' יהודה: שני מלאכי השרת (הש ל ו ם) מ ל ו י ן ל ו לאדם בערב שבת (שבת קי"א) עם המדרש הידוע על מלאכי אלהים עולים ויורדים בו, שהם המלאכים שליוו את יעקב. 2. מנוחת שלום / השווה, אתה אחד' במנחה לשבת: יעקב ובניו ינוחו בו . . . מנוחת שלום . . .

3. לעניו / - למשה, עפ"י הכ' והאיש משה ענו מאד (במ' יב: 3). השווה, ישמח משה' בשחרית לשבת ועיון תפלה שם, וגם, למשה צוית' במוסף לשבת כפי מנהג הספרדים.

4. יושב אהלים / - יעקב, עפ"י ברא' כה: 27.

5. גבול שבת / - תחום שבת, ועי' עירובין נא, ע"א: למדנו מקום ממקום . . . וגבול מגבול . . .

6. יציאת שבת / כלומר איסור הוצאה מרשות לרשות וארבע אמות ברשות הרבים. השווה פיוטי יניי ס' מד: 4, עמ' צח: הן ארבע אמות יציאות השבת / ואלפים אמה גבול שבת. ואולי הכוונה לדיני שבת בכלל הכלולים במסכת שבת המתחילה בפרק 'יציאות השבת'.

7. ריבע אלפים / . . . השווה משנה עירובין פ"ד, ח: אלפים אמה לכל רוח ענולות . . . וחכמים אומרים מרוב עות כטבלא מרוב עת. ועי' חוספתא שם פ"ו: 3, 10.

8. כפי שנראה הטור הזה משמש מעבר לשני הטורים הבאים.

9-10. מיוסד על המדרש: ויחן את פני העיר, חנן את הפנים שבעיר. התחיל משלח להם דורנות (ב'ר עטו: בראש). ועי' שבת לג, ע"ב פירש"י. יניי הוציא זה ע"י חילוף של, ויחן. - וינח. -

וְקָבַע יְתִידוֹת שָׁנָם / פְּנֵי הָעִיר שָׁקֶם /
 וּלְעִבּוּדָהּ הֵיטָהּ שָׁקֶם / וְאֵל כְּבוֹדוֹ שִׁיכָן //
 וְחֻמּוֹת עֵטָה / בְּאוֹהֵל אֲשֶׁר נָטָה /
 וְאֵל אֲנוֹן הֵיטָהּ / לִשְׁם אֲשֶׁר בֵּיטָהּ //
 16 חֵיל שֵׁם אֲשֶׁר בֵּיטָהּ / בּוֹ נִתְכַנְּהָ /
 וּבּוֹ נִתְכַנְּנָה כְּנָה / נִמְלָאָה וְכָהוֹנָה //
 טִיכָם מִזְבְּחָהּ / וְנָתַן זִיבְחוֹ /
 וְשֵׁם לְבַעַל חֻקּוֹ / הוֹדִיָּה עַל חֻלְקוֹ //
 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֱלֹהֵי קְרָא אֶת שְׁמוֹ /
 עַת יִקְרָא שְׁמוֹ / עַל קוֹרְאֵי שְׁמוֹ. לְעוֹלָם=לְעוֹלָם

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עשה להם נחת רוח (עי' טור 8). הנחה' ו, משאת' עפי' אסתר ב: 18: והנחה למדינות עשה ויתן משאת... אפשר שזכר, יציאות שבת' (טור 6) הפרק הראשון של מסכת שבת, שעקירה והנחה נזכרות בו תכופות, הושיט ליני את המלה הנחה כאן.
 11-14. יסוד הטורים האלה היא, עיר שכם. יניי הרכיב את המדרש: ואני נתתי לך שכם, זו הבכורה (-כהונה) ולבושו של אדם הראשון (ב' צו: 1) במדרש: וחקה רבקה את בגדי... החמודות, מהו החמודות? שהיה שמשם בכהונה גדולה (ירושלמי מגילה פ"א: יג; תנח' תולדות יב).

11. יתידות שם / לא הוברר לי. ויתכן שיש כאן רמז לישע' לג: 20: ... ירושלם... אהל... כל יסע יתדותיו לנצח. ואולי יש לקרא: שלם. וכדאי לציין שם, מלאכי שלום' שבטור ב' לקוח הוא, כנראה, מפסוק ז' שבפרק זה. ואולי הכוונה לבית מדרשו של שם.
 12. הרכבה מברא' מט: 15: ויט שכם, ומצפניה נ: 9: לעבדו שכם אחד. השווה מדרש בר' רבתי, הוצ' אלבק, ת"ש, עמ' 68: עד מקום שכם, שהטה שכם לקבל עליו גורת המקום. שכם-שיכן, דרכו של יניי לחרוז, סם' בגון' (עי'. מחקרי יניי, עמ' רמו).

13. זך / בביר עט: יש פתיחה לסדר שלנו: אם זך וישר אתה (איוב ח: 6) חמודות עטה - לבש בגדי עשו החמודות, שהיו בגדי כהונה, כמו שניל.
 15. חיל / כנוי ליעקב, כנראה עפי' הכ': וישראל עושה חיל (במ' כד: 18). הכוונה היא שיעקב נקרא באותו השם שהוא קרא את ה', ומיוסד על המאמר: מניין שקרא הקב"ה ליעקב אלהי ישראל, שנ' ויקרא לו אל: אלהי ישראל (מגילה יח, ע"ב).
 16. כנה / כנוי פיטני לישראל, עפי' תהל' פ: 16.
 18. עי' משנה ברכות פ"ב בסוף.
 19. משמעותו: שה' קרא ליעקב, ישראל' וגם, אלהי ישראל' (אלהיו). עי' הע' 16.

ו. ויבא יעקב

אז בצאתו בא לו שמש / כי אוהביו כצאת השמש //
 ובבואו זרח לו השמש / כי אל לחוסיו מגן ושמש //
 נמור בנשוב ממולא / ועל הכל בכל מעולא //
 דמות מלוז בכל עת מחלה / בהנילך קוממיות מתולא //
 והבואים אשר השריש עמו / אשר היו ראויים לאימו⁶ //
 וצדק כי יהיו מימו / כי חולק יז עמו //
 זרוע כאור / זרח כאור / וזיו זוהרו הולך נאור //

ו.

2-1. מיוסד על המדרש: ... שהשקיע הקב"ה לשמש ... כשביקש לצאת ... וכשבא הורח לו השמש שלא בעונתה (תנח' וישלח, י; ב"ר עט:ב. ועי' חולן צא, ע"ב).

ב. שופ' ה:31.

2ב. הרכיב תהל' יח:31: מגן הוא לכל החוסים בו' בתהל' פד:12: כי שמש ומגן ה' אלהים'. השווה הע' לטור 12. על דרכו של יני להרכיב פסוקים העיר מ. א. זק. סממני לשון בפיוטי יני (קונטרסים לעניני הלשון ... יזיל עי' ילון. II, תרצ"ט, עמ' 66).

3. נמור / הוא פירושו של 'שלם'. וכל הטור מיוסד על המדרש: תבא בכלח אלי קבר (איוב ה:26). ... תבא בכלח ... מלא שאינו חסר כלום, שני' ויבא יעקב שלם (ב"ר עט:א בסוף). על 'שלם' נדרף 'מלא' עי' ילון ב. קונטרסים' הנו', תרצ"ט, עמ' 84.

4. מתולא / אעפ"י שהקלף מנוקב במקום זה, שרידי האותיות מורים על מתולא. גם בפיוטי יני עמ' שד, טור קה נמצא: אשר צדקתך מתולה. ומעניין שולאי מביא שם נוסח אחר: מעולה, והנה כאן, מתולא' מחורז עם, מעולא'. והנה מובן המלה יוצא מתוך העניין, הוא כמו רם ותלול, עפ"י הכ' צדקתך כהררי אל, ונמר איפוא מתלל'. צורה אחרת משרש זה אנו מוצאים אצל יני בטקסט שפירסם קאהלי (חלק עברי, עמ' ג, סימן VII: 1): 'תקם דברך תתלה דבירך. בתרגומו האשכנזי (12, הע' 9) מעיר קאהלי: Wörtlich 'hänge auf'. כי מור המלה מתלה'. אבל באמת גם כאן המלה נגזרת מתלל', ומשמעות הפסוק: תבנה דבירך על תלו, עפ"י הכ' ונבנית עיר על תלה (ירמ' ל:18). אחרי שכתבתי זאת ראיתי שמתולה' נמצא ג"כ בפיוטי יני עמ' תב, ושם בהע' טו' זולאי מבאר: מורם למעלה, וכנראה שגם הוא מור המלה מתלה', ולא מתלל'.

א. עפ"י הכ': הבאים ישרש יעקב (ישע' כו:6).

5. עפ"י המדרש: ... ר' נחמיה ראויה היתה רבקה שיעמדו ממנה י"ב שבטים (ב"ר סג:).

6. משמעותו של הטור: וזכה יעקב שיצאו ממנו י"ב שבטים, כי חלק ה' עמו יעקב חבל נחלתו. וצדק' = זוכה; מימו' = ממנו. לולי הניקוד הייתי אומר שנשמטה הנון בפליטת הקולמוס, אבל הניקוד מורה שיש לנו עניין עם צורה זרה בדוגמת. עמ'. היסוד המדרשי של שלשת הטורים (4-6) סמוי מעיני.

7. הרכבה של שני פסוקים: א, אור זרוע לצדיק (תהל' צו:11); ב, ואור צדיקים כאור נוגה הולך ואור (משלי ד:18). שני הפסוקים האלה מורכבים וקשורים יחד בספרי ראה, פיסקא נג, הוצא' איש - שלום. ועי' הוצ' פינקלשטיין. מיוסד על אנדת בראשית

חֶסֶךְ מִכָּל דָּבָר כְּאֹנֹר / וּבְשָׁלוֹם עָבַר יְבוֹק יְאוֹר //
 טָפְיוּ אִתּוֹ מְקוֹשְׁרִים / וּמִסְלֹלָיו בְּנַחַת מִיּוֹשְׁרִים //
 י¹⁰ יִלְדִים תְּמִימִים וּמוֹכְשִׁים / כְּבֵבַת עֵין מְשֻׁמְרִים //
 כָּלֹל בְּהֶדֶר וּבְטוֹב שֵׁם / בְּכָל סְבִיבֵי יָצָא לוֹ שֵׁם //
 לְבֹאֵו סָחוּ אֲנָשֵׁי שֵׁם / בְּרוּךְ הָבָא בְּשֵׁם קוֹרְאוֹ בְּשֵׁם //
 מְרַנֵּין בְּגִיל כְּנוֹשֵׂא אֱלֻמוֹת / מְבֹשֵׁר טוֹבוֹת בַּחֲלוּמוֹת //
 נֶאֱדָר מִכָּל מַהֲלֻמוֹת / נֶחֱלַט טוֹבַת שְׁנֵי עוֹלָמוֹת //

פ' נה:110: א"ר ברכיה כשהצדיקים בעולם האורה עמהם שנ' אור זרוע לצדיק... כל זמן שהיה יעקב בא"י היה האור עמו... וכיון שבא לחזור חזר האורה (בנרפס: התורה!)... שנ' ויזרח לו השמש. ועי' הפתיחה לסדרנו: ותגור אומר... ועל דרכיך נגה אור (ב"ר ע"ג).

א. כאור - מכוּעַר, וכאן ר"ל: מוס, ומרמו למדרש: שלם בנופו, לפי שכתוב בו והוא צולע על ירכו ברם הבא שלם בנופו (ב"ר ע"ה). ויתכן שמרמו לב"ר ע"ג: יש ששמותיהם נאים ומעשיהם כעורים... שמותיהן נאים ומעשיהם נאים, אלו השבטים.

ג. רמו למדרש: שלם בבניו (שם), ומקשר זה עם פארפראזה של הפסוקים ינ ויד שלמעלה מזה.

י. ילדים תמימים / רמו למדרש על פסוק יז: הנו': לרגל הילדים, אמר ליה עד עכשיו יש לי להעמיד חנניה מישאל ועזריה שנאמר בהם ילדים אשר אין בהם כל מום וילקוט רמז לג).

יב-יג. בשני הטורים שקוע מדרש הסמיו מעיני, והוא: 'שלם' בשם טוב. יסוד המדרש יש למצוא במאמרו של ר' חייא (ב"ר לט: יא): לפי שהדרך מנרמט לשלשה דברים, ממעט פריה ורביה (=בנים) ואת היציאה (=ממון) וממעט את השם... המדרש בדרשו ויבא יעקב שלם, בממונו ובבניו, בא ללמדנו שהדרך לא גרמה ליעקב מיעוט פריה ורביה (בנים) ולא מיעוט יציאה (ממון). ומן הדין שנמשך לומר: ולא מיעוט שם.

יב. עפ"י תה"ל קיח:26.

יג. עפ"י תהלים כו:6. שני הפסוקים האחרונים של המזמור הזה (5-6) נדרשים בב"ר לסדרנו (ע"ד): על יעקב. יני, או איזה מדרש שממנו שאב, נועץ את סוף המזמור: נושא אלומותיו בתחלתו: היינו כחולמים, ודורשו על חלומותיו של יעקב (ברא' כח:12 וכו'; לא:11 וכו').

יד. פירוש של 'שלם', שלם מכל פנע רע (מדרש לקח טוב ברא' לג:יח), המיוסר עד שתי הפתיחות הראשונות לסדרנו בב"ר (ע"א-ב).

יב. רמו לישע' נח:14: והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב אביך. בשיר (כה: סוף יב): בעת שאדם שומר את השבת... כל מה שאחה אוכל בעוה"ז אינו אלא מן הפירות אבל הקרן קיימת לך לעוה"ב, שנ' והאכלתיך נחלת יעקב. הרי שנחלת יעקב כוללת עוה"ז ועוה"ב. הפירוש הזה מיוסד על מדרש אנדה ע"י: ד"א ויתן לך... אמר ליה יצחק ליעקב: יתן לך האלהים בעוה"ז ויוסיף לך בעוה"ב ונע"י ויקר לך: שטו שמקשר. נחלת

15 סגולתו שלִימה בחיקו/ כצדיק שְׁמִיחַ בְּחֶלְקוֹ//

עָזָר מְלֵהָב אֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר אֶבְקוֹ/ ומאדמוני אשר חִבְּקוֹ/ וחִבְּקוֹ

בַּעֲנָקוֹ לַחֲנֹקוֹ//

פני העיר שכם אז חנה/ וחלקה מאבני שְׁכָם קִנְהָה//

נציון מזבח שְׁם בְּנֵה/ ותודה לְמִקְרָב רַחוּקִים עָנָה//

קִבַּע מִשְׁאֵת וְעַשׂ הִנָּחָה/ כהישיג מְרִינָה ומְנוּחָה//

20 רוח הכל ממנו נִזְחָה/ כי רוח אֵל עליו נָחָה//

שָׁלֵם בְּכָל וּמִשּׁוּלָם כִּי בִיד שׁוֹנָאוֹ לֹא הוֹשְׁלָם//

תָּכַל קֶץ גְּלוּתוֹ שָׁלֵם/ ובשָׁלֵם הוֹשְׁלָם/ וַיִּדְרוּ שִׁילָם//

יעקב' עם. ויתן לך'. וזה כנראה גם היסוד לרברי פירקוי בן באבוי: ושנו חכמים כל המענג את השבת וזכה ונוחל שני עולמים העוה"ז והעוה"ב ענני שכטר, ח"ב, עמ' 565. ועי' הערתו של ר"ל גינצבורג שם).

15. פירוש של שלם, שלם במסמנו. סגולה ה' – סגולה זהב וכסף (דה"א, כט:3). וביחד עם זה יניי מרמו למדרש אחר, והוא שעשו הציע ליעקב שהיו שותפים בעוה"ז ועוה"ב, ויעקב לא הסכים לחלוקה ואמר לו: טול חלקך בעוה"ז וכו'. וזהו: סגולתו שלִימה בחיקו, רז"ל חלקו לעוה"ב כולו בידו, כי ויתר על עוה"ז. כצדיק שְׁמִיחַ בחלקו. על הנוסחאות השונות של המדרש הנ"ל עי' סדר אליהו ווטא. (פרקי ר' אליעזר) פ"ט, הוצ. איששלוס, עמ' 27, במאיר עין, הע' 18.

16. מרמו למדרש: ויאבק אֵשׁ עמו, יש אומרים מיכאל היה (איש – אש – מלאך של אֵשׁ... 'ילקוט וישלח, רמז קלב). וכן הקליר: למען נבור הנאבק עם שר אש (הושענות, למען איתן). ומעניינים דברי ר' קלנימוס: ויאבק, לשון אבוקה שהיו רוצים לשרוף זה את זה, המלאך באשו ויעקב באשו (תורה שלימה, ח"ה, עמ' 1286, ס' קל).

16. אבוק... חִיבְּקוֹ/ השווה מדרש הגדול ברא', עמ' 510: בהאבוק עמו, ר' יהושע בן לוי אמר כאדם שחובק את חברו. בעיקר מרמו יניי לב"ר עח:ט: וישקו, נקוד עליו... מלמד שלא בא לנשקו אלא לנשכו... מדברי יניי נראה שהיה לפניו איזה מדרש שהוציא אֵשׁ ואת מן המלה, ויחבקהו, ודרש: מלמד שלא אֵשׁ לחבוקו אלא לחנקו. 17–20. בטורים אלה יניי עובר לסוף הפסוק: ויחן וכו', שעיקר דרושותיו השקיע בפיוט ה' הקודם, וכאן חזר על אחדות מהן ומוסיף עליהן נוסף.

18. עפ"י במדבר רבה ח"ד: להודיע שהקב"ה הוא מקרב את הרחוקים. שם מקושר העניין עם הפסוק: שלום שלום לרחוק ולקרוב (ישע' נז:19). ויניי קשר הדבר עם 'שלם' – שלום.

18–17. מקבילים ל11–12 בפיוט ה.

19. מקביל ל9–10 בפיוט ה.

20. דורש, ויחן' מלשון נוח'. השווה פרקי אבות נ"י: כל שרוח הבריות נוחה הימנו.

21–22. שב לדרוש המלה, 'שלם' בשלש צורותיה: שלם, הושלם, שילם, לכל גוניה ומובניה.

22. מרכיב את הפירוש של 'שלם' – שם מקום, עם, הושלם'.

ז. ובכן ויבא יעקב שלם

שלם באומנו/ משולם באוהלו/ לשלם אומן אות אמרו//

שְלֵם בְּזֹאוֹ/ מְשֹלֵם בְּנִי/ לְשֵׁלֶם בְּיָאוֹר בְּיָרוֹר בְּיָטוֹיֹ//

ש' בְּזֹפּוֹ/ מִשׁ' בְּזִיּוֹ/ לִשׁ' גְּמֹל גְּזִירַת גְּזִמְרוֹ//

ש' בְּדַרְכֵּי/ מִשׁ' בְּדִבְרֵי/ לִשׁ' דָּכָב דִּיגֹל דְּבִירוֹ//

ש' בְּהִזְנוֹ/ מִשׁ' בְּהִמְנוֹ/ לִשׁ' הִידּוֹר הִוְדִיַּת הִגִּינוֹ//

— — — — —
נש' בּוֹ

ש' בְּזִיּוֹ/ מִשׁ' בְּזִרְעוֹ/ לִשׁ' זָכוֹת זֹהֵר זִכְרוֹנוֹ//

ו. הרהיט הזה הוא מן הכי מורכבים, וסימניו הם: א. תבת. שלם, המלה האחרונה מן הפסוק שבסדר המשמש, מוט', חזרת ונשנית בראש כל טור. ב. כל טור וטור מורכב משלשה חלקים, כהתאם לשלש הצורות של השרש. שלם' שהוקבעו בסוף הפיוט הקדום. ג. החלק השלישי שבכל טור כשלעצמו מהווה רהיט בתוך רהיט, רהיט מצומצם; מכיל הוא אליטרציה אלפביתית, הקיימת בשלש מלים רצופות המתחילות באות הסימן. הרהיט המצומצם הזה מורכב הוא ברובו ממלים ושרשים סמייריאויטיים, המופיעים גם בשאר הרהיטים, ורק צרופיהם משתנים. אם נשווה, למשל, את הרהיט המצומצם שלנו עם הרהיט בעל שבעת החלקים שבפיוטי ינאי, עמ' רסד-רסה, נמצא ברוב הטורים יסודות משותפים. על צורת הרהיטים אצל ינאי עי' זולאי, מחקרי ינאי, עמ' רמח וכו'.

וג. אות אומרו/ בכתהי המלים מטושטשות, אבל עקבות האותיות וקשר העניין היו לי למורה דרך. השורשים, אומן, אות' נמצאים ברהיט שבפיוטי ינאי הנז'. יש כאן רמז לב'ר פב:א: כתיב עשה עמי אות לטובה, מדבר בדוד ומתקיים ביעקב, אות על שם שג'...

ג. באר, בירור - ברהיט הנז'. על הוראת המלה, ביאור' עי' זולאי בהקדמה ל, פיוטי ינאי, עמ' 18.

ג. גזירת גומרו/ - גומר גירחו, ועי' למעלה (סדר לא: ו:ז). גומר - מקיים, כמו שיוצא מפיוטי ינאי, עמ' שג', טור פו: מה גזרתם ולא גמרת. פתיחה אחת לסדרנו הוא הפסוק: ותגזר אומר ויקטלך (ב'ר עט:ג). וגם הפסוק: לאל גומר עלי נדרש (ב'ר צח:א) על יעקב. על משמעותה של המלה, גומרך' ב. מחזור ינאי, עמ' 6 חלוקי דיעה בין דודסון (שם, הע' 4) ור' גינצבורג (עמ' 48, הע' כ"ח). לדעתי, גומרך' ר"ל, גור דניך' ברמז לב'ר היל: לאל גומר עלי ביה כ"פ.

ד. דיגול, גזר מדגל, ובקשר עם, ורגלו עלי אהבה', הוא אמנם שכיח ומצוי אצל ינאי וחנונו, אבל כאן נדמה לי שניני משתמש במלה זו במובן אחר. מרמז הוא, כנראה, לשיר-השירים רבה ב: ד: א'ר ברכיה אפילו אותן הדיגולין שדיגל יעקב באביו..., וכפי פירוש הערוך, דיגול' כאן ר"ל ערמה ורמאות. דיגול דברו - דבר דיגולו, כלומר דברי ערמה שלו. אח"כ מצאתי שהקדימני ר'ל גינצבורג בהערותיו למחזור ינאי (עמ' 47, הע' יא).

ה. בריהוט הנז' - הדרת... הדרות, הגיון... ואולי גם כאן יותר טוב: הודיית הגיונר'.

ו. אות וו' חסרה בכתהי, ונראה שהמעתיק דילג שורה אחת. וכדאי לציין שעוד בשני מקומות אחרים אנו מוצאים דילוג של טור. וו' אצל ינאי (פ. י. עמ' ה, סי' נז; עמ' רג, סי' צא:ז).

ש' בחילו / מש' בחופשו / לש' חוק חינון חיבויו //
 ש' בטובו / מש' בטפיו / לש' טעם טען טרם טס //
 10 ש' בירכיו / מש' בילדיו / לש' יקר יחוד יוצרו //
 ש' בכוחו / מש' בכל / לש' כיבוד כמו קרת //
 ש' בלינתו / מש' בליויו / לש' ליקח לימוד לשונו //
 ש' בממונו / מש' במחנו / לש' מצות מוצא מענו //
 ש' בנאיו / מש' בנחלו / לש' נועם נואם נידרו //
 15 ש' בקוכו / מש' בסיברו / לש' סיח סידר שפתיו //
 ש' בעיבורו / מש' בעדריו / לש' עינין עבודת ערכו //

37. זוהר / נראה מחר, ותיקון, זוכר' באילו אומר חקני. אבל באמת, זוהר וזכרונ' –
 יזכרון וזהר'. השווה הפיוט שלפני זה טור 2, 7. ברהיט הנ': זכר . . זכיות . .
 38. חיבויו / המלה מטושטשת, אבל כך נראה צריך לקרא. אולי יש כאן רמז ליד
 שנים שנממן יעקב בבית עבר (עי' מגילה יח, א; ב"ר סה:ב).
 39. טעם טען / גם ברהיט הנ': טועני טעם. ייני משחמש במלת טעם במובן
 של טעמי המקרא, והפועל טעמו ריל להביע בהטעמה. ומה: טעמו עשות למו שם
 (פיוטי ייני, עמ' יג, טור סג) – הדגישו והביעו בהטעמה ומקביל לטור צג (ראש עמ' טו): עוניס
 עשות ערמה (עי' קובר, עמ' 81, הע' 4; שפיגל ש, למחזור ייני, בירחון הגרמני, 1930, עמ'
 100). טעם' במקומות אחרים אצל ייני נעשה איפוא נדרף עם דיבור או קול, כמו שיוצא
 מ, פיוטי ייני, עמ' מא, סי' ט:ה: טעמך אשר ריק לא ישוב, שאינו אלא פארפראזה
 של הפסוק: דברי אשר יצא מפי לא ישוב אלי ריקם (ישע' נה:11). והשווה
 כמו"כ פיוטי ייני עמ' כג, סי' ט:ה; עמ' סח, סי' כט:קי; עמ' קב, סי' מו:ה. טעם טען /
 ריל איפוא הקול שנשא קודם שברח מבית אביו, והכונה לנדרו, שנדר ואמר: אם יהיה
 אלהים עמדי וכו'.

40. רמז לב"ר סט:ב. . . כיון שעמד יעקב – איש יחד פני רעהו – שנת ייחדה
 עליו השכינה. ועי' שם פב:ג. ברהיט הנ': יקר, יחד, יוצרו.
 41. כרת / – כרת ברית – הבטיח לעשות דבר מה – נדר. ומשמעות הטור: לשלם את
 הכיבוד (עבודה) לה' כמו שנדר, ומקביל איפוא לרוב הטורים הבאים. ואולי יש כאן רמז
 לב"ר עח:טו: כל אותן חדשים שהיה יעקב בבית אל היה מכבד את עשו באותו
 דורן. דוק בחרוז: טס – כרת.

42. נועם נואם / גם ברהיט הנ'. צימוד שכיח אצל ייני.

43. מוצא מענו / – מוצא שפתיו – נדרו (נדר' כג:24).

44. בסוכו / עפ"י תהל' עו:13 והי' בשלם סוכו.

45. סיח סידר שפתיו – סדר שיח שפתיו.

ש' בנפילולו/ מש' בפוקדו/ לש' פיצח פירוש פיו//
 ש' בצאנו/ מש' בצידו/ לש' צדק צהל צורו//
 ש' בקינו/ מש' בקניינו/ לש' קורבון קידוש קונו//
 ש' בריגשו/ מש' בריביו/ לש' ריצו ריח ריעו//²⁰
 שלום בשובו/ מש' בשבטיו/ לש' שחיטת שיי שלמיו//
 ש' בתומו/ מש' בתולדותיו/ לש' תוכן תרומותו תודותיו.
 ובכן

ח. תתניו תקיפים כתאומים/ תשיתנו שלימים כשלמים//
 תרוממינו רמים כראמים/ תקבלינו קדושים כקורבנות//

106. בלתי מחור לי למדי ויתכן ש.עבודה' כאן ר'ל תפלה, והפוך הסדר: ענין עירך תפלתו. השווה פיוטי יניי. עמ' קץ, ס' פה:לב: ירצה מינו עירך תפלה, וסמוך לו: ירצה עניין כל ברכה. עיבורו... ערכו. ברהיט המ': עירך עיבורי...
 107. פיצח פירוש פיו/ - פירוש פיצח פיו. פירוש - הפלאה, מלשון כי יפליא לנדר (במד' ו:2) ותרנומו: ארי יפריש, ועי' נדרים ג, ע"א ובפרשי שם.
 108. צדק צהל צורו/ - צהל צדק צורו, השווה פיוטי יניי, עמ' רצד, ס' קיט:צד: לצהל צדקתך.

109. קורבן קידוש קונו/ - קידוש קורבן קונו.
 120. השווה פיוטי יניי, עמ' לג: ס' יא:קכו: ריצו ריחו רוחה. ריעו/ מתוך ההקבלה עם. קונו' או. צורו' שבטורים הקודמים. אנו למדים ש.ריעו' כאן ר'ל ה', ומיוסד הוא על המדרש: רעך ורע אביך אל תעזוב, רעך זה הקב"ה (שמות רבה ו:ב). ועי' הע' לטור 10.

22א-ב. עי' פיוטי יניי, עמ' לג: ס' יא:כט: ברית תומו... תחי תולדותיו.

122. גם ברהיט המ' הטור האחרון מתחיל ב.תיכון וגומר ב.תודה'.

ח. מעין זה שאמרנו למעלה על הרהיט ז לקרובת, ויזכור אלהים את רחל, ניתן להאמר גם על הרהיט הזה. מורכב הוא ברובו מצימודים סטיריאוטיפיים שהולכים ונשנים בשינויי-צירוף בקרובות שונות של יניי ושל הקליר. ואנו מזכירים כאן שני רהיטים ידועים לנו והם: תתנינו לשם ולתלה' (והושענות לקליר) ו.המאמרים באימה' (פיוט) למסוף יוהכ"פ, במחזור רומי, ליוחנן הכהן בן יהושע. יוחנן הכהן הלך בעקבותיו של יניי, כמו שהראה וולאי ב.מחקרי יניי. עמ' שכה), המכילים הרבה יסודות משותפים להיטנו. בהשקפה הראשונה אמר נראה הוא קל ההבנה, אבל לאחר התבוננות מעטה אנו מרגישים שהרבה מן הרמזים השקועים ברהיט סמויים הם מענייניו.

1א. כתאומים/ יתכן שר'ל כאחד מן התאומים, זה יעקב, שנבר על המלאך ועל עשו, או שמרמו לאסתר רבה פ': יא: [נמול] תאומים נמצאו וכות פרץ וזרח שנקראו תאומים, ההי' והנה תאומים בבטנה. ואולי מרמו לשיר השירים רבה ד:יב: תאמי צבירה, זה משה ואהרן.

2א. עפ"י הכ': ותרם כראם קרני (תהלי צב:11).

2ב. קדושים/ אולי מרמו למתים על קידוש ה'.

תציבנו צדיקים כצבאות / תפקדנו פרוחים כפירות //
 תעטרנו עליונים בעננים / תשימנו סגיאם כסחים //
 5 תנהנינו נחולים כנדיבים / תמלאנו מכלל כמלאכים //
 תלוינו לעד כלוויד / תזונינו כנה ככבודך //
 תיחדנו יחד כיקרך / תטענו טובים כטיבוסך //
 תחסינו חזקה כחילך / תזרינו זוהר כזיוך //
 תועדנו וועד כזיוך / תהדרנו הוד כהילוךך //
 10 תדביקנו דודים כדבורך / תגאלנו גדול כגודלך //
 תביאנו בברית כביטחונך / תאמירנו כאומרך
 ונאמירך כאומרי קדוש / בקדושה בהדרת קודש
 ככו=ככתוב וקרא.

א3. כצבאות / ע' שה' רבה ב: יח: בצבאות, אלו אבות (לדעת ר"ח בר פפא) או דורו של שמד, היינו המתיים על קידוש השם, (לדעת רבנן). לפי הפירוש השני, צבאות' כאן 'קדושים' שבטור הקדום היינו הק.

ב3. עפי' תהל' צב: 8: בפרור רשעים כמו עשב, ושם: 13: צדיק כחמר יפרח. פרוחים כפירות / ר"ל כחמר שעושה פירות (ע' תענית כה, ע"א וע"ב) ולא בעשב. פרוחים, צורה בלתי שכיחה. וע' הערת ילון ב. קונטרסים' המ', עמ' 82, על צורת 'צמוחים' הדומה לה.

א4. אולי מרמו לדניאל ז: 13: וארו עם ענני שמיא וכו'; ושם: 22: ודינא יחב לקדישי עליונים.

ב4. סניאים כסיחים / - שניאים כשיחים. שיח במובן של עץ (וכן בהושענות בפיט אדם ובהמה: שיחים לקוממה), ומרמו לתהל' צ: 8: כארז בלבנון ישנה. וע' הע' ל-א3. א5. מרמו על אברהם עפי' תהל' מז: 10, וסוכה מט, ע"ב. אבל יותר נראה שיני הרכיב פסוקים אחדים מישע' מט: 10: כי מרחמם ינהם; שם: 8: להנחיל נחלות שוממות; שם: 7: מלכים יראו וקמו וכו' = נדיבים.

ב5. כנראה מרמו לתהל' נ: 2: מציון מכלל יפי אלהים הופיע, ומפרש 'אלהים' - מלאכים. וע' פסוק ד: יקרא אל השמים מעל, ותרגומו: וקרי לאנגלי מרומא מעל. וכדאי לציון שפסוק יד של המזמור: זבח לאלהים תודה ושלם לעליון נדריך, נדרש בתנח' ב', עמ' פו, ב, על יעקב: 'מיד עליו המלאך ... אמר לו שלם את נדריך' א6. כנה / כנוי פנימי לישראל עפי' תהל' פ: 16.

ב6. כהילוךך / ע' תנח' קדושים, ד: הלוכו בקדושה וכו'.

י0. תגאלינו / לכאורה נראה שצ"ל: תגדלינו (וכן הוא בתחנינו' שבהושענות), אבל, תגאלינו מתאים לטור הבא.

ח. הסילוק הקצר בעל שורה אחת הוא חלק בלתי נפרד של הרהיט שלפניו. רק המלה 'קדוש' ככתוב מעבר לקדושה.

ט. שלימים בכל דבר / עימם תשלם כל דבר / משלמים ואומרים

קקק ו=קדוש קדוש קדוש

ק [=קדוש] משלימי לך / ק ממשלימי לך / ק ממשלימי לך

ק שילמתה חיסרוני תם כי היה שלם לך

ק גם אויביו הישלמתה לו כי עצמו השלים לך

ק שלום עד שלם שימרתו כי נדריו שילם לך וגו'

לעז כל [=לעומתם כלם]

ממ [=ממקומו] שימר לתם בצאתו ובואו כי שמר חוקו

ממ בירכו בשלו ולא לו כי בירך שמו

ט. קדושה: שלשת חלקי הקדושה נעוצים בפיוט ו, והקשר הוא לא לבד בתוכן כראם גם בשיתופימלים. שני החלקים הראשונים של הקדושה נעוצים בטור האחרון של ו, המכיל שילוש הצורות של השורש. שלם. החלק השלישי נעוץ בשני הטורים הראשונים של אותו הפיוט, הפתחלים, בצאחור, בבואור.

יותר מעניין הוא הקשר שאפשר למצוא בין חלקי הקדושה ושתי הפתיחות הראשונות לסדרנו בב'ר. הראשונה לקוחה מאיוב ה:19 עד סוף הפ'. הקשר עם הסדר הוא הפסוק: וחית השדה השלם לך. הפתיחה הזאת הוא היסוד לשילוש הצורות של. שלם, ששני החלקים הראשונים של הקדושה קיימים עליו. הפתיחה השנייה מורכבת משלושה יסודות הקשורים זה בזה כעין, נימה בנימה. מתחילה היא במזמור קכט:1 רבות צרונני וכו', ועוברת למזמור לד:20 רבות רעות לצדיק וכו'. שומר כל עצמותי, וחזרת במזמור קכא:8 ישמר צאתך ובואך. חזרתו של הפסוק הזה טבוע על הטור הראשון של החלק השלישי של הקדושה: שימר לתם בצאתו ובואו... והוא הוא שגרר אחריו גם הטור השני ע'י הקשר עם דב' כח:6 ברוך אתה בצאתך ברוך אתה בבואך, (ע'י מאן י, הביבליאה...). מדרש חדש על התורה, עמ' קעט). ואפשר גם למצוא קשר בין הטור השני והיסוד הראשון של הפתיחה. מדרכו של יניי לנעוץ סוף בראש, ומראש מזמור קכט הגו' בפתיחה עבר לסופו: ברכת ה' אליכם בירכנו אתכם בשם ה'.

יב. עימם תשלם / כך מנוקד (ה'ל' בצירה), אבל עימם מורה על ההפעיל, וזם מתוך הטורים הבאים יוצא שצריך להיות הפעיל כאן, ויש אפוא לנקד: תשלם.

יג. עפ"י משלי טז:7.

יד. ע'ד שלם / בהקבלה לטור האחרון של הפיוט ו, יניי גם כאן מרמז לפי הפשוט, שלם, רחל שם עיר – ירושלם.

טז. רמז לויקרא רבה לו, סוף: כל מי שנודר ומשלם נדרו זוכה שישלם נדרו בירושלים הה' נדרי לה' אשלם. (תהל' קטו:14, 18).

יז. רמז לב'ר סוג: ויתן לך... ויתן לך שלך, ויתן לך של אביך, ויתן לך שלך ויתן לך של אחיך. וע'י לעיל הע' לג, טור יב. והשווה פיוטי יניי, עמ' שצח: יח: שלך ולא לך אתן לך...

מִלְּהוֹשִׁיעוֹ מָאֵשׁ וּמָמִים כִּי נֹשַׁע בּוֹ וְגו' פֶּעַ [פִּעְמִים]

סדר לג: בראשית לה:ט נורא אלי'ם אל יעקב

- א. אִמָּן אִמָּנִתְךָ רָבָה / בְּנִאֲמִיךָ מִתְּרָבָה /
 גַּם עֵינֵינוֹתְךָ מֵאֵד מְרוֹכָה / דּוֹרְשִׁיךָ מְרָכָה וּמְרָכָה //
 הֲרֵבִית לַחַם בְּשִׁבְתּוֹ אִנָּן / וּמִתְאַנָּן וּמִתְחַנָּן /
 זִיו יְקָרְךָ הוֹפַעַת חֲנוּן / חֲנוּנִי לְחֹן וּלְחֲנוּן //
 טוֹב לְהִיטִיב הִירָאִיתָה / יִשְׁכָּתוּ בְּאַנַּח עַתָּה רָאִיתָה /
 כְּבוֹד פּוֹעֵלְךָ עָלֶיךָ הִירָאִיתָה / לְהִרְאֹת לּוֹ פָּנִים נִרְאִיתָה //
 כֹּכ וִירָא אִיסָם=אלהים וְנ' יִרְאָה עַל עֲבָדֶיךָ /
 וְנ' בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה בְּבֹרֵךְ / וְנ' וְתִגְזֹר אֹמֵר /
 וְנ' הִנֵּה כִּי כֵן יִבּוֹרֵךְ יי' אִינוֹ=אלהינו //
 10 בְּעֹז שִׁבְטֶךָ נִחְיֶנוּ / וּמִגִּינְךָ הִרְאִינוּ // ב'נ=ברוך

8. מֵאֵשׁ וּמָמִים / עִפִּי תִהְיֶה סו:12: בִּאֲנִי בִּאֲשׁ וּבִמִּים וְתוֹצִיָּאֵנוּ לְרוּיָהּ.
 וְבֵא אַחֲרָיו: אִבּוֹא בִּיתְךָ בְּעוֹלוֹת אֵשׁ לִסְלִיךְ נִדְרִי, וְעִי כִּי הִטּוֹר הוּא, הַסּוֹף שֶׁל הַחֶלֶק
 הַשְּׁלִישִׁי, נֶעוֹץ בְּטוֹר 5, הַסּוֹף שֶׁל הַחֶלֶק הַשֵּׁנִי. נֹשַׁע בּוֹ / עִפִּי יִשְׁעִי מֵה:17: יִשְׂרָאֵל נֹשַׁע בְּה'.
 וְכֵאֵן הַמָּקוֹם לְצִיּוֹן, שְׁמִטָּה קֵטָן מִחֶלֶק הַשְּׁלִישִׁי שֶׁל הַקְּדוּשָׁה מִצֵּא זֹלָאִי בְכִי 35, וְצִירְפוֹ
 שֶׁלֹּא בְּמִקּוֹמוֹ, לְקִרְבָּהּ שֶׁל סֹדֵר לֹא: בְּר' לב:4. (עִי' פִּיּוּטֵי יִנִּי, רֹאשׁ עַמ' מו.).

נספח

תיקונים ושינויי-נוסח לקרובה סי' יט מ. פיוטי יניי' נעמ' מא-מר)

| | |
|----------------|--|
| עמ' 41, טור א: | אתה / - אומנך |
| " " | ב: ... קים // ד... / - רוחקים // דרכם |
| " " | ג: איש תם אשר / - כאיש תם הקרוב אשר; המר נחק - המרוחק |
| " " | ד: חזור לה... חק / - חזור לה דיבר אליו דחק |
| " " | ה: שאר - שאר (השפעה ארמית?) |
| " " | ו: קך א / - קכה |
| " " | ז: סוכנותיו וצל / - סוכנות צל (מתחילה גם בקטענו: סוכנותיו, אלא ש, י' מחוקות) |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| עמ' 42, טור ז: | נע - נע |
| " " | יח: הדבר / - דבר |
| " " | יט: בהצנע () / - בהצנע (לכת); ליעץ - כך מנוקד |
| " " | כח: ינך אך / - ינךך |
| " " | כט: להשליוו / - ולהשליוו |
| עמ' 43, טור לד: | היחל... ושיקר / - היחל ושקר (כך מנוקד) |
| " " | לה: ונקודים / - נקודים |
| " " | לו: והוא / - וארמ |
| " " | לט: איחור... התל / - איחור... הותל (כך מנוקד) |
| " " | מ: ניתממתה / - ניתממתה |
| " " | מב: סחרו - סקרו (ניקוד) |
| " " | מג: הזקיננו / - והזקיננו; ראיתה / - ראיתי |
| " " | מד: שיבתו - שיכתו (ניקוד) |
| " " | מה: אז / - חסר; כל () יושב / - כל נבה יושב |
| " " | מו: חזור לא / - חזור לך; שוב / - ושוב |
| " " | מח: השיבנו / - שובבינו (ע"פ ישע' מט:6) |
| " " | מט: אל נא / - חסר |
| עמ' 44, טור נ: | שוב אל ארץ / - , ארץ חסרה (קרי: שוב אל / ארמת...) |
| " " | נא: ארמת קדש / - ארמת ישראל; ומכל / - מכל |
| " " | נה: ולאב () / - ולאב נולבן |
| " " | נו: אשוב / - נשוב |
| " " | נז: כשאר - בשאר (ניקוד; ועי' למעלה, טור ה) |
| " " | ס: משאננה - משואננה |
| " " | סג: מצופים - מחיפופים |
| " " | סד: כולם () צופים / כולם נלך צופים; צרופים רצופים - |
| " " | צופים רצופים |
| " " | סו: יהיו / - יהוא |
| " " | כיתי מחנות / - מחנות כיתי |

מטור סז יש בכה"י ההתחלה: נפירה ויבולה, וכאן הקטע נפסק.

THE STRANGE CASE OF HECTOR MENDES BRAVO

CECIL ROTH, Oxford University, Oxford, England

ON DECEMBER 11th, 1617, the monotonous labours of the Licenciado Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha, Inquisitor at Lisbon, were interrupted by an unusual occurrence. In his audience chamber there appeared a young man, of about middle height, with big moustaches and a black beard. His name was Hector Mendes Bravo: and he had come, he said, all the way from Holland to confess his sins and to be readmitted into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church. A full account of his previous life and misdoings followed.

He had been born — so his tale ran — about twenty-six years before at Lagos, in the south of Portugal, of New Christian parentage. His father was a merchant named Miguel Nuñez Bravo: his mother, a certain Mecia Lopes. At the age of about four years he had been brought from Lagos to Setubal, his father dying during this period. Subsequently, the family had removed to Lisbon. After a few years, Mecia Lopes had obtained royal license to go with her children to Italy.¹ They settled in Florence, where Bravo's younger sister, Margarida Nuñez, had died after about six months: he was at this time approximately fifteen years old.

Here, the family made the acquaintance of a certain Portuguese New Christian, Bento de Medeiros (son of Manoel de Medeiros of Lisbon and Violante Enriques), and his wife, Leonora Texeira. These two, with the assistance of others who shared their convictions, persuaded the mother (hitherto a conforming Christian) to apostatize to the Law of Moses — to

¹ This migration was perhaps in consequence (as Bravo himself admitted at a later stage) of the arrest of one of her friends by the Inquisition, which gave her considerable apprehensions for her own safety.

revert, that is, to the ancestral religion from which her forebears had been wrenched away over a century before. Accordingly, after about a year, in 1607 or 1608, Bravo and his mother went to Venice: at that time a principal centre of the Marranos, who were there able to proclaim their Judaism with more security than in almost any other city of Italy.² Arrived here, they went to live in the Ghetto with the other Jews. With them, they had a letter of introduction from Medeiros to his brother-in-law, Garcia Ribeira, who soon brought them into touch with local Jewish life. Through the latter's intervention, certain Rabbis waited upon young Bravo and easily persuaded him (with the aid of a Bible in the Spanish tongue) to enter formally the fold of Judaism. Barely three weeks later, he was circumcised by a Portuguese surgeon named Bras Lindo^{2a} in the presence of the regular quorum of ten persons, including the Rabbis Moses Altaras, Babli and Garzon.³ From that time onward, he lived as a professing Jew, under the name of David Levi Bravo; the second name indicating that, in spite of over a century of assimilation, the memory of the semi-priestly origin of the family was not yet entirely lost.

² For the history of the Marranos in Venice, see my study: "Les Marrane à Venise" in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. lxxxix, pp. 201-223; and, for the general background, my *History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930).

^{2a} Almost certainly identical with David Lindo, a physician, who died in Venice in November 1612 (Pacifi, *Le iscrizioni dell' antico cimitero ebraico a Venezia*, 1936, I, 49 § 106).

³ Moses Altaras was the author of a Spanish translation of the *Shulhan haPanim* of Joseph Caro, published at Venice in 1629 under the title *Libro de Mantenimiento de la Alma*. This was prepared, as he indicates in the preface, especially for the use of Marranos who could not read Hebrew (cf. M. B. Amzalak, *A tradução espanhola do livro de Joseph Caro* . . . Lisbon 1927; Neppi-Ghirondi, *Toledoth Gedole Israel*, pp. 235-6).

Benjamin Babli, of Pisa, who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was at one time a pupil of Leone da Modena at Venice (Blau, *Leo Modena's Briefe- und Schriftstücke*, § clxxxii).

The third person mentioned in the text, Garzon, is perhaps to be identified with Isaac Gershon, of Safed, Rabbi, author and proof-reader at Venice at this period, who was employed to correct the Ladino edition of the work mentioned above, published in 1602 under the title *Mesa de el Alma* (cf. Amzalak, *ubi supra*; Neppi-Ghirondi, pp. 145-6; Blau, p. 91, n. 11).

After four or five years, in consequence of having wounded a certain patrician in a brawl, he had gone from Venice to seek employment in Amsterdam, then rapidly becoming the greatest Marrano centre in Europe. Here he was engaged as bookkeeper in the counting-house of a Portuguese merchant named Manuel Pimentel;⁴ and he continued to live as a conforming Jew for a further five years, both here and at Hamburg, to which city he paid a business visit of about two months.

At length, however (so his tale went), a diligent study of the Bible had induced him to consider more carefully the comparative merits of the Jewish and Christian religions, to the disadvantage of the former. The Rabbis at Amsterdam had been unable to resolve his doubts. He had thus become convinced at last of the error of his ways during the past ten years. Accordingly, he had returned to Portugal, penitent, to be received again into the bosom of the Holy Catholic Church: and he professed himself willing to submit to penance which might be imposed upon him to that end.

It might be imagined with what joy the Inquisitor received the news of the return to the Christian fold of this lost soul: accompanied as it was by a treacherous denunciation of almost the whole of the Marrano colonies at Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Venice, the three cities in which he had been resident. Natural prejudice against an informer tends to make one disbelieve the sincerity and disinterestedness of any such reconversion. In this particular instance, instinctive scepticism receives ample documentary support. This case dragged on for many months: and in its course there became unveiled a whole network of sordid intrigue and discreditable episode. The details can here be indicated only briefly.

There was living at that time in Lisbon a certain convert from Judaism named Francisco de S. Antonio. Bravo, asked whether he knew him, retaliated upon this fresh apostate, who was infringing (as it were) upon his monopoly, by giving some unsavoury details as to his life in Holland, where he had known

⁴ Manuel Pimentel, *alias* Isaac Abeniacar, was the wealthy familiar and gaming-companion of Henri IV. of France (Barrios, *Casa de Jacob*, p. 30: Henriques de Castro, *Keur van Grafsteenen*, p. 2).

him under his original name of Abraham Ruben. He was born a Jew, a native of Fez, who for some time had been employed to teach in the elementary school of the Jewish community at Amsterdam. It was found out, however, that he had abused his position by corrupting the children entrusted to his care. Accordingly, he had fled to Antwerp, where he had been received into the Christian faith under his present devout name. This nevertheless had not prevented him from subsequently returning to Amsterdam, where he had ineffectually tried to make his peace with the community. In consequence of these disclosures, Francisco de S. Antonio was arrested.⁵ He in his turn retaliated upon his denouncer by throwing doubt, from his own personal knowledge, on the sincerity of Bravo's own repentance. This the latter attempted to vindicate forthwith, in a most cowardly fashion, by giving evidence against a certain Alvaro (Francisco) Gomez, then in the prisons of the Inquisition on a charge of Judaising. He had known this unfortunate, he alleged, as a practising Jew at Venice, where he had been circumcised some eight years previously. Such a damning piece of information was quite sufficient to cost the victim his life, as in the present case it probably did.

Thus, by the sacrifice of another, Bravo apparently vindicated his sincerity: and the trial seemed to be drawing to its conclusion. The formal abjuration was signed: and he was to have been "reconciled" at a forthcoming auto-da-fê. But, almost at the last moment, fresh information was given against him by a certain João Christovão, who had known him in Amsterdam. From this it appeared that the penitent's departure from Holland was not unconnected with the scandal aroused by the discovery of the fact that he had been living in an immoral connection with an Englishwoman: a striking parallel to what had happened some years previous, when (as has been mentioned) he had left Venice precipitately in consequence of a brawl. There seemed every reason to believe that Bravo had returned to Lisbon, not so much through his providential re-

⁵ See the independent record of his trial in the Inquisitional Archives in the Torre do Tombo (I omitted to note the exact reference).

conviction in the truth of the Christian religion, as because his former place of residence had become impossible for him. In consequence of this disclosure, the execution of the sentence was delayed: and it was not until the following year that Bravo appeared in his sambenito at a public auto, to be formally reconciled into the bosom of the Catholic Church.⁶

As for the second villain of the piece, Francisco de S. Antonio, *alias* Abraham Ruben, an adventurous career was still before him. For the moment he escaped from his troubles and was set at liberty. When, not long afterwards, the unfortunate Isaac Almosnino (a physician from Fez, who had been arrested at Goa in India on suspicion of actually being the Marrano Manuel Lopes, who had fled from Oporto to Cochin) was tried by the Inquisition at Lisbon, his fellow-townsmen was called in to interpret certain Hebrew letters which had been found in the prisoner's possession.⁷ Subsequently, he made his way to Spain, settling first at Madrid, and then in Toledo. However, he seems to have been constitutionally incapable of keeping out of trouble. In 1624, he was arrested by the Inquisition in the last-named place, and, after a lengthy imprisonment, he was condemned.⁸ Thus, the adventurous career of the disreputable teacher in the elementary school of the community of Amsterdam came to its end.

We have strayed, however, from the case of Hector Mendes Bravo, the principal object of this study. The story of the latter,

⁶ For the details, see the full case (Torre do Tombo, *Inq: de Lisbõa*, proc: 12493). The documents here published in appendix comprise only the earlier and historically more important part of the *dossier*.

⁷ See the full and very interesting case of Isaac Almosnino in the Lisbon Archives (Torre do Tombo, *Inq: de Lisbõa*, proc: 5393). In this, there are remarkable sidelights upon the conduct of the Jews of Morocco after the Battle of the Three Kings: on the history of the family, from its departure from Toledo in 1492: and above all of the travels which brought this Moroccan physician from Fez to India.

⁸ Cf. Vignau, *Catalogo de la Inquisición de Toledo*, p. 228. In view of the fact that among the papers connected with the trial a printed Hebrew alphabet is included, it seems possible that among the offences imputed to the accused was that of instructing the Marranos in their forgotten ancestral language.

though interesting, is of no peculiarly great importance in itself. The phenomenon of a renegade Marrano who returned to the religion into which he had been born, whether from conviction or of interest, is not unparalleled. Nevertheless, Bravo's account of his experiences is of unusual importance. Its historical value is unique. For the traitor was not content merely with giving an account of his own life and of his odyssey from Catholicism through Judaism back to Catholicism again. He endeavoured to curry favour with the inquisitional authorities at Lisbon by denouncing, as far as his memory served, all those of his Marrano compatriots now reverted to Judaism, with whom he had mixed during his brief period of conformity. Thus he mentions by name a couple of dozen individuals at Venice, about thirty at Hamburg, and well over one hundred at Amsterdam: all Christians by birth who had returned to the religion of their fathers and were now regularly frequenting the synagogue. In many cases, he gave information in addition about their places of origin, the names by which they were known in Jewish life, the pseudonyms which they adopted for commercial purposes in order to foil the Inquisition, and their correspondents in the Peninsula. Such lists are of immense value for the student of history: and, in the case of Amsterdam, one of such magnitude is virtually unique. On the basis of this document, it is possible to reconstruct the whole composition of these three great communities of the Marrano Diaspora at this early date in its history: a task which the present writer has already taken in hand.⁹

⁹ Cf. my studies: "Les Marranes à Venise" in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, *ubi supra*, especially pp. 214-4: "Neue Kunde von der Marranen-Gemeinde in Hamburg" in *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, 1930, pp. 228-236: and "Het Vreemde Geval van Hector Mendes Bravo" in *Nieuw Israëlitisch Weekblad*, August, 1931. The Amsterdam list is too lengthy to be examined in detail at present. There are however many important identifications which can be made. Thus, for example, Simão Lopes Rosa, the first person mentioned, is none other than Abraham Farrar, poet and physician, one of the most illustrious figures in the early history of the community.

The late Mr. Lucien Wolf wrote to me in connection with this list, a copy of which I had sent him:

"Of some of these persons I have very full stories from the Inquisition Processes. I think Antonio Martins de Veigas should be *Vieira*: I have

Much else of interest occurs in this confession. There is a noteworthy account of Jewish rites and ceremonies as they were observed, especially at Venice, at this period. Though in one or two details Bravo displays astonishing ignorance, his testimony is sometimes of considerable value — as, for example, when he indicated the general use of Spanish prayer-books in the synagogue, or speaks of the custom of the women to imitate the three-day fast of Queen Esther, or informs us that no person was allowed to wear the usual *Tallith* or phylacteries in synagogue until he had been circumcised. Similarly, he denied strenuously that the Marranos of Amsterdam carried on any propaganda amongst their brethren in the Peninsula, whether through the medium of books or by personal intercourse.

Of equal interest is his account of his reconversion to Catholicism. This came about, he said, by reason of his reconsideration of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. This was, as it happens, one of the major preoccupations of the Marrano community at Amsterdam, where several works were compiled with the object of combatting the christological interpretation attached to it by the Church. Bravo's account of his mental searchings represents to some extent the trend of the local intellectual currents in this matter, with the arguments on both sides. The Jewish point of view is put forward very fairly: that the sufferings spoken of by Isaiah refer to the whole people of Israel and the tribulations through which it was even then passing. Very interesting is the

an account of his escape from Brazil in 1613. Duarte Fernandes Veiga, son of Luis Fernandes, is an interesting person. His father was the Luis Fernandes of the Antwerp secret synagogue, who was in correspondence with Rodrigo Lopes in 1593. A brother of Duarte, Manuel Rodrigues Veiga, is believed to have been identical with Jacob Tirado . . . I find also that he was in correspondence with Fernando del Mercado in London in 1610. Another interesting story I have relates to Manuel Esteves and Manuel Cardoso Millão. After escaping from Lisbon to Brazil they had to fly from there to Amsterdam. They are said to have made the voyage concealed in a cask. The whole of the Millão family were prosecuted by the Inquisition in 1609, and Manuel's uncle, Henrique Dias Millão, was burnt at the *Auto* of April 5th 1609. In 1614 Manuel Esteves, who was then forty years old, was described in a denunciation as 'Jew and Sacristan of the Synagogue at Amsterdam.' "

sidelight we receive upon Isaac Uziel, of Fez, *Haham* of the community (who, we are told, had been in Spain). Interrogated by Bravo as to his difficulties, he told him frankly not to be a Karaite — not to doubt so much, and to believe as others believed: the very words which perhaps confronted a Uriel da Costa or a Benedict Spinoza in after years. Ultimately, Bravo got into touch with a certain Franciscan friar, Pero da Anunciação, who was in the neighborhood of Amsterdam in the disguise of a soldier (an interesting sidelight on Dutch intolerance in that persecutory age). In the quiet and secrecy of a garden, the latter expounded to him the true Christian doctrine in the matters which were troubling his mind: and through his means he ultimately returned, penitent, to Portugal.

Quite apart from all this, the confession of Hector Mendes Bravo is worthy of our consideration as a human document. We receive a considerable insight into the mental workings of an uneducated Marrano of the seventeenth century — how he might be induced to embrace Judaism, and the nature of the hold which his new religion had upon him. The story itself, despite its sordid detail, is of an interest more than the average. The account provides us with an almost complete picture of the Marrano world, as well as of the Marrano mentality, at the opening of the seventeenth century. It is published here in the confidence that, for some time to come, it can serve as a rich mine of information for this period of Jewish history.

CONFESSION OF HECTOR MENDEZ BRAVO

YEAR 1617. INQUISITION OF LISBON

Trial No 12493

(Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo Lisbon)

(Translated from the Portuguese)

Confession of Hector Mendez Bravo, a native of Lagos in the Kingdom of Algarve,

On December 11th, 1617, at Lisbon, in the chancery ("casa do despacho") of the Holy Inquisition, at the morning sitting of the Inquisitor, Licenciado Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha,

There appeared before him a young man who said that his name was Hector Mendez Bravo, New Christian, that he was twenty-six years old, unmarried and a merchant's bookkeeper. He was a native of Lagos in the Kingdom of Algarve, son of the merchant Miguel Nunẽz Bravo, New Christian, who had died about twenty years ago, and of Mecia Lopez, New Christian, who now lives in Venice. He stated that he had come here from Holland, in Flanders, only to accuse himself of his sins, and to ask forgiveness and mercy for them and that he regretted very much having committed them. He said this with signs of repentance. An oath of the Holy Evangelists was imposed on him that he should tell the whole truth and keep all things secret. He placed his hand on the Evangelists and pledged himself, under this bond, to do so.

He declared that at the age of about four years, he came with his parents from Lagos to Setubal, where they resided for five or six years. Hence they removed to Lisbon where his father fell ill and died. His mother (henceforth widow) lived here for a few years, at the Crucifix, behind the Old Moat, and then, with royal license, left for Italy with the witness and his younger sister, Margarida Nunẽz. They settled in Florence where his sister died, six months after their arrival.

A Portuguese merchant, Bento de Medeiros, New Christian, married to Leonor Teixeira, also a Portuguese New Christian, lived in the same house where his mother was staying. He seems to have been well acquainted with her, because they entertained and had social intercourse with each other there. This man told his mother many times that she ought to go to Venice where she could live better and more freely. As these discourses never took place before the witness, it was his mother who informed him that

Bento do Medeiros and others, whom he will mention later, have advised her to go to Venice where she would live more freely. Though the witness, during all this time, or while in Portugal, never saw his mother objecting to our Holy Creed, yet he understands that persuaded by Bento de Medeiros, she embraced the Creed of the Law of Moses, some days after their arrival in Florence; he does not remember how long after this was. About a year after their arrival in Florence, in 1607 or 1608, his mother went to Venice in order to achieve her aim. In Venice, the witness, his mother and an Italian servant, called Pero Logem, son of a Portuguese man and an Italian woman, went to stay in the ghetto, i. e. the Juderia where the Jews live. Here Pedro delivered a letter from Bento de Medeiros to Garcia Ribeiro, son of Gabriel Ribeiro, a merchant in Venice, and through this letter the witness and his mother were admitted in the ghetto. After seven or eight days, some Rabbis sent by Garcia Ribeiro discussed with him, the penitent, the subject of the Law of Moses, urging him to embrace it and to abandon the Law of Christ. When he remonstrated that he was a Christian, bred and educated in the Law of Christ, and that he possessed no instruction or knowledge to reply to their arguments, he was told that being uneducated he must read the Scripture and thus learn how great his errors were. They then gave him a Bible in Spanish, which he read for some days. Ruminating in his mind what he had read in the Scripture, and because so many Portuguese there accepted the law of Moses, it appeared to him that this Law must be good and true, and that he was bound to embrace it, as salvation was in it, and to abandon the Creed of Christ. Having taken this decision he informed Garcia Ribeiro (who most of all had pressed him to embrace the Law of Moses) his mother, and other people in the Ghetto. Twenty days after his arrival in the Ghetto, he was circumcised by a Portuguese surgeon named Bras Lindo of Aveiro, and the name David Levi Bravo was imposed on him in the presence of Moyses Altaras, Rabbi Babli, Garçon and seven other men whom he does not remember. He was circumcised with a knife, the foreskin of his member cut off, while some words were pronounced which he could not understand because they were in Hebrew. From hence onward he attended the Synagogue to take a seat on a bench, the men wrapped in white mantles, with some leather strips on their heads, and other strips on their arms inscribed with letters in Hebrew characters, what they call *tafellim*.¹ Many have also a prayer book which contains the sacrifice of Abraham, the Psalms, the *Samâ²ha-*

¹ Hebrew *Tephillin* (phylacteries)

² ? Hebrew *Shema* (Deuteronomy VI.4-9).

*midad*³ written in Spanish. From this book they recite their prayers three times every day. The penitent observed the Sabbath, abstaining himself from all work together with all the people assembled in the Ghetto, about 1500 souls, mostly Portuguese and some Castillians. In the course of time he observed the fasts, according to the phases of the moon, as *Kippur* in September, when he fasted one day only starting late on the foregoing day until the first stars of the following day have appeared; standing barefoot in his best clothes and tasting nothing but staying with all of them at the Synagogue. Then at night, meat or fish were consumed or whatever else anybody desired. The penitent fasted also the fast of Queen Esther, falling in February or March according to the conjunction of the moon; the men fasting one day only as Mordecai did, the women three if they wanted, not eating except at night. The day following the three of the fast a banquet in memory of Queen Esther's feast was held.

He also kept the fast of Thesabão⁴ when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus and Vespasian; he thinks it falls in June or July. No food was consumed until night and on the following day Lamentations like those of Jeremiah were recited and signs of mourning shown. This fast over, another one in remembrance of another destruction of Jerusalem was held in the same manner as stated above. And another fast called the Small, seven days before Kippur, and it is also called the Small Kippur.⁵

The witness kept these fasts during all the time of his being a Jew, together with all the people in the said Synagogue and his mother. He has observed also the four Passovers which the Jews are wont to celebrate in obedience to and in conformity with the ceremonies of the Law of Moses. These are: Passover, called the Passover of Flowers⁶ falling in March and lasting seven days, when unleavened bread is consumed and a feast made but no other ceremonies performed: the Passover of Huts, falling, he thinks, in October, when a hut of boughs and leaves is built with a table underneath and fowls and animals slaughtered by them consumed; this feast is also celebrated during seven days. Then

³ ? Hebrew *Amida* (= "standing prayer," recited thrice daily.)

⁴ *Tisha beAb* (9th of Ab). He obviously confuses it with the less exacting celebration of the Seventeenth of Tammuz, three weeks earlier.

⁵ Presumably the "fast of Gedaliah" (Jeremiah cap: XLI) celebrated on the day after the New Year.

⁶ Bravo's recollection is particularly faulty at this point: the name was applied sometimes to Pentecost. (*Pascua* was applied by Spanish Jews to all the major festivals.)

Sena Rabão,⁷ the feast of the gift of the Law, following the Passover of Huts. Then is the day when a parchment roll written in Hebrew, called the Law, is produced and carried in festivity round the Synagogue by all the men in [new] clothes.⁸ The fourth feast, also called Passover falls in February, when during seven days, candles are lit in memory of the building of the Temple, when but the oil for the sacrifice was found in a well.⁹ On all these feasts he did not touch money nor could he go in a boat or do anything.

When a person died, the witness was present and saw that the corpse was washed, wrapped in a new sheet and buried in virgin soil if there was any, otherwise it was put in a coffin: however, nobody was buried on Sabbath or on any of the feasts described above. The witness has performed all these ceremonies during all the time of his living in the Ghetto of Venice, about four or five years, and many others which at present he does not remember, in company with all the people living there. He observed the Law of Moses as well as all the other persons in the ghetto who kept the Law, assembling every day in the Synagogue.

The Portuguese living there and attending the Synagogue and whom the witness knows had been baptised Christians are as follows:

His mother, Mecia Lopez.

Andre Falleiro, New Christian who lived here as a merchant at Valverde, and his wife Beatriz Gomez.

Manoel de Medeiros, New Christian from here who lived as a merchant, the witness thinks, at Valverde, and his wife Violante Enriquez.

Their son, the above-mentioned Bento de Medeiros, and his wife Leonor Teixeira.

Their other son, called Joseph, unmarried. All these were born in Portugal. The abovementioned Garcia Ribeiro, and his wife Branca de Medeiros, daughter of Manoel de Medeiros.

Antonio Fernandez Caminha, nicknamed Father Lord, who had a cloth-shop here; widower; the witness does not know who his wife was.

Anrique Fernandez and Isaac Marcos, sons of Antonio Fernandez, and the wife of Anrique Fernandez whose name he does not know, but she is a daughter of Martin Mendez, who was a merchant here in Rua Nova.

Further, the wife of Isaac Marcos whose name he does not know.

⁷ *Hosanna Rabba*, the seventh day of Tabernacles: But Bravo's account is ridiculously confused.

⁸ i.e. *Simchath Torah*, the Rejoicing of the Law.

⁹ A very inaccurate description of the minor feast of Hanukah, in mid-winter, which commemorates the victory of the Maccabees.

Paschoval de Taverga, who was broker and merchant here, and his wife whose name he does not know, but she is a niece of Diogo D'Andrade whom he brought from Bordeaux; his sons and daughter by his first wife were brought from here.

Manoel Vas Pimentel, he does not know where he comes from, a merchant. and a relative of Andre Falleiro, and his wife whose name he does not know,

A son of Baltazar Enriquez Covilhão who went from here to Antwerp: he thinks that they are from Covilhão. He does not know his wife's name, but she is daughter of the said Manoel Vas Pimentel.

The abovementioned Bras Lindo.

Rafael Penso and Joseph Penso, called the Castillian Youths (?), he does not know where they come from.

Belchior Gomez, native of Bragança, and his wife whose name he does not know.

These are the Portuguese living in the Ghetto of Venice, whose names he remembers. There are many others too whom he does not know because they have changed their names, and therefore he does not mention them.

After four or five years in which the witness was living in the Ghetto he went to Holland in an English ship, in consequence of having wounded a Venetian gentleman. He disembarked at Amsterdam where he was received by some Portuguese living there. He has found here employment in the house of Manoel Pimentel, a Portuguese merchant, whom he has served as a cahsier and bookkeeper. He resided here for five years attending at the Synagogues of the town which are two in number, and a special house in which all those assembled who did not attend in time. He has performed here the ceremonies in the same way which he confessed, having done in Venice, like all the persons of Portuguese nationality who live there. He has known the following persons there:

Simão Lopez Rosa, surgeon, who lived here in Lisbon, and his wife, whose name he does not know.

Bento de Osorio, who lived here, a merchant, and his wife sons and daughters whose names he does not know.

Jaspar Roiz from here, relative of a goldsmith here, who is called Altaras, and his wife Catharina Rodriguez.

Francisco Sanches, native of Moura and his wife, whose name he does not know.

His brother in law João Nunez and his wife whose name he does not know.

Mattias Roiz, a merchant, native of Seville and his wife, also of Seville.

Francisco Vaz de Leon, Castillian, of Ronda or of Antequera.

Gabriel Roiz de Spinoza, also Castillian.

Francisco Roiz de Spinoza his cousin.

Diogo Mendez of Malaga.

Joan de Haro of Biscay and his brother Hieronimo de Haro, jeweller.

Bento Roiz, a tailor: his wife Mor Luiz and a daughter whose name he does not know. (The husband of this daughter, a tailor, has been seized by the Inquisition. It is said that he was of Thomar and the witness believes that his name was Diogo da Costa.) Two brothers of the tailor.

Bastião Roiz de Leon of Villa Nova de Portinão and his wife, sister of Diogo Lourenço de Paz who lives in Seville.

Felipe Dorta Enriquez, nephew of Diogo Lourenço, married to a sister of Miguel de Paz of Galicia.

Three unmarried brothers of Miguel de Paz, whose names he does not know. Fernandez Alvares de Mello from here, and his wife, whose name he does not know.

Diogo Nuñez Belmonte, a Portuguese, of Belmonte da Guarda, and his wife Branca Vas, sister of Diogo Dias Querido.

Antonio Gomez de Alcobaça, brother-in-law of the aforementioned Diogo Nuñez.

Alfonso Lopes e Silõa, and his wife, Beatris de Solis.

Anna de Solis, wife of the late Diogo Lopes Pilatos from here, and her daughter Angela Solis, married to a son of Manoel do Palacios who also lives here.

Lopo da Fonseca of Visieiu.

Another Lopo da Fonseca of Lisbon, brother of a surgeon in Antwerp, whose name he does not know.

Francisco de Paz of Pinhel.

His son-in-law Joam Cardoso, who now calls himself Miguel Cardoso to conceal his identity, and their wives.

Manoel Lopes Nuñes of Porto.

Manoel Lopes de Leon and his brothers, of Porto.

As the time was late, the session was adjourned. The witness stated that he was living here at São Cristovão in the house of the widow Branca da Costa.

He signed here with the Inquisitor.

Francisco de Burgos, clerk

Hector Mendez Bravo

Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha.

* * *

On December 14th, 1617, at Lisbon in the chancery of the Holy Inquisition at the morning sitting of the Inquisitor, Licentiate Ruy Fernandez de Saldanha, Hector Mendez Bravo, New Christian, already in the records, was sent for. When he has appeared, an oath on the Holy Evangels was imposed on him that he should tell the truth in all things. He placed his hand on the Evangels, pledging himself under this bond to tell the truth and to keep the secret.

He said, continuing his confession, that he further remembered that beside the persons whom he had mentioned, many others live in Amsterdam. They are as follows (only the heads of

the houses were mentioned by him, and all these persons, their wives and children observe the Law of Moses, live in conformity with it and perform its ceremonies):

Francisco Roiz de Olivença, of Olivença, his wife and children; he does not know their names, but the wife is a sister of Diogo Nuñez Belmonte.

Belchior Lopez of Guarda or of Trancoso and his wife, of Villa Real.

Hieronimo Ruiz de Sousa of Porto, and his wife, whose name he does not know, but her father lives in Aveiro.

Paschoval Lopez, Castillian, he does not know where he comes from, and his wife and children.

Symão Gomez Dias of Guarda, married to a woman who is not living with him and resides in St. Jean de Luz.

Joseph Pinto of Santa Combadam, brother-in-law of Symão Gomez.

Antonio Martin Viegas, brother of Marcos Dias the apothecary who lives here in Poço de Chão, and is associated with Diogo Fernandez Rocha the silk merchant.

Antonio Roiz Frazão, of Porto or Viseu, brother-in-law of Francisco Caceres who lives in Porto.

Mathias Roiz the Younger, married to a daughter of Garcia Pimentel.

A son of Mathias Rodriquez the Elder, he thinks of Seville.

Jorge Pereira, a Castillian, he thinks of Madrid, married to a daughter of Duarte Pereira.

His uncle Duarte Pereira and his wife whose name he does not know.

Francisco Vas Pereira brother of Duarte, and his wife and eight sons.

Hieronimo Roiz Mendez, Castillian, he thinks of São Lucar and his wife.

His brother Duarte Roiz Mendez.

Francisco Goncalves Valverde, Castillian and Joam Goncalves Valverde his son, and their wives; he was in business here with Ruy Lopez de Murga and later on with Ruy Lopez Manhos.

Diogo Lopez, called 'O Sardo', of Lisbon.

Diogo Manoel, first cousin of Manoel Nunez de Mattos who lives in Amsterdam, also a Jew.

Manoel Carvalho, of Porto. He has lived many years in Brasil, he is of an advanced age and unmarried.

Francisco Lopez Rosa, son of the abovementioned Symão Lopes Rosa.

Estevão Cardoso, of Porto, a broker. He has a brother in Antwerp, called Diogo D'Aguilar, also a broker.

Lopo Ramires from here, son of the Doctor Hieronimus Nuñez, and his wife, daughter of Joam Ramires of Thomar.

Ruy Gomez of Lisbon, married to a daughter of the above Fernãs Alvares de Mello.

Joam Cardoso of Porto, unmarried, son of the abovementioned Estevão Cardoso.

Francisco de Burgos, Castillian, married, and his wife and children.

- Luiz Nunez Machabeo: he does not know his origin but he is related to Manoel Drago here.
- Antonio Dias Toscano, of Mertola in Alentejo, with his wife and sister.
- Manoel Martins, Old Christian, who has been in the service of the present bishop of Algarve the Inquisitor General or of his predecessor, with his wife and children.
- Hieronimo de Andrade, of Ilha Teceira (Madeira), married to a daughter of the abovementioned Francisco Sanches.
- Francisco Gomez Henriquez, of Aveiro and his wife.
- Diego de Silva of Lisbon or of Fronteira; he thinks that he once kept a shop here, and his wife.
- Manoel Roiz Spinosa, a Castillian (he does not know where he comes from) and his wife.
- Paschoval Roiz, a silk-weaver who has been seized by this Inquisitor and his wife Leonor Cardoso and a son Nicolas.
- The lame Manoel Esteves of Viano da Caminha where his two brothers are living, and also his wife.
- Baltazar Pinel, of Lisbon, married to a daughter of Ruy Gomez da Costa.
- Diogo Gomez da Costa her brother who has been seized by this Holy Office, and his wife who is daughter of Mathias Roxo the Elder.
- Francisco Lopez d'Azevedo of Lisbon, newpew of the above mentioned Symão Lopez Rosa.
- Hieronimo Enriquez, he does not know whether he is from here or from Alfaiates; he has been living a long time in Brasil.
- Duarte Esteves de Pina from here, married to a daughter of the above-mentioned Beatris de Solis.
- Manoel Roiz de Olivença, of Villa de Olivença, and his wife.
- Antonis Nuñez Torres, of Villa Real, brother of Gaspar Nuñez of Madrid, and his wife.
- Sebastião Nuñez, brother-in-law of the abovementioned widower.
- Michael de Luna, son of the physician Montalto,^{9a} married to a daughter of Jeronimo Nuñez, the Physician, of this city.
- Manoel Cardoso, Old Christian, who has been seized by this Holy Office, a native of the Islands, and his wife, New Christian, of the Islands.
- Lopo Gomez, has been seized by this Holy Office, son of a doctor in Cascaes who is called "O Caldeirão."
- Antonio Mendez de Santa Comba, married to a sister of Francisco de Carceres of Porto.
- Symão Roiz da Costa, married to a daughter of Alexandre Antonio, who has been confectioner in Porto.
- Custodio de Paz of Alcobaça, his sister, wife and children.
- Anrique Nuñez who has here a brother, a doctor, and another one a goldsmith, the doctor's twin.

^{9a} Roth, *Marranos*. Philadelphia, 1932. Pp. 297, 311-2, etc.

Diogo Lourenço Peixoto of Lamego, married to a daughter of Diogo Lourenço of Antwerp.

Francisco Mendez do Porto, the Poet, of Porto, unmarried.

Bento Sanches, apothecary, of Alcobaça, and his wife.

Duarte Fernandez of Porto, father of Gaspar Lopez Enriques, who lives here.

Manoel Sanches who, while he was here, was cashier of Anriques Dias Millão, married to a niece of the abovementioned Duarte Fernandez.

Joam Ribeiro, lives on Indian Capital; he does not know where he comes from, but he is Portuguese, and also his wife, sister of the abovementioned Manoel Carvalho.

Francisco Mendez Trancoso of Porto or Visieu, and his wife.

Manoel Mendez Cardoso, who was contractor for playing cards here.

Solimão and his wife Catharina de Luna.

Alfonso Roiz Cardoso who kept a cloth-shop here, widower.

Manoel Mendez Crasto of Castro Daire, and his wife, daughter of the aforementioned Garcia Pimentel.

Antonio Lopez Pereira, brother-in-law of Manoel Mendes.

Francisco Nunez Homem married to a sister of Antonio Lopes Pereira.

Duarte Saraiva, he thinks of Lisbon and his wife, cousin of Duarte Dias Enriques.

Antonio Martins Viegas, already mentioned.

Vasco Gomez of Alcobaça, unmarried, and his mother Hieronima Gomez.

Diogo Gomez Duarte from here, married; he thinks that his father was burned by the Inquisition.

His brother, who has been studying printing here; he is an Epicurean or Atheist, not believing in any religion.

Duarte Fernandez Veiga of Antwerp, son of Luiz Fernandes, and his wife.

Manoel Fernandes, brother of the abovementioned Manoel Carvalho, who came from Brasil not long ago, and his wife.

Antonia Roiz, a mulatto woman from here, mother of Luiz Nunez, the goldsmith, and of Pero Ramirez.

Manoel Homem Vieira, son of Ruy Lopes Homem, unmarried.

Diogo Martins Bomdia, brother of the Carmelite friar, Martinho Bandra.

Duarte de Palacios from here, son of Manoel de Palacios, and his wife Angela de Solis, daughter of Anna de Solis.

Antonio Batelho from here, son of Manoel Batelho, who has been seized by this Holy Office, and his wife.

Paulo de Pina,¹⁰ whom he believes to be of Lisbon; he has lived for many years in Brasil, and also his wife.

Manoel de Crasto son of Antam de Crasto, who has been seized by this Holy Office and his wife.

Diogo Dorta from here: has been seized by this Holy Office.

¹⁰ Roth, *Marranos*, pp. 312, 312.

Francisco Dorta his brother, and their wives.

Francisco Coutinho, he does not know his origin, and his wife.

Henrique Nunez, confectioner, of Lisbon and his wife and children.

His son-in-law Miguel Roiz.

Francisco Gomez from here, son of Antam Gomez, who lives in Palourinho Velho.

Miguel Lopez Homem, son, or rather, brother, of Ruy Lopez Homem a merchant from here, and his wife.

Symão do Leam, of Porto, and his wife, daughter of Joaom de Fonseca of Coimbra.

Francisco de Oliveira of Aveiro and his wife and children.

Symao de Oliveira, of Aguiar, who has been clerk of civil causes here, unmarried.

Manoel de Campos, of Evora, brother-in-law of Manoel Matheus, a merchant here, and his wife, sister of Manoel Matheus' wife.

Manoel Cardoso Milão son of Anrique Dias Millão; his brother has been seized by this Holy Office.

Jorge Nuñez Enriques, who also has been imprisoned by this Holy Office for many years.

Bento Enriques of Lisbon, married to a daughter of Jorge Nuñez, also the wife of Jorge Nuñez.

Diogo Dias Ilhõa, of Lisbon, cousin of Diogo Lopes Ilhõa, and his wife, who has been imprisoned by this Holy Office; he does not know her name.

alvador Saraiva of the Kingdom of Galicia, and his wife.

All these abovementioned persons of the number of 119 including the atheist, and many others whose names he did not remember, if he ever has known them, live and reside in Amsterdam, observing publicly the Law of Moses, attending every day at the Synagogues of that town as has been stated, which the penitent himself has attended during the number of years which he had stated. They all treat themselves as Jews, which they are, and consider themselves as such; they perform the ceremonies of the Law of Moses, observing the Sabbath, reciting the Psalms according to their prayer book and keeping the fasts of that religion in conformity to the seasons and conjunctions of the moon on which they occur.

The witness stated farther, that beside these persons in Amsterdam, he went to Hamburg the principal port of Upper Germany and stayed there for two months for the sake of business he had there. He has seen there the persons whom he will mention, who perform and observe the ceremonies of the Law of Moses in three different Synagogues they have there: one, in the house of Rodrigo Pires Brandão, whom he believes to be of Lisbon; another, in the house of Alvaro Diniz, son-in-law of

Anrique Dias Millão; and the third in the house of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso of Lisbon. They assemble in these houses to perform all the ceremonies of the Jews as has been stated. The witness has seen these ceremonies performed by those whom he will mention and he himself has performed them together with the others. These persons are:

Gonçalo Cardoso, brother of the above Ruy Fernandez Cardoso and his wife. Diogo Alvares who has been merchant in Lisbon, his wife and two of his sons.

Rodrigo de Merchena from here, who now is called there Abraham Cohen de Herrera and he is minister.

His cousin, Alonso Nuñez de Herrera, and his wife.

Joam Ribeiro son of Gil Ribeiro of Setubal, born at Setubal.

Joam Gomez, Ludovico de Crasto and two more, four in all, sons of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso.

The doctor Ruy de Crasto,¹¹ nicknamed Doctor Tyrant, he is brother-in-law of Ruy Fernandez Cardoso being a brother of his wife, and also the wife of the doctor.

Three brothers, called Doctors, he does not know where they come from but they are Portuguese.

Antonio Vas of Mertola, widower.

The aforementioned Rodrigo Pires Brandão, his brother Manoel Frances, their wives and children.

Symão Diniz de Moraes, of Porto and his wife.

Diogo Soares Drago from here.

Felipe Dias Victoria of Aveiro, with three sons and two daughters.

Antonis Saraiva Coronel, he does not know where he comes from, and his wife, a native of Thomas and daughter of Joam Ramires, already mentioned.

Rodrigo Alvares de Crasto, his son-in-law.

Francisco Vas de Crasto and his wife Guiomar da Costa; he does not know where they come from, but they are Portuguese.

Pero Dias, he does not know his origin, but his father lives in the ghetto of Venice, and his wife is daughter of Enrique Nuñez of Amsterdam.

The mentioned Alvaro Diniz and his wife Beatriz Enriques.

Guiomar Gomez wife of the late Anrique Dias Millão, and mother of the abovementioned Beatriz Anriques and of another [in] India, both of them have been imprisoned by this Holy Office.

Pero de Palacios and Jacome de Palacios, brothers, of Lisbon, sons of Manoel Gomez Gallego.

The doctor Enrique Roiz, of Santa Comba, and his wife who has been imprisoned by this Holy Office; she is the daughter of Anrique Dias Millão.

¹¹ Roth, *Marranos*, pp. 230, 231.

Duarte Roiz, broker, brother of Diogo Alveras, merchant in Rua Nova at Lisbon.

Diogo Soares Drago from here and his wife.

Also the mother and children of the abovementioned Duarte Roiz.

The witness has known and dealt with the abovementioned persons, during the two months of his staying in Hamburg. He has seen them very often in the Synagogues, at one time at this, at another in others, performing (and he with them) the aforementioned ceremonies of the Law of Moses. They treated themselves as Jews and considered themselves as such.

The witness stated further that, while in Amsterdam whence he came back with the resolution to return to Lisbon in order to confess his sins and to submit himself to our Holy Catholic Creed, fifteen or twenty days before his departure, a ship with seventy-three Portuguese and Castillians arrived there. He talked with some of them, asking whence they came from and where they were going to. They told him that they came from S. Juan de Luz and that their goal was Amsterdam, and he understands that they went there in order to live according to the Law of Moses and to observe its precepts, as most of the Portuguese and Castillians living there observe them.

Questioned whether he has known in the countries of Italy, France or Flanders which he has visited, some other Portuguese, beside the abovementioned, who live according to some sect called religious which is observed by Heretics. He replied that he remembered nobody else, except a young man, whose name he does not know, son either of Diogo Lopes of Tancos, or of Francisco Costa of Tancos, or of Abrantes, a Franciscan friar. He believes that this man fled from this country because of an abominable crime he had committed. He lives at present in Amsterdam, observing the Law of Moses, attending at the Synagogue and performing there the ceremonies, as most Jews do. The witness does not remember anything more but he said that if he should remember else he would report it to this Office.

Questioned whether he knew if any of those he had mentioned, as renegades from our Holy Catholic Creed and believers in the Law of Moses, have come back or are coming back to this Kingdom and reside here: He replied that he does not know if any of the mentioned came back to this Kingdom, only that Luiz Vas Pimentel son of Bento Vas de Evora came back, as a Jew, to this Kingdom and was seized by the Inquisition. He has reconciled himself with the Catholic Faith but later relapsed and lives today as a Jew in Amsterdam. The witness has seen him, was acquainted with him and knows it.

Questioned whether all those he had mentioned by name, were

circumcised and how does he know it if they are. He replied that he understands and knows that all are circumcised because he has been present at the circumcision of some of them, and he knows that others are also, because no uncircumcised man is allowed to wear a white mantle on his shoulders or to put *tafelim* on his head or arm, but he has seen those mentioned to have done it.

Questioned whether he knew if those who reside in Amsterdam, Venice, Hamburg and other countries, visited by him, and who live according to the Law of Moses, have correspondence and dealings with merchants of this Kingdom, and what names they use for their correspondence and dealings. He replied that he knows some who have correspondence and dealings in this Kingdom and in Castille and use different names. These are:

Alfonso Lopes Chilão a Portuguese, already mentioned, who calls himself Cypriano Esterlins, and sends goods to Lisbon, he does not know to whom.

Antonio Martins Viegas: he thinks that he did not change his name, he keeps goods in Faro by arrangement with a New Christian, called Pero Machado. He knows this because he had revised his books.

Custodio de Paz, he thinks that he calls himself Francisco Pinto de Mendça and has business dealings in this town, he does not know where, I correct, he does not know with whom.

Bento Osorio who deals under his own name, with whom he does not know. He knows that Pero Gomez of Lisbon in Rua Nova, underneath the Arco dos Barretes, on the near side, deals with many of those who are in Amsterdam, but he can not remember their names.

Pero Gomez Dias a merchant, here, deals with Michael de Luna and Custodio de Paz.

In Viana Manoel or Joam Enriques deals with the mentioned Manoel Estevão. In Porto, Francisco de Carceres.

Also in Viana, Fernam de Sylva Solis deals with whom he does not remember. Also in Porto Domingos, Lopes Victoria deals with many of the above-mentioned. He knows this from the Cargo-lists.

In Aveiro lives the father-in-law of Hieronimo Roiz de Sousa who has business relations in Amsterdam.

He does not remember anything else, but thinks that it could easily be known if when ships from Amsterdam come to Belem and to other harbours of this Kingdom, trustworthy persons are ordered to make inquiries and to inspect the lists of cargos and the addresses to which they are sent; for though some of those who send goods use different names from their own, most of them use their own names.

Questioned whether he knew if some Portuguese merchants who deal with Amsterdam have been in that town while he was

there, and if they came back to this Kingdom. He replied in the negative.

Questioned whether he knew, if Portuguese who live in Amsterdam, and especially those he had mentioned, were sending messages to their relatives in this Kingdom inviting them to come to Amsterdam. He replied in the negative, but thinks that appeals are sent that all should live according to the Law of Moses.

Questioned whether he knew if any merchant or Dutch ship-master carried tracts against the Religion for anybody of Portuguese nationality. He replied in the negative; neither does he know, if any Heretic came to this country with the intention to disseminate his errors.

Questioned if any Portuguese met by him in Amsterdam, Venice, and Hamburg has told him about others who live in this country in conformity with the Law of Moses: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if he became acquainted, since he has been here, with any merchant who was aware that he had believed in the Law of Moses: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if there is anybody or a group of persons in this town or in this Kingdom who have seen the witness in the Ghettos of Amsterdam, Venice or Hamburg: He replied that he has not met yet anybody whom he knew in those countries, neither is he aware if anybody knows him.

Questioned whether he has seen, while in Amsterdam, that Bibles in vernacular have been sent to anybody in this Kingdom: He replied in the negative.

Questioned if, while living in Amsterdam as a Jew, he has had correspondence or dealings with anybody in this Kingdom: He replied in the negative.

Questioned what was the reason why he abandoned the Law of Moses which he had embraced to save his soul, and come back to our Holy Catholic Creed: He said, that while he was living in Amsterdam, attending frequently at the Synagogue to perform the rites and ceremonies in which he put his faith, he often read the Holy Scripture. He was thinking, I correct — One day he was thinking about the contents of chap. LIII of the prophecies of Isaiah and it appeared to him that it ought not to be understood as the Jewish Rabbis understand and explain it. With this doubt in his mind he asked some of the Rabbis for an explanation of the chapter. He was told that it has to be understood as referring to whole people of Israel and its tribulations through which it was then passing. When he still did not accept the reasons they gave him, because (he said) it is impossible that

such particular circumstances told of an individual man should be interpreted as referring to a people, one of the Rabbis, called Isaac Iziel, of Fez, who has been in Spain, told him not to doubt so much and to believe as most of them do, and to avoid the opinion of the Carraim,¹² which is the same as to be an Heretic. He had been living amidst these doubts for two months when he had a conversation with a Flemish Catholic, a friend of his, called Joam Semic, merchant in Amsterdam. He told him about his perplexities and of his desire to meet a learned man who might explain to him this chapter. The merchant said that if he promised to keep the secret he would bring him to somebody who will satisfy his doubts, and put him on the right way. He promised to keep the secret, hoping that God might thus illumine him with the best way for His holy service. Under this promise, the merchant told him that a Franciscan friar disguised as a soldier, was living in Harlem and performing the Mass in secret for a number of people, who would guide him in what he desired to know. Thus they arranged that on the following Sunday they would go to Harlem, three leagues from Amsterdam, to meet the friar. On Sunday the witness and the merchant went in a coach to Harlem and came to the house of Joam Sars a Flemish Catholic, merchant. Here they met the friar whose name is Fray Pero de Anunciação, who was living in the Convent of S. Francisco in Lisbon forty years ago and now, though an old man, lives in Amsterdam disguised as a soldier with feathers and sword for greater safety to his person. The witness went out with the friar in the garden of the house and disclosed to him his doubts. The friar listened to them and then said that this chapter of Isaiah could not be understood but of Christ, our Lord, the true Messiah, God and Man. He ought to compare the passion of Christ with this chapter and will then perceive as in a mirror that it is speaking of Christ; and he must not let himself be misled by other explanations, which are all false. The friar exhorted him to become a true Christian, to return to the faith in Christ our Lord which he has abandoned. The witness told him that he would do it if he only knew how. The friar replied that he will guide him, and the first thing he must do is to leave Amsterdam because he will never be a good Catholic as long as he lives there. He told him further that nowhere better could he go than in the house of a Portuguese Catholic named Dom Manoel, son of Dom Antonio, in Delft, a league from Amsterdam who will give him shelter and where there will be Mass and Catholic people to converse with and that he, the friar, will stay there with him.

■ I. e. Karaites.

The penitent took leave from Antonio Martins Viegas, to whom he wrote to Amsterdam that he had some business to do, and then went in the house of Dom Manuel. He stayed there a month, living as a Catholic and considered as such because he attended Mass whenever it was held. Then the friar came through Delft and the witness went with him to Rotterdam. Here he was placed by the friar under the protection of a Flemish Catholic named Gaspar Morman who was requested to aid him to go to Lisbon. The friar recommended the witness to go straight to his destination and, before reaching the harbour of Betlem, to write a letter to the Grand Inquisitor at this chancery of the Holy Office, informing him of the purpose of his coming. The friar assured him that he will be received with great mercy. Thus comforted, he resolved to return to faith of Christ our Lord, because it is true and good. Two months later the witness, desiring to save his soul and to abandon the errors in which he had fallen, went to Rotterdam on board a ship of a Flemish Catholic, Guilherme Rodrigo, and reached Betlem about a month ago. Arriving at the harbour, he wrote a letter to the Bishop and Grand Inquisitor, through a Flemish [gentleman], Dom Joam Alpemam, in the service of the Viceroy, whose wife travelled in the same ship from Delft. Dom Joam has told him that he would bring him a reply on the same day and asked him to come to see him after he disembarked. He disembarked after fifteen days during which the ship was lying at Betlem and went to the Bishop, who encouraged and soothed him and bade him to come back on Monday next, assuring him that he would give orders to arrange everything for his convenience. He then appeared in this office on last Monday and told the story of his life, confessing his sins which he greatly repented, and begging forgiveness and mercy for them. He grieved very much that he came so late to acknowledge his errors, from which he now entirely separated himself. His only faith is Christ our Lord and in it he wishes to live and to die. He is ready to accept whatever penance will be imposed on him.

He was told that he ought to render thanks to God for the mercy He has shown to him, by saving him from the errors in which he had fallen, and by leading him to the knowledge of His true faith. Now he has to be staunch in it because there is no other who will save him but Christ. He must reflect with care upon his sins, and if he remembers anything else, he must come and tell it; also if he knows that somebody else has committed sins against the Faith or lives separated therefrom. This he must do to discharge his conscience and for the sake of saving his soul. He should be very much encouraged and soothed because he came in this Office, of which the principle purpose is to guide the

souls towards their salvation and to use great mercy with everybody.

After the witness was told to confess entirely if he remembered anything else, the session was adjourned, because it was late. Concerning the usage, he said nothing. He was then admonished according to the law and ordered to appear here on Monday next, and appended his signature with the Inquisitor.

After the records of this and of the former session were read to him, the penitent declared that they are written in truth.

(Signed) *Francisco Burgos* clerk,
Hector Mendez Bravo,
Ruy Fernandes de Saldanha

THE FIRST PINKES OF HEIDINGSFELD

ALFRED WOLF, Dothan, Alabama

NOTES ABOUT THE MANUSCRIPT

DATE

THE first Pinkes of the Jewish Community of Heidingsfeld covers a period of more than a hundred years. The first entry is dated 6 Shebat 5413 (1653), and the last, 25 Marcheshwan 5535 (1774). On the whole there is chronological continuity within the Pinkes. At times, however, notes related to the subject mentioned on a certain page were inserted on that same page even though they refer to events which took place much later and therefore should have been entered on a later page. Our Pinkes bears the numeral "1" on the title page, indicating that no systematic record was kept in the Heidingsfeld community previous to that time. It is probable, however, that records of the district were kept in Heidingsfeld when that town became the chief community of the Würzburg district, in 1565. Possibly there were also certain communal records previous to the time of our Pinkes. Certainly there were records beside the Pinkes while this book was in use. Frequently separate minutes of a meeting are referred to in the volume. In those cases, the reports in the Pinkes seem to be shortened transcripts of those records. There were several special record books, e. g. those kept to check on the animals slaughtered in the community for the collection of meat excise, and the one kept to check on transients passing through the community. There was a *Maskir N'shamoth* book into which anyone could have the name of a departed person inscribed for the payment of $\frac{1}{2}$ lb wax every *Rosh Hashanah* and 1 *Kreuzer* (4 *Pfen-nig*) for every 100 *Reichstaler* of the person's legacy.

VOLUME

The book used for our Pinkes is bound in leather and contains about 150 folios. However, only 101 of them are used. They are numbered in the usual way, with Hebrew letters on the A-side of the folio and no pagination on the B-side. Even of the 101 folios a few are completely empty, some are used only on the A or only on the B-side, and on others only part of each page is filled, for no apparent reason.

LANGUAGE

Our Pinkes is written in a mixture of pure Hebrew, Judeo-German, and pure German. The amount of Hebrew used is surprisingly large. It may be estimated at about one fourth of the whole volume. Pure Hebrew is found mainly on those pages which evidently were composed by the rabbis of the community. Its phraseology is influenced, therefore, by the language of the Talmud, although there are some obvious Germanisms even in the Hebrew passages. Almost three fourths of the ms. are written in Judeo-German. While, in theory, this language has remained stationary on the phonetical standard (*Lautstand*) of 13th cent. Middle High German, it is surprising how little of the vocabulary is of that Middle High German stock which was not carried over into modern German and how many expressions are borrowed from the High German of that very epoch. In translating the book, M. Lexer's *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch* was of but little help while Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* and Adelung's *Grammatisch Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, both of which list early modern High German expressions, proved to be invaluable. The small balance of the book is written in the legal German of the eighteenth century, not because this language was actually used by the Jews, but because some documents of the secular authorities had to be copied into the Pinkes. These copies are transliterated in the same cursive Hebrew script in which the rest of the book is written — except for one page which is pencilled in German script (fol. 24a).

STYLE

The Pinkes is an almost stenographic report of meetings and of other events worth recording in the community. Therefore, little emphasis is placed on literary style. Frequently, the entries are careless, sometimes so short and fragmentary that it becomes impossible to decipher their meaning. On the other hand, some entries are unnecessarily repetitious. The flowery titles commanded by the taste of the time are never omitted from a man's name. Since, in the course of a century, many secretaries composed entries in the Pinkes, the style is not uniform. A few entries are composed with exceptional care, and some even include attempts at poetry in the paytanic style. The success of those attempts, however, seems not sufficient to warrant reproduction.

CONTENT

A relatively small part of the Pinkes is devoted to actual *Takkanoth*. The few *Takkanoth* are scattered throughout the book. They were enacted whenever a special event warranted legislation. Financial accounts require far more space than any other single topic. Income and expense accounts of the community occur at irregular intervals from the beginning of the volume; they dominate the middle part, but are completely missing in the last third of the book. Instead, transactions concerning synagogue seats are more frequent in the second half. Elections of officers are frequently recorded throughout the Pinkes, but at irregular intervals. The rest of the book is filled with decisions of the rabbi and of the lay leaders mainly concerning tax issues, concerning the right of residence, and concerning the problem of transients.

THE HISTORY OF HEIDINGSFELD JEWRY AT THE TIME
OF OUR PINKES

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Heidingsfeld, a small town situated about four miles southwest of Würzburg and practically a suburb of that ancient city, had a Jewish community independent from the Würzburg *Kehillah*

since about 1469 (M. L. Bamberger: *Ein Blick auf die Geschichte der Juden in Würzburg*, p. 12). From the sixteenth century on, this community gained an importance quite out of proportion to its size. For when, in 1565, the Jews were expelled from the city and bishopric of Würzburg, Heidingsfeld constituted an exception. Belonging originally to the Bohemian crown, Heidingsfeld had been sold by Emperor Sigismund to the Guttenstein family, and by the Guttenstein's in turn to Bishop Lorenz of Würzburg. However, when restrictions and expulsion met the Jews in the rest of the episcopal lands, the bishops still honored the privilege (*Freibrief*) granted the Jews of Heidingsfeld by the Guttensteins (Heinrich Epstein, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Herzogtum Ostfranken" in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. 29, p. 462).

The immediate district of Würzburg-Heidingsfeld included a few places in the vicinity of Würzburg where Jews apparently were still permitted to settle, and Würzburg proper where a few privileged Jews had the right of residence. The wider district included all episcopal territories and those towns in Lower Franconia which belonged to independent noblemen (*Reichsritter*). The latter had their own rabbi residing in Burgpreppach, and they were subject to decisions of the Heidingsfeld *Oberrabbiner* only in such law cases where a *Beth Din* was necessary.

The period covered by our Pinkes lacks outstanding events in either Jewish or secular history involving that particular region. We have to deal with the reconstruction period following the Thirty Years' War, and, undoubtedly the wars of Louis XIII and XIV and, later, of Frederick II of Prussia, affected Franconia indirectly. The soldier was still a very important person, and the community had to deal with passing military detachments as well as with numerous refugees from war-torn areas. On a whole, however, the community seems to have been able to grow and to flourish in the peace of the episcopal lands.

RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP

Inasmuch as the rabbis of Heidingsfeld were the spiritual leaders of the whole district, the Jews of both the episcopal and the *reichsritterschaftliche* territories had a voice in their election. To be

valid, the election had to be confirmed by the Bishop (M. L. Bamberger, *ibid.* pp. 11 f.; Epstein, *ibid.* pp. 498 f.). Unfortunately, our Pinkes adds very little to our knowledge of the role of the rabbi in Heidingsfeld, for he appears almost only as signatory of legal decisions and of the minutes of important meetings. Evidently, being an official of the district, the rabbi stood above the local lay leaders in authority, and he officiated in the community mainly in the role of a judge, both in religious and secular matters. He preached in the synagogue occasionally, for we read on fol. 32a that on the 26th of *Adar Sheni* (5)437 (1677) the *Ab Beth Din* was given 3 *Kopfstueck* (48 *Kreuzer*) for a sermon. Outside of the *Parnas* of the district, the rabbi was the only individual with authority to have a stranger called to the Torah in the synagogue (fol. 79a). The *Kehillah* apparently did not pay the rabbi a fixed salary. If they had, this item would certainly occur among the expenses. He received payment for individual decisions only if the *Kehillah* was one of the litigants, such as in the case of the *Kehillah's* claim against the heirs of Yossele Kitzingen (fol. 36a). On the other hand, he was free from all taxes to the *Kehillah*. Only a certain amount for gate toll in Würzburg was charged to him. These amounts appear regularly on the periodical taxbills — first on fol. 17b with 17 *Batzen* — until the turn of the seventeenth century. From then on, this item was apparently handled through the district organization.

Various studies have been made about the individual rabbis officiating in the Heidingsfeld district and about their chronology. Herz Bamberger wrote *Geschichte der Rabbiner der Stadt und des Bezirkes Würzburg*, but this work is completely unsatisfactory, at least for the period of our Pinkes. It is too fragmentary; it omits some rabbis and includes several lay leaders, its chronology is careless. M. L. Bamberger's studies are much more accurate, but they cover little ground. Leopold Löwenstein, in numerous books and articles, dealt with almost every rabbi mentioned in our Pinkes. Since our Pinkes was accessible to both of the Bambergers and to Löwenstein, no new contribution can be made to the knowledge of the men who officiated in Heidingsfeld. However, it may be practical to have a complete, chronological list of the rabbis mentioned in the Pinkes.

The earliest dignitary mentioned is a Rabbi MICHAEL who fixed rules for tax collection previous to 1653 (fol. 5a). A Rabbi SANWIL signs the entry of 18 *Nisan* 5413 (1653) on fol. 4b. Neither of these is mentioned in any of the secondary sources consulted. Herz Bamberger (*ibid.* pp. 32 f.) speaks of a ELIJAH BEN JEREMIAH NEUMARK who was rabbi of Hammelburg and the district of Würzburg, had a *Yeshibah* in Würzburg (?) about the year 1650, and died in Hanau in 1656. This man is not mentioned in our Pinkes, while we do have a signature of a JUDAH ben JEREMIAH NEUMARK, in 1654 (fol. 2b).

ASRIEL ben ISAAC BRILIN signed an undated entry in 1657 or 1658 on fol. 19b. This scholar is the member of a large rabbinical family about whom much has been written (L. Löwenstein, *Index Approbationum*, No. 592; Löwenstein, *Geschichte der Juden in der Kurpfalz*, p. 83; D. Kaufmann, *R. Jair Chajjim Bacharach und seine Ahnen*, p. 41; Bernhard Wachstein, *Die Inschriften des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, vol. II., p. 286).

SOLOMON ben ISAAC ROTHSCHILD was rabbi in the district of Würzburg from 1666 to 1675, according to Löwenstein (*Index Approbationum*, No. 2984; Löwenstein, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Friedberg," in *Blaetter für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. IV., 1903, p. 57). Herz Bamberger (*op. cit.* pp. 35 f.) maintains that Solomon was in Würzburg about 1697. There is a reference to a HRR. SOLOMON on fol. 21a of our Pinkes, dated in 1665. Though the full name is not given, this seems to uphold Löwenstein's observation.

RABBI BENJAMIN Z'EB WEIL signed entries in our Pinkes from 12 *Tebeth* 5431 (1671) on fol. 26b up to *Hoshana Rabba* 5438 (1678) in a note on fol. 3a. He is also referred to as R. Wolf, on fol. 53a. Again, the Pinkes upholds Löwenstein's findings stating that Benjamin Z'eb ben Alexander Weil, also known as Wolf Traub held the Rabbinate in Würzburg-Heidingsfeld from 1670 to 1681 ("Zur Geschichte der Rabbiner in Mainz," in *Jahrbuch der Jüd. Lit. Ges.*, Vol. III., 1905, p. 224; *Index Approbationum*, No. 3486; cf. L. Horwitz, "Landrabbiner und Landschreiber in Kurhessen," in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Vol. 54, 1910, pp. 516, 533). Again it testifies against

Herz Bamberger who has both name and dates confused (*op. cit.*, pp. 33–35, note on p. 117).

JEREMIAH BEN JUDAH LEIB signed several entries on Sunday, *Rosh Chodesh Siwan* 5441 (1681) on fol. 41ab. Both Herz Bamberger (*op. cit.* p. 33) and Löwenstein know of this rabbi, even though the latter holds that in 1681 Jeremiah was rabbi in Gunzenhausen (*Index Approbationum*, No. 1702; *Geschichte der Juden in der Kupfalz*, p. 239).

CHAGGAI ENOCH SGL — also called Chaggai Enoch Fraenkel, Enoch Levi, or Morenu Enoch — signed an entry on 27 Ab 5443 (1683) in a note on fol. 2b, and he is referred to as rabbi of Hanau in *Adar* 5444 (1684). Obviously he was called in from Hanau for a legal decision while Heidingsfeld was without a rabbi (cf. Löwenstein, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Fürth," *Jahrbuch der Jüdischen Literarischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. VI., pp. 90 f.; *Index Approbationum*, No. 655).

ELIEZER ELSASS signed entries between 5 *Adar* 5444 on fol. 53a and Sunday, *Chol Hamo'ed Sukkoth* 5452, on fol. 76a, i. e. between 1684 and 1691. From the signatures of his son Aaron, who was a leader in the community, we can see that Eliezer probably died between *Siwan* 5456 and *Siwan* 5457 (1696–97), for, on fol. 77a, Aaron signs first as ben Eliezer and then as ben Eliezer ZL. No book or article mentions this man, except Herz Bamberger, who reports that Eliezer Elsass founded the *Chebrath G'miluth Chasadim* in 1688 (*op. cit.* p. 39).

Of ISRAEL SGL WIEN (or WIENER) we have only one signature, of 10 *Siwan* 5456 (1696) on fol. 77a. However, the date of arrival of his successor again upholds the observations of Löwenstein who states that this rabbi died shortly after taking office in Heidingsfeld, on 12 Ab 5456 (1696), in disagreement with M. L. Bamberger (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden in Würzburg-Heidingsfeld*, p. 6; Löwenstein, "Das Rabbinat in Hanau," *Jahrbuch der Jüd. Lit. Ges.* vol. XIV, 1921, pp. 58 f.; "Biographische Skizzen," *Blaetter f. jüd. Gesch. u. Lit.*, vol. V., pp. 87, 92; *Index Approbationum*, No. 1508; cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. VI, pp. 1086 f).

There are several entries signed by MORDECAI YEITELES, son

of Baer Issacher Yeiteles of Prague. They fall between the dates 8 *Siwan* 5457 (1697) on fol. 77a, and 8 *Siwan* 5458 (1698) on fol. 77b. According to Löwenstein, Mordecai held office from 1696 till 1708 ("Das Rabbinat in Hanau," p. 59).

SIMON SGL, son of Israel SGL Wien, signed entries from 27 *Adar* 5486 (1708) on fol. 78b, till *Rosh Chodesh Tammuz* 5473 (1713) on fol. 79b. Löwenstein, again upheld by the Pinkes in his disagreement with M. L. Bamberger, dates the beginning of Simon's term of office at 1708, his death at 1727 ("Das Rabbinat in Hanau," p. 60; cf. M. L. Bamberger, *loc. cit.*).

The name of JACOB ben JUDAH ARYEH, also called Jacob Loew of Reckendorf, appears under entries between 15 *Adar* 5488 (1728) on fol. 81a, and 21 *Tammuz* 5499 (1739) on fol. 86a. His full term of office was from 1727 to 1742 (Herz Bamberger, *op. cit.* p. 44; M. L. Bamberger, *op. cit.* p. 13; Löwenstein, *Index Approbationum*, No. 1593; Heinrich Epstein, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden im ehemaligen Herzogtum Ostfranken," *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. und Wissensch. d. Judent.*, vol. 28, 1880, p. 499).

The first entry signed by ARYEH LEIB ben BARUCH KAHANA RAPPOPORT is dated of 5 *Marcheshwan* 5503 (1742) on fol. 86b, and his name also appears on the last page of the Pinkes, under the dateline of 25 *Marcheshwan* 5535 (1774). He actually held office until his death, in 1780 (Herz Bamberger, *op. cit.* pp. 45-47; M. L. Bamberger, *op. cit.*, p. 12, note 3; Azulai, *Shem Hag'dolim*, vol. II., No. 40; Eliakim Carmoly, *Ha'or'bim Ub'ne Yonah*, p. 18; I. T. Eisenstadt, *Da'ath K'doshim*, p. 161; Heinrich Epstein, *loc. cit.*; Löwenstein, *Index Approbationum*, No. 2883; "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Fürth," *Jahrbuch*, vol. IV, p. 181; "Biographische Skizzen," *Blätter*, vol. I., p. 22; Michael, *Or Ha'Chayim*, No. 531; M. Weinberg, *Geschichte der Juden in der Oberpfalz*, vol. III, p. 131; Jellinek, *Kuntras Ham'konen*, p. 68). This is the only one of the rabbis about whom there is, in our Pinkes, an entry worth mentioning. In 1763, Rabbi Aryeh Leib prepared a prayer book, and the chronicler who kept the Pinkes, at that time, tried his best, most involved Hebrew, copying the style of the Paytanim, when he made the following entry on fol.

94a: (To retain the flavor of this composition, the Hebrew titles and technical terms are retained in the original Hebrew right in the English translation).

"Behold, wisdom shall read, and knowledge shall speak forth at the head of the exalted ones who are on the road of the tree of life. Their words shall be for a memory for the last generation, of the good and pure devotion of the heart of the pure great man, the pride of our might, the beauty of our land (אדמ'ו (אדוננו מורנו) הרב אב'ד ור"מ (ראש מתיבתא) נ"י (נר ישראל) ע"י (עמוד ימיני) פ"ה (פאר הדור) הצדיק הנאון הגדול Aryeh Leib Kahana Rappoport, son of משה רבינו who has established a burnt offering of prayer, who has vowed amidst the people and promised for the courts of the Lord's house, the local synagogue of Heidingsfeld, an arrangement of prayers from the beginning to the end of the year, every word in its manner תהלים — מערכות, הושענות, פרקי אבות, יוצרות, סליחות, שיר היחוד, תהלים — all in beautiful square letters, on good parchment. It shall be more goodly to the Lord than a bullock since it upholds the word: This is my God, I will extoll him (Ex. 15.2). He finds pleasure in the commandments as a skilled copyist with beautiful ink and pen, with fitting care, a light for the eyes of all who see it, to thank and praise Him who dwells in light, and to open his mouth in song and praise, in the pure fear of God. It is fitting for us to increase praises to נר'ו אדמ'ו הנאון upon this, even though we are speaking only of his goodness, for he possesses the knowledge of his Creator and he does not like this (praise). However, since this is the knowledge and the measure of the Torah that he who writes and expounds it performs all commandments; therefore it shall be for a good memory of נר'ו אדמ'ו for coming generations, that we who sign below, make a mark in writing of eternal truth in the Pinkes of the Kahal, and accept the obligation for ourselves and our posterity to have the cantor pray in it every day according to its order, when he stands before the Ark to pray. May that which we take upon us beneath be established on high. May the Lord hear and inscribe it in the book of remembrance for merit and for righteousness for נר'ו אדמ'ו הנאון. May the money which he spent from his own pocket be given back to him from Heaven

in good, large measure. May his banner be lifted up. May his Shepherd lead him on paths of righteousness. May He lift up the cup of his salvation. Our eyes are lifted on high that the dispersed ones of Israel may be gathered and the day of our salvation be brought near." (The entry is apparently unfinished. At least the signatures are missing).

Besides the *Ab Beth Din*, a *Dayyan* lived in Heidingsfeld. Together with the Rabbi of the *reichsritterschaftliche* Jews, in Burgpreppach, they could form a *Beth Din* whenever necessary. This *Dayyan* is mentioned on various occasions, but his status is not made clear. Apparently he could not make his living by his rabbinical functions and was a businessman. Up to 1747 he had to pay taxes, like all householders. On the 26th of *Tebeth* 5507 (1747) the *Dayyan* Moses came before a meeting of the *Parnasim* of the district and the *Kehillah*, alleging "that he is frequently burdened by the Kahal, both with deciding on ritual matters (פסק אסור והיתר) and with writing up the minutes and the like; and with all this, he has to pay all taxbills and *Pletten* (to be explained below) like any other householder." The *Kahal* therefore agreed unanimously "that from today on said *Dayyan* R. Moses does not have to pay any more taxbills or anything at all. Nor does he have to take any more *Pletten* than half of what falls on headtax, and none on wealth." This decision, entered on fol. 87a, was to be valid for three years only and was to be renewed then. However, nothing else is reported on the matter.

EDUCATION

Our *Pinkes* does not give us any clue about the rabbi's share in the education of the community's youth, nor does it furnish much information about education altogether. The fact that some of the rabbis are given the title ראש מתיבתא might lead us to believe that there was a sort of *Yeshibah* in Heidingsfeld. Likewise, there must have been a *Melammed* for younger children, at least in the later years, when the population had grown. One *Melammed* is mentioned on fol. 97b. In earlier years, we find two references to the fact that the *Hazan* was obligated to a number of hours of teaching every week (fol. 13a and 51a).

THE *HAZAN*

A *Hazan* was in charge of synagogue services. We have a detailed record of the election of a *Hazan* by the *Kahal*, in 1653, on fol. 1b.

"Sunday, 14th of *Shebat* 5413, the *Kahal* met concerning the *Hazan* of the *Beth Hak'neseth* who is to serve, to thank, and to praise the Name of the Lord in the synagogue here in Heidingsfeld. He shall keep his position, God willing, for two consecutive years, lest either an individual or a group drive him out within said two years. The names of five *Hazanim* were put down on paper, that one of the five might be chosen. The one who gets the largest number of votes shall be given preference. If the first man should refuse, preference shall be given to the one with the second highest number of votes, and so on, to the third, fourth, and fifth. Mordecai Geiss, son of Meir, came out in first place with nine votes, provided that he is unmarried and free. After him, Isaac who is at present *Hazan* in Ötting, with three votes. After him Hirz ben David with two votes. After him, Hayim Fulda and Tivia ben Akiba of Worms, with one vote each."

Contracts were made out and renewed, as a rule, for two years. Three months' notice was required of either party in case the contract was not to be renewed. While, in 1653, only an unmarried man was acceptable for the position, we find, later on, references to *Hazanim* with families (fol. 26a). When Mordecai Geis was elected, in 1653, he was paid traveling expenses to Heidingsfeld, and it seems to have been a practice to stand the expense of the *Hazan's* moving to his new place of residence (fol. 5a and 44a).

The *Hazan's* salary varied. In 1653, it amounted to 16 *rt* (*Reichstaler*) plus 5 *rt* rent per annum for his apartment (fol. 7a). In 1658, he was paid 40 *rt* for all his duties, including four hours — probably per day — of teaching (fol. 13a). Apparently this salary was not adequate, for in *Kislew* 1663 he was given, on request, a part payment of 6 *rt* in advance (fol. 18a). When, in 1671, Leib ben Yekuthiel Aue was re-elected for two years — his first election is not recorded — the amount of his salary was not mentioned. But when his contract was renewed in 1673, his

salary, including house-rent, amounted to 20 *rt* per annum. The salary was, however, to grow in proportion with the growth of the community, and the *Hazan* had additional income from a restaurant. Furthermore, the *Hazan* was tax exempt, and his son was tax exempt as long as he lived with his father (fol. 27b). Even after *Hazan* Leib settled in Heidingsfeld as a regular householder, he was granted the privilege of paying "head-tax only," i. e. no property tax (fol. 45b).

Hazan Ephraim, elected in *Elul* 1680, tried to make a living by selling *Kosher* wine, but apparently he was in dire need of his salary of 30 *rt* per annum in order to make ends meet (fol. 38a and 39b). Two years later, in 1682, a new *Hazan*, David, moved in, who received a salary of 25 *rt* per annum (fol. 44a and 48a). He was paid an additional 2 *fl.* (*Gulden*) a year for teaching (fol. 51a).

The *Hazan* had a share in the complicated, and, at the same time, primitive, administration of the community. Apparently he, like other householders, had to advance money for the *Kahal* and for individuals and had to ask for re-imbursement (fol. 14b). He assisted in the collection of taxes and, like the *Dayyan*, he made entries into the *Pinkes* (fol. 53b). He was obligated to take care of sick transients in a special room built on to his house, and he was paid $\frac{1}{2}$ *KS* (*Kopfstück* 4 *Batzen* or $\frac{2}{9}$ of a *Reichstaler*) for every period of nursing service (fol. 66b). When the *Kahal* met, the *Hazan* had to serve refreshments. Another duty of his was *Schulklopfen*. He had to knock at the houses to call the men to all services, even the Sabbath afternoon service. He had to do this personally or to delegate his son or another man or a boy more than 15 years old. Leib Aue's contract of 1671 expressly forbade him to send his daughter on such an errand (fol. 26a and 27a).

THE *SHAMMASH*

The Heidingsfeld community did not lack a representative of the most colorful and perhaps proudest profession among the officials of the Synagogue: the *Shammash*. Unfortunately, we know very little about the functions and the salary of this office. Be-

tween 1770 and 1774 the *Shammash* Joel wrote several entries in the Pinkes. In 1723, the *Shammash* contracted to grind flour for *Matzoth* on *Pesach* and to deliver it to the householders at a certain price (fol. 81a).

LAY OFFICERS OF THE COMMUNITY

a. *Parnasim*

The highest lay official in the community was the *Parnas*, also called *Vorgesetzter* (fol. 24a). Traditions and customs with respect to the number of *Parnasim*, their term of office, their exact function, and the manner of their election developed slowly during the period of our Pinkes. In 1653, four *Parnasim* were elected for one year. Two of them held office jointly for two months at the time (fol. 1a). The same process was repeated in 1654 (fol. 8a). In 1676, two *Parnasim* were elected for two years (fol. 25a); likewise, in 1681, when it was stipulated that these officers were to be appointed "by lot and majority vote," and that they were to take turns as *Parnas Hachodesh*, every month (fol. 41a). How little this rule was respected is shown by the fact that the same men were *Parnasim* from 1681 to 1685 without a re-election being recorded. However, in 1685, they were charged with $\frac{1}{2}$ *ri* each, the amount to be paid by re-elected *Parnasim*. In 1686 and 1688 finally, there were regular elections for two years each (fol. 65a and 67a). While in 1681 it was legislated that the *Parnasim* of the district should not be burdened with the office of a local *Parnas*, we find both the district *Parnasim* elected as local *Parnasim* for two years in 1690 (fol. 71a). In 1696 the system of election, probably the same alluded to above as "by lot and majority vote," was clarified by an entry in the Pinkes.

"From today on, the order of appointment among us in our *Kehillah* according to number and quality shall be as follows: From every family living here, who are related to one another, one shall be taken by lot. The one whose name is appointed by the lot makes the rest of his family unfit (to be elected with him). Then all the rest of the householders who are fit according to

our holy Torah shall be laid into one urn. (In other words, slips with the names of those selected by lot and eligible for office were placed into the urn). From this urn, the rabbi, in the presence of the *Parnasim* of the district, shall take seven householders. Each of these seven shall write out a ballot for two *Parnasim* of the *Kehillah*. The rabbi shall warn, under threat of the *Cherem*, that every one shall make out his ballot without regard for person or gain (לשם שמים). The *Parnasim* shall be elected by majority vote" (על פי רוב דעות). This probably means that the two men with the highest number of votes were elected, but absolute majority was not necessary (fol. 77a).

The next election recorded took place in 1709, when two *Parnasim* were re-elected; the original election of these two men is not recorded (fol. 78). In 1743, a *Parnas* was confirmed by the government upon the recommendation of the *Parnas* of the district (fol. 86b). It is not clear whether such confirmation had always been necessary or whether it was a new requirement in 1743, inasmuch as this is the only entry of this sort.

The *Parnas* had jurisdiction over the collection of taxes even though the actual work of tax collection was later taken over by special officers, called גוברים. He had power to decide what out-of-town rabbis and cantors should preach or chant the prayers in the synagogue (fol. 41a). His authority was so strong that he could put any tardy tax-payer under הכרזה by public announcement in the synagogue, even without consulting his colleague in office, or the rabbi. The rabbi was, however, the court of appeal if any error was claimed by the taxpayer. In 1653, the term *Hachrazah* was defined as follows: "No *Shochet* may slaughter for him a fowl or a big or small animal. Nobody may give him any meat either by sale, or as a gift, or as a loan, as long as the public proclamation is in force. The transgressor will be fined one pound wax for candles. He (the person under *Hachrazah*) shall not be called to the Torah. If he continues to rebel (Literally: If he gives a rebellious shoulder), being under public proclamation for two weeks, he becomes liable to the law of חרם, and he shall be excommunicated publicly in the synagogue" (fol. 2a). In 1654, the following restrictions were added: "Since we have

seen that most of the people do not pay any attention to the *Hachrazah* and it is like mockery in their sight, therefore we have added further restrictions to the public proclamation. We add to what has been explained above, that nobody may invite a person under *Hachrazah* to any meal whether *S'udath Mitzwah* or an everyday meal under threat of a fine of $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt.* Nobody may eat a meal together with a person under *Hachrazah*, whether in his own house, or in another house, under threat of a fine of $\frac{1}{2}$ *lb. wax*" (fol. 2b). There is only one punishment more stringent than the *Hachrazah* and that is the *Cherem*. The *Cherem* can be pronounced only by the rabbi. No further details are given about the *Cherem*, except that the person so punished had to pay 1 *Batzen* to the *Kahal* and 1 *Batzen* to the government (fol. 2b).

Even though no such rule is mentioned in the rules of the election, a poor man could not possibly be chosen as a *Parnas*. For the *Parnas* had to lend to the *Kahal* up to 4 *rt.* during his month of office, and he could not claim reimbursement until two months had passed (fol. 1b). At his election, the *Parnas* had to give a dinner with free wine for the whole community. A sum of money — originally 4 *rt.* but varying later — could be substituted for the meal. If re-elected, he had to pay only a fraction of this sum. In addition to all this, the *Parnas*-elect had to give the rabbi 1 *rt* after every election (fols. 2a, 25a, 41a, 58a).

The *Parnasim* had the privilege of being called to the Torah on every *Matnath Yad* (*Matnath Yad* was Yom Kippur and the last day of each pilgrimage festival). This privilege rotated among the *Kehillah* and District *Parnasim*, and the ones not called on *Matnath Yad* were called on the first day of that particular holiday (fols. 41a, 62a, 88b).

b. *Gobim*

In 1728, the office of the tax-collector (גובה) was instituted. Two *Gobim* were to assist the *Parnasim* in their work by collecting the taxes. They had powers similar to the *Parnasim* in order to enable them to press tardy payers. They were elected for two years, and each had to keep books for one year (fols. 82a, 93a).

c. *Tobe Ha'ir*

In 1678, the term "seven *Tobe Ha'ir*" (שׁוּבֵי הָעִיר) is mentioned (fol. 3a). However, not until 1686 do we find this term explained, and it seems that at that time the *Kahal* was instituted as a representative form of government (fol. 62a). Previously the whole community — also referred to as *Kahal* — levied taxes, voted on officers, and on *Takkanoth*. Now, this whole legislative power was ceded to the seven *Tobe Ha'ir* — i. e. the two District *Parnasim*, the two local *Parnasim*, and three elected men who were not to be related to one another. Three of the seven constituted a quorum with full power. Regular meetings had to take place once every two weeks, and special meetings could be requested by anyone who was ready to pay 2 *Denar* for refreshments served by the *Hazan* at every meeting of the *Kahal*. The composition of this body and the term of office of its members was subject to change throughout our period. First, they were elected for one year (fol. 65a). In 1690, when the District *Parnasim* were also elected as *Kehillah Parnasim*, the two *Gabba'e Zedakah* were ex-officio members of the *Kahal* (fol. 71a). In 1692, we find the legislative body existing of the two District *Parnasim*, the two local *Parnasim* (who were no longer identical with the District *Parnasim*), the two *Gabba'e Zedakah*, and only one elected man (fol. 75a). In 1709, five *Tobe Ha'ir* were elected in addition to the two local *Parnasim*, and the District *Parnasim*, as well as the rabbi, were consulted only when especially difficult matters were on the agenda (fol. 78b). In 1728, the term of the *Tobe Ha'ir* was lengthened from one year to three (fol. 81a). Instead of meeting twice a month, they met only once, on the first Sunday after *Rosh Chodesh* (cf. fols. 82a, 85b, 89a, 93a). A man elected as a *Tobe Ha'ir* (strangely enough, this plural form is used also in the singular) had to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt* to the *Kahal* (fol. 67a). If he did not attend a meeting without sufficient excuse, he paid a fine of no less than $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt* (fols. 65b, 82a).

d. *Gabba'e Zedakah*

The office of *Gabbai Zedakah* existed in the beginning of the period with which we are concerned. It is mentioned on the very first

folio. The *Gabba'im* had to collect the community's contributions to charity, which were distinct from regular taxes and which consisted both of fixed monthly assessments and of voluntary payments for *Mitzwoth* and *N'darim*. Theirs was also the task of distributing this money among the poor. They, like the *Parnasim*, had to advance money for their office, and, as a security, they were authorized to keep the key to the strongbox for the charity, money, at the end of their term of office, until they were fully reimbursed (fol. 25a). The regulations governing this office changed more frequently than those for any other office. In 1681, we find that two *Gabba'im* were appointed by lot for two years, taking turns in doing the actual work for a month at a time (fol. 41a). In 1686 and in 1689, they were elected for one year only, but each of them held office for six months at a time (fols. 65a, 69a). In 1690, each held office twice, for three months at a time, (fol. 71a) and in 1692, they were told that they could rotate monthly, quarterly, or semi-annually as they pleased (fol. 75a). In 1696, it was ordained that, while two *Gabba'im* should be elected every year, one must always be re-elected to carry over for a second year (fol. 77b). In 1720, 1734, and 1736 two *Gabba'im* were elected for two years, each holding office for a year at a time (fols. 80a, 84b, 85a). In 1750, the office was divided into that of the *Hekdesh Gabbai* or *Gabbai Zedakah* proper who had to collect the *Chodesh Geld*, the monthly assessment for charity, and the *S'gan Gabbai* who was in charge of the *Mitzwoth* and *N'darim*. Each was elected for two years and had to serve one year in each faculty (fol. 87a).

The reason for this instability lay evidently in the difficulty to get men to take over the office of *Gabbai*. In 1689, they had to legislate that any man refusing to be *Gabbai* could not hold any other office and would lose his right to vote (fol. 69a). In 1692, the man who refused was charged with a fine of 5 *rt* (fol. 75a). In 1698, they tried to solve the problem by uniting the desirable *Parnas* office with that of the *Gabbai Zedakah* (fol. 77b). No election is recorded from the years between 1698 and 1708, but it is evident that even before that date, *Gabba'im* were again elected separately from the *Parnasim* — even that trick did

not work (cf. fol. 78). In 1709, there was reason to repeat the threat of a 5 *rt* fine, though it was mitigated to the effect that a *Gabbai*, elected for two years, might resign, with good reason, after one year (fol. 78b). In 1720, the fine had to be raised to 6 *rt* (fol. 80a). Still people preferred paying the fine to serving as *Gabbai*. In 1751, the fine was raised to 10 *rt* (fol. 88a). Evidently even this measure did not help. Otherwise the following case could not have happened which shall be told here because of its humorous note. In 1754, a certain Jacob ben Moses was elected *Gabbai*. Apparently the man was willing to accept the office, but he came to the *Kahal* meeting which had elected him cursing the officers and swearing so vilely that he was promptly fined 1 lb wax and sent away as unworthy of the office (fol. 89b). In 1756, that same Jacob ben Moses was elected to the office, and he actually served (fol. 90a). Furthermore, when Samson Wertheim was elected *Gabbai* for the year 1757–58 and pleaded that he could not serve for lack of time, he was permitted to pay Jacob ben Moses for doing the work for him, and the same procedure was repeated after the election of Anshel in the following year. Jacob was paid 1 *Groschen* for his trouble. In spite of this small salary, he may be looked at as a precursor of the professional social worker of our time (fol. 92a). The function of the *Gabba'im* has been mentioned above. The men had to go out collecting personally — probably the main reason for the frequent refusal (fol. 73b). The powers of the *Gabba'im* were not attractive enough to counterbalance the tasks of the office: in 1653, the *Gabba'im* were authorized to spend up to 5 *rt* for the *Kahal* if they saw fit (fol. 1b). From 1756 on, however, they had to have their bills authorized by the *Parnasim* (fol. 90a). One *Gabbai* by himself had the power to put a tardy payer of charity money under *Hachrazah*, the rabbi being the court of appeal (fol. 1b). Like the other officers of the *Kahal*, the *Gabba'im* had to pay a certain sum to the *Kahal* for distribution upon their election, in lieu of a free meal. Originally this was 1 *Goldgulden* (= 2 *rt*) for a newly elected *Gabbai*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt* for one re-elected; but these figures fluctuated (fols 2a, 58a).

TAXES

a. Assessment

The technique of taxation in Heidingsfeld may be characterized by two basic rules: Taxes were apportioned among the householders in the community not on the basis of a budget, but for momentary needs, usually to reimburse individuals who had already advanced the necessary amounts. Taxes were apportioned partly as headtax (*Rosh Habayith*) and partly as capital levy (*Al Me'ah*). For instance: on fol. 29b — dated 22 *Siwan* 5436 (1676) — 5 *fl.* has to be apportioned. Two thirds of this is to be collected as headtax, i. e., 50 *Batzen* divided equally among 13 taxpayers, or 4 *Batzen* per head. The remaining third is to be collected as capital levy: 25 *Batzen* or 100 *Kreuzer* to be carried by the 8,288 *rt.* which was the total taxable capital in the community according to the estimate on fol. 29a. They arrive at a rough 1 *Kreuzer* per 100 *rt.* An individual taxbill is figured out in this manner: *Parnas Sanwil's* wealth is estimated at 900 *rt.* Therefore he pays in this particular taxbill 4 *Batzen* headtax, plus 1 *Kreuzer* for each 100 *rt.* of his capital, i. e. 9 *Kreuzer* or 2 *Batzen* 1 *Kreuzer*. Sum total of *Sanwil's* assessment: 6 *Batzen* 1 *Kreuzer*. This primitive system leads to complications which make it hard to understand its operation in every assessment, especially since every Tom, Dick and Harry spent money for the *Kahal* and brought in his claims for reimbursement, since assessments were frequently contested, and since the notes about tax income and tax spending are stenographic in style and frequently unclear.

The basis for taxation of capital was estimated wealth which was adjusted according to new estimates at irregular intervals. Besides the testimony of the householder himself, inheritance and "known profits" were the main bases for changes in wealth estimates. Dowries given to children were deductible items (fol. 79a). These wealth estimates are the clearest indication for the growth of the population and of the wealth of Heidingsfeld's Jewish community. In 1652 (?) there were 19 tax paying householders with a total estimated wealth of 8,000 *rt* (fol. 6a). In

1690, there were 21 tax paying householders — possibly the taxable minimum wealth had been raised — with a total estimated wealth of 24,250 *rt* (fol. 57b). Unfortunately, there is no assessment list after 1690, but we can recognize the further growth of the community from the list of householders who took *Pletten* (meal tickets for transients) in 1758, which includes 44 names (fol. 91b).

A definite tendency can be detected, in the documents concerned with taxation, to get away from the apportionment of taxes for momentary needs and to substitute a primitive budgeting plan by charging tax payers a fixed sum covering their portion of all expenses of the *Kahal*. First those who were not full householders were assessed in this manner — unmarried men who did business in the community (cf. fols. 53a, 58a, 65b, 66a, 70a, 84a, 72a) and widows (85b, 89b). But we find even full householders paying lump sums to cover all taxes (cf. fols. 66a, 74b, 89a).

A few rules for taxation may be gathered from entries in our Pinkes, though none of them are general *Takkanoth*, but merely decisions for specific cases:

No more than 10 *rt* shall be apportioned at one time, except for salaries and New Year money (fol. 77b).

In case of death, taxes precede all other claims against the estate, even the widow's *K'thubah* (fol. 26a).

Widows do not, as a rule, pay tax for themselves. However, the tax debts of the deceased have to be paid up by the estate, if not at once, in installments (fol. 36b).

Inasmuch as taxes paid to the community are reimbursements for sums already spent or payments on obligations already incurred, the estate of a deceased tax payer may be taxed as long as other tax payers are reimbursing the community for debts dating from the lifetime of the deceased.

Outsiders who do business in Heidingsfeld are considered taxable (fol. 79a).

A couple boarding in the home of the parents of one member of the married couple are exempt from *Pletten* and all taxes, except gate-toll — unless the community has to pay more than 20 *rt* at one time — for three months after their wedding (fol. 2b).

In case of sickness, a stay of execution is granted for all taxes for the duration of the illness (fol. 26b).

In the beginning of our period, there was very little delinquency in the payment of taxes. On 15 *Iyar* 1658, only 6 *Batzen* were owed on the taxbill of *Shebat*, and even this seems to have been unusual (fol. 12b). Later, however, there seems to have been a good deal of tardiness in the payment of taxes (cf. fol. 80ab).

b. Communal duties

M. L. Bamberger speaks of the "*Leibzollzeichen*," a yellow circle, which had to be worn originally on the garments by all Jews entering the gates of Würzburg. He reports that the *reichs-ritterschaftliche* Jews paid 3,000 *fl* per annum in lieu of this demand. (*Ein Blick auf die Geschichte der Juden in Würzburg*, p. 11). This tax may be similar to that which the Heidingsfeld Jews had to pay under the name of gate toll (*sha'ar ma'oth*, *Torgeld*). The amount of the toll mentioned in our Pinkes was, however, much smaller than the sum mentioned by Bamberger. In 1672, the community made a compromise with the authorities that they should pay $8\frac{1}{2}$ *rt* gate toll per annum (fol. 28a). In 1676, 6 *rt* gate toll was paid to the *Judenamtman* through the *Wachmeister Lieutenant*, probably the officer in charge of the guard (fol. 29b). In 1678, the Commander of Würzburg is mentioned as the recipient of the gate toll. But the agent for payment is still the *Wachmeister Lieutenant* who earned for himself a gift from the community for adjusting the toll at the low amount of 4 *rt*.

Another tax paid regularly to a secular authority was council money (*etzah ma'oth*, *quartal ma'oth*) going apparently to the local city council. It was paid quarterly and amounted from 12 *fl* to 25 *fl* per annum. It was apportioned, at one occasion, half as headtax and half as capital levy, but soon a tradition was established that council money was to be apportioned two thirds as headtax and one third as capital levy, while most other taxes were apportioned half and half.

Meat excise had to be paid to the episcopal government. This tax was originally farmed out to one of the householders, Sanwil Grumbach. However, the *Kahal* later, as a corporation, became

the tax agent and levied fixed sums on every head of cattle slaughtered in the community. The *Shochet* then became the tax collector. Slaughtering in the fields to avoid paying excise was prohibited. The community did not make any profit in tax farming. This in 1674 (fol. 28b). In 1692, the government fixed the meat excise for the community at the round sum of 100 *fl.* The excise was raised by a complicated system. Tickets had to be redeemed for every animal slaughtered and for all meat imported into the community. A triple check was exercised by three special books kept by the *Gabba'im*, the *Shochet*, and the *M'lam-med* (fol. 76a). The amount to be paid for every head of cattle varied with size and kind.

Kosher wine was also taxed, but it is not clear whether by the government or by the community. The tax collected was based on the amount of wine made by Jews or bought by Jews from Gentiles (fols. 20b, 21a). Apparently the sale of *Kosher* wine was prohibited, for any fee received for such a sale and to be paid to the *Kahal* in full (fol. 26a). In 1698, it was legislated that nobody in the community may manufacture *Kosher* wine, except with the permission of the rabbi and the *Parnas* (fol. 77b). In 1699, the sale of *Kosher* wine was farmed out as a monopoly by the *Kahal*, and consequently nobody was permitted to sell or to buy wine from strangers (fol. 78a).

c. Gifts

A substantial part of the community's expenses was for "gifts" to all kinds of officials, high and low, to whom the Jews had to show themselves "grateful." Most of these were given as New Year's presents, apportioned in *Kislew*, *Tebeth*, or *Shebat*. The term *Shanah Chadashah* was used for these expenses. A typical list may be found on fol. 31a, dated Sunday, 8 *Tebeth* 5437 (1677): "Apportioned for New Year money, besides the Priest's New Year money, also . . . to the Secretary, in spices 12 *Kopf-stück* (= 3 *fl* 3 *Batzen*), to the Secretary's wife (?) 3 *rt*, to the Judge 2 *rt*, to the Toll-collector at the bridge in Würzburg 1 *rt*, to the Toll-collector at the Sandertor in Würzburg 6 *Batzen*, to the City Secretary 1 lb spices $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt*, to the Mayor $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt*, to the

Vice-mayor 1 lb spices $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt*, he being tax-collector here, to the Policeman 3 *Batzen*"

The Judge was sometimes given silver spoons (fol. 3b) or wine (fol. 5a). Once a wedding present was connected with his New Year money (fol. 8b). The magistrate (*Amtmann*, *Poked*) was given irregular sums first, but an agreement was made with him in 1680 "that we shall give him every New Year two *Speciesducaten* (i. e. 2 ducats in one piece, and not in smaller denominations) and one medium sized sugarloaf" (fol. 32). The *Keller* (excize collector) once received tin valued at 2 *rt* 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Batzen* (fol. 50b). The *Bürgermeister* (mayor) usually received $\frac{1}{2}$ *rt* for New Year (fols. 15a, 27a). Other recipients were the head of the city council (fols. 11b, 27a); the field warden (fol. 37b); military officers such as the Commander of Würzburg (fol. 12a); a *Feldwebel* (sergeant) (fol. 17b); the students of the University of Würzburg (fols. 5a, 8b, 47a); a schoolteacher (fols. 8b, 17b). The Priest got his present usually after New Year, probably on Easter, as is indicated by the reference to an Easter lamb given to him in 1653 (fol. 5a, cf. fols. 8b, 9a, 14a, 27a). Once the Priest was given spices (fol. 8b) and once a gold spoon (fol. 17b).

Repeatedly, we find the terms "*Kirbeband*," "*Kirbebänder*," "*Kerbbänder*," once "*Mittelband*," or in short "*Band*," "*Bänder*," "*Bändergeld*," in the Pinkes. All of them seem to refer to the same concept. Even though these terms occur only in lists of expenses and therefore cannot be explained from the context, and even though no explanation could be found in any other source, only one interpretation seems to fit all occurrences of the terms: they refer to colored ribbon of the kind worn on their hats by peasants and soldiers on the *Kerbe*, *Kirbe*, or *Kirchweihe*, the annual, semi-annual, or quarterly local fair. Such ribbon was given, at the time of the fairs, to such persons who might be helpful in protecting the market stalls of the Jews which certainly were in constant danger on account of the high spirits of the men who visited the fairs. Perhaps, when they speak of giving away ribbon for "watching" at the fair, they really mean protection money paid to those persons who might start a riot against the Jewish business people at the fair (fols. 27b, 29b, 33b).

The spirit in which most of these "presents" were received is

clearly demonstrated by the *Wachmeister Lieutenant* of Würzburg who refused to accept a gift of 3 *Kopfstück* and insisted on getting 1 *rt* (= 4½ *Kopfstück*). Apparently he felt that this was his due for interceding on behalf of the Jews with the military authorities (fol. 33a).

d. Expenses

Among the various expenses of the *Kahal*, traveling expenses (*Reitgeld*, *Reit Ma'oth*) which were paid to both Jewish and non-Jewish officials, most frequently the Judge, rank foremost (cf. fols. 5a, 5b, 15b). Then we find such items as: petitions to the local commander and the council at 5 *Batzen* each (fol. 12a); a fine of 1 lb spices to the city (fol. 27a); wine for bribing purposes (*Shochad yayin*) (fol. 16b). Expenses more indigenous to Jewish community life were: building repairs for the synagogue (fol. 35a); *Ethrog* and *Hadass* money (fols. 6b, 14b, 27a); money for leaves to cover the *Succah* (*Laub ma'oth*) (fol. 51b). Expenses typical of the communal life of the time are for: wine served by the *Hazan* at an election (fol. 8a); for brandy at an election of *Gabba'im* (fol. 32a); for wine used in the rabbi's house, probably also at meetings (fol. 12a); for meat for a *Siyyum* celebration (fol. 27a); for a meal served to the *Parnasim* by the *Hazan* (fol. 31a). Other expenses paid from the communal treasury were: a fee due to the rabbi of Kleinsteinach when he was called in a conflict between the *Kahal* and one of its members (fol. 29b); moving expenses of a new *Hazan* (fol. 38b); a present to honor a householder for leading in prayer on *Shabuoth* (fol. 43a).

e. Charity

Contributions to charity were compulsory as much as any tax. There was a basic monthly charge, which, however, could be increased by voluntary donations vowed before the Torah (*N'darim*) and by the purchase price of honors in the synagogue (*Mitzwoth*). The collection of all amounts for charity was handled by the *Gabbai Zedakah* (see above).

The basic monthly charge varied with the need and the ability of the community. In 1668, the *Chodesh Geld* — as this charge

was called — for the whole community was fixed at 4 *fl* (fols. 23a, 41b). In 1687, the *Gabba'im* collected 10 *fl* twice a year, in *Adar* and *Elul*, i. e. an average of $3\frac{1}{3}$ *fl* per month (fol. 66a). In 1691, 5 *rt* was set as a limit for monthly collections (fol. 73b). Shortly before 1711, 3 *rt* must have been the monthly budget, for in that year it was legislated that 6 *rt* should be collected instead of 3 *rt* because transients were not allowed to enter the city, and more money had to be given to them in lieu of *Pletten* (fol. 79b). This *Chodesh Geld* was assessed, like most other taxes, half as headtax and half as a capital levy (fols. 25a, 79b).

For the non-payment of these contributions to charity, a person could be put under *Hachrazah* as for the non-payment of any other tax (fol. 25a). Still, it must have been much harder to collect the *Chodesh Geld*; for we find frequent admonitions to pay the *Gabbai Zedakah* (fols. 25a, 26a, 78b). In 1691, an actual fine was introduced for delinquent debtors of the *Hekdesh* in the form of 1 lb wax. The fine could be imposed by the *Gabbai* (fol. 73b). In 1728, it was decided: "The *Hekdesh Gabbai* shall have power and authority to collect the *Hekdesh* money, to prohibit the *Ba'al S'gan*, the *Hazan*, and the *Shammash* from admitting (a delinquent) to any of the sacred things of the synagogue, and if he does not make a payment within a year, to blacklist him (fol. 80a)."

In spite of this systematic collection for charity, the funds of the *Hekdesh* were not sufficient to take care of many cases which should have been handled by this department. We find apportioned separately such items as: "Redemption of prisoners, including *Hazanim* and rabbis — 2 *rt* 10 *Kreutzer*; a sick child of the *Hazan* — 7 *Denar*; a man from Jerusalem — 6 *Batzen*; a transient — 2 *Denar*, etc." (fol. 33b). In 1698, a rule was passed prohibiting the *Parnasim* from giving the *Kahal's* money i. e. money not belonging to the *Hekdesh* — to transients. They were allowed, only on special occasions, to ask individuals in the community (*Y'chide S'gulah*) for contributions (fol. 77b).

The *Pletten*-system was another means of taxation for charity. These meal and lodging tickets were apportioned exactly like taxes, a certain number for every householder, and a certain number for every 100 *rt* wealth (cf. fols. 12b, 46b). To prevent

cheating, all these tickets had to be written by one hand, and the date had to be written on them (fol. 67a).

There is no indication that the *Pletten*-system did not work out relatively well. Only one man insisted on being made an exception to the usual rules. Abraham Heller, as the richest and most charitable man in the community, made a special arrangement with the *Kahal*, in 1687.

"11 *Sh'bat* 5447 — on this day, the *Parnasim* and *Manhigim* jointly with the men elected from the whole *Kahal* made a public and voluntary compromise with the *Rosh* and *Parnas* Abraham *Halewi*. We have seen that honored visitors such as rabbis and *Hazanim* are always guests of said *Parnas* Abraham. At times they stay very long and eat up many *Pletten*. Said *Parnas* Abraham also requests that one should give charity sincerely. Hence we made the following public compromise: *Parnas* Abraham has to pay his portion of the *Chodesh* money which is collected in the *Kahal*, and which the *Gabba'im* hold for distribution among the poor. However, the price for his *Mitzwoth*, which *Parnas* Abraham purchases, together with the amounts which *Parnas* Abraham pledges when he is called to the Torah shall be placed by the *Gabbai* into a special box which contains only these *Mitzwoth* moneys, pledges, and gifts of *Parnas* Abraham's. From this box he shall take care of the rabbis and *Hazanim*. *Parnas* Abraham shall write to the *Gabbai* every time, how much he shall give the Rabbi, or the *Lamdan*, or the *Hazan*. In case that *Parnas* Abraham should request to pay more than his *Mitzwoth* money and his pledges and gifts amount to, *Parnas* Abraham must pay the difference from his pocket. If no *Hazan* or rabbi comes in a month, and money is left over from *Parnas* Abraham's *Mitzwoth* money and pledges and gifts, this money is transferred into the *Hekdesh* box at the end of the month to be counted like all other *Hekdesh* money. They shall give to the *Hazan* or rabbi as much as *Parnas* Abraham requests, and *Parnas* Abraham must pay an equal amount from his pocket. But one cannot command or force him. Also, however long a *Hazan* or rabbi may stay (at the house of *Parnas* Abraham) they may give *Parnas* Abraham no more than two *Pletten*" (fol. 65b). One year later, this arrangement was cancelled (fol. 66b). But a new rule was passed, accord-

ing to which the *Hazan* had to go to Abraham's house, at regular intervals, and to leave there as many *Pletten* as there were visitors, in order to save Abraham or his visitors the trouble of going for the *Pletten* (fol. 67a).

It is easily understood how in a time, when the Jews were expelled from many towns, and were granted right of residence in but few, transients became a real problem for the Jewish communities. In order to secure an orderly and impartial treatment of all transients and to save the householders from being annoyed too often, the transients were forbidden to go around to the individual homes. They were to be taken care of by the *Gabbai Zedakah* from his charity treasury. Only when an agent was collecting for the redemption of prisoners or for the dowry of a bride could he given a special permit by the *Gabbai* and the *Parnas* to collect directly from the householders. Naturally, the transients did not co-operate because this system was liable to lower their income. They were threatened, therefore, with a loss of all benefits for one year (fol. 71a), or even forever (fol. 41b). Strangely enough, the residents did not co-operate either. Apparently their preference for the traditionally Jewish, personal, way of giving charity — though not the noblest way, according to Maimonides's list — made them opposed to the anonymous, systematized dispensation of money. Again and again, warnings had to be issued against giving money to beggars at the door (fol. 41a et al.). Fines of one half pound wax, and later 1 *rt* were threatened with little success (fols. 62a, 66a). Women must have been the principal transgressors, for announcements were made in the synagogue reiterating the prohibition in order "to frighten the women" (fol. 69a). In 1691, it was ordained: "The *Shammash* shall go around in the *Kehillah* and shall have every woman take an oath that she will not give anything to any transient who goes around without permission of the *Gabbai Zedakah* and the *Gabbai Hakahal*." (The latter expression is either an error for *Parnas Hakahal* or a distinction between the *Gabbai Zedakah* holding office and his inactive colleague) (fol. 73b).

Transients had to be taken care of without delay (fol. 41b). The *Gabbai* was instructed to give to a transient with family 3

Batzen, to one without family one-half *Kopfstueck*, (2 *Batzen*), to an unknown transient 6 *Kreutzer*, to a bride 1 *Kopfstueck*, to a woman according to his own discretion (fol. 66b, cf. also 62a). Besides this contribution a transient received one *Plette* for a meal and a night's lodging with one of the householders (fol. 41b). The *Gabbai* had to record the names of all transients in order that they might not come back within too short a period. In 1681, this period was a year (fol. 41b), in 1691, three months (fol. 73b). A transient who came begging within that period and refused to go away could be evicted by the police (fol. 73b).

The transient himself had to draw his *Plette* from the urn where those tickets were kept, in the presence of the *Gabbai* or the *Shamash*, in order that the officer could not show preference in assigning certain transients to certain homes. If then a householder refused to honor the *Plette*, he had to pay cash for the transient's night lodging (fols. 80a, 41b). Honored visitors, such as scholars, rabbis and cantors, who usually were invited by householders when they came to town, did not have to ask for their *Plette*, but their hosts were permitted to send for them. Still, only one *Plette* was granted to each visitor (fols. 73b, 41b). Sick transients were taken care of by the community in a room provided in the *Hazan's* house, especially for that purpose (fol. 66b).

The large number of transients begging for assistance was a severe problem for the small community. In order to protect themselves, they tried to limit the number by asking the local authorities to admit only a certain number of Jewish poor through the city gates. A fee of 6 *Kreutzer* was paid for this service in 1679 (fol. 35a). In 1687, the number admitted was 25 on *Ereb Shabbath*, 30 on *Ereb Yom Tob*, in 1708 — 15 to 18 on weekdays, 20 to 23 on *Shabbath*, 25 on *Yom Tob* (fols. 66a, 79a). In 1728, the limitation — to 15 on weekdays and 25 on *Shabbath* and *Yom Tob* — was effected by placing at the city gate that number of signed tickets. Only those who brought tickets were given *Pletten* (fol. 80a). Once, in 1711, the authorities turned the tables on the *Kahal* by keeping out all transients. The *Gabba'im* then stationed themselves at the city gate provided with an enlarged amount of charity money to make up for the *Pletten* which they were unable to give to the transients (fol. 79b).

f. Hakdamah

A fee had to be paid by all newcomers who wished to become full members of the community. The legal basis for this tax was that the old settlers had contributed to the assets of the community and that the newcomers had to make their contribution to these assets. From 1654 to 1684, the rate for *Hakdamah* was 2 *rt* per householder and 6 *Batzen* for every hundred *rt* wealth for complete strangers; 1 *rt* per householder and one-quarter *rt* per hundred for those already residents in the district. The latter rate was applied to young men who paid taxes in the community previous to their marriage but paid *Hakdamah* only after their marriage (fol. 2b). In 1713, the *Hakdamah* was the fixed sum of 20 *rt* besides the purchase price of a place in the synagogue (fol. 78b). In 1746, the tax was raised from 30 *fl* to 50 *fl*. The previous raise to 30 *fl* is not recorded (fol. 86b).

Since the right of residence had to be so dearly purchased — governmental confirmation was also necessary — it was forbidden to allow people without right of residence stay in one's home. Transgressions against this regulation were prosecuted both by the government and the *Kahal* (fol. 80b). Anyone harboring strangers doing business in town for more than three days had to pay a fine of 2 *rt*. Only for the duration of the Würzburg fair were the Heidingsfeld householders allowed to give lodging to strangers (fol. 81a). Since nobody wanted to lose his right of residence (*Chazakah*), people kept on paying taxes in Heidingsfeld even while they moved temporarily to other towns (fol. 94b).

CIVIL REGULATIONS

The extent of the *Kahal's* jurisdiction can be seen from the regulations drawn up by them. Unfortunately we do not have a complete set of *Takkanoth* but can only glean from our Pinkes a few scattered occasional regulations:

"Concerning peddling here in Heidingsfeld: From today on, nobody, whosoever he may be, of those living in the neighborhood may come here to Heidingsfeld to peddle articles except on one day of the week, namely every Tuesday. This was legis-

lated because all the householders here in Heidingsfeld complained very much, and because it was done by a *Din Torah*. Hence any transgression shall be fined 10 *rt*, half to our master, the pious Prince-Bishop, and half to the *Hekdesh*" (fol. 77b—1688).

There was an actual system of meat rationing: "If there is more meat than there is demand for in the *Kahal*, and than the householders need, in order that the householders who had the animals slaughtered shall not lose anything, the meat appraisers have authority to distribute the meat and to send a portion to every householder, into his home, according to his wealth. Nobody may object under threat of the above fine (1 lb wax).

"Also when there is a great demand the meat appraisers shall have portions made for the rich according to their wealth, and the honored according to their prestige, in order that every householder may have his portion, both of meat, small intestines, intestinal fat, and the like" (fol. 76a).

When a businessman was sent for by a customer, and his competitor, noticing it, managed to get to the customer earlier and to get the business, the competitor was forced, under threat of *Cherem*, to cede half of his profit to the dealer originally sent for by the customer (fol. 66b). A servant leaving the employment of a Heidingsfeld householder had to be in service out of town for at least half a year before he could accept employment with another resident of Heidingsfeld (fols. 28b, 62b). Since brawls had taken place at weddings, because the guests requested too much wine, the groom's obligation to give *Notwein* was limited to the value of 1 *Goldgulden*, plus one-quarter *fl* per hundred of the combined dowries (fol. 2a). Jews were admonished not to overbid the Gentile councilmen when buying fish (fol. 66a).

Interesting illustrations of the *Kahal's* power — and limitation of power — are the two suits between the community and members of the community recorded in our Pinkes. In 1676, the *Kahal* accused Sanwil Grumbach of selling meat at too high a price and of transgressing against the meat excise regulations. Sanwil deposited pledges in the *Kahal's* safekeeping to guarantee the later payment of fees and fines. The rabbi of Kleinsteinach was called in to judge the case, and he fined Sanwil 4 *rt*. However,

the objects deposited as security were found to be without value, and the *Kahal* was unable to force Sanwil to pay the fine (fol. 28b).

The second example is as follows: In 1762, Moses Rofe, also called Moses Wolfsheimer, was elected one of the *Tobe Ha'ir*. "*Hakazin* David (Hanau) objected because said Rabbi Moses does not carry of the burden of our *Kehillah* and therefore is not fit to be a *Tobe Ha'ir*. At that time, no decision was reached. Last Friday, the Jews' Magistrate (*Judenamtmann*) commanded that said *Hakazin* Rabbi Moses shall be *Tobe Ha'ir*. He intends to examine the complaint that Moses does not carry of the burden and then he will decide. Therefore said *Hakazin* Moses Rofe shall be one of the seven *Tobe Ha'ir* in our *Kehillah*. What he has to pay in our *Kehillah* rests with the Jews' Magistrate" (fol. 93a). Ten years earlier, Moses had offered to pay 10 *rt* per annum to cover all taxes (fol. 89a). With the tax load rising, this amount had become insufficient; but, apparently, the physician had influence with the Bishop, and he used it to protect himself against the demands of the Jewish community. The *Kahal*, however, refused to give in. In 1774, after the litigation had been going on for twelve years, they finally entered into the Pinkes a governmental decree issued two years earlier exempting Moses from all taxes. For two years, the Jews' Magistrate had ordered the decree to be entered in the Pinkes. Only a virtual ultimatum from this official brought about the consent of a majority of the *Kahal* to have the decree entered. The decree reads:

"Upon repeated request of the Jew doctor Wolfsheimer, according to which the Jewry in Heidingsfeld had the audacity to again assess him, against the princely decree of exemption of October 1772, His Highness, the Prince (-Bishop) informed and ordered his Jews' Magistrate under the date of Castle Guttenberg, September 23, that, as His Highness mercifully exempted Dr. Wolfsheimer of taxes to the Jewish community according to the decree of 1772, so shall it remain in future.

"Therefore this order for Dr. Wolfsheimer and the Jewry of Heidingsfeld is announced to them by the Jews' Magistrate. At the same time, said Jewry is admonished to follow it in all seriousness. They are herewith ordered, in accordance with the

princely command of September 23, no longer to inconvenience Dr. Wolfsheimer with assessments. Otherwise they may expect prompt punishment for criminal transgression against the princely decree. The present order must be entered and preserved in the Heidingsfeld *Judenprotokoll* (i. e., our Pinkes) without abbreviation" (fol. 100b).

The Kahal, however, did not rest: "After the above mentioned decree, the *Kahal* again handed a signed counter-petition to our master, the pious Bishop. Upon this, the following answer was recently sent from the Bishop to the princely (i. e., episcopal) government. This is its wording: As to whether, and to what degree, the complaint of the Jewry . . . is well founded . . . His Highness still expects a detailed governmental report. Würzburg, October 20, 1774" (fol. 101a).

On October 30, 1774, the *Kahal* met with Dr. Wolfsheimer before the rabbi: "Said meeting was concerned with the difference of opinion between the *Kahal*, on the one hand, and Moses Rofe on the other hand, over the necessary expenses of our *Kehillah* Heidingsfeld The Rabbi and the *Dayyan* of the district pleaded with both parties to come to a compromise. . . . The two parties saw reason in this proposal to make peace between them, and . . . a compromise was decided on by both parties, voluntarily and without compulsion. . . .

"The party of the second part, *Hakazin* Moses Rofe, who so far paid only 10 *rt* per annum toward the necessary expenses of our *Kehillah* of Heidingsfeld, and who also rendered services as a physician to the sick in the *Hekdesh* without remuneration, offers — episcopal and other decrees notwithstanding (!) — to pay 40 *rt* per annum toward all necessary expenses in our *Kehillah* Heidingsfeld, i. e., every half year, on *Rosh Chodesh Siwan* 5535 — 20 *rt*, and *Rosh Chodesh Kislew* 5536 — 20 *rt* Likewise he will continue to take care of the sick in the *Hekdesh* as a physician. All the above he does voluntarily, not only in order not to burden the Bishop and his counsellors by matters of law, but also to do his duty before God and the creatures, and the faith of Moses and Israel, finally in order to stop strife and quarreling and to make peace among the brethren of the house of Israel" (fol. 101b).

NEW STUDIES IN EARLY JEWISH ARTISTS

FRANZ LANDSBERGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

IN VOL. XVI of the *HUCA*, there appeared an article by the present writer under the title "Jewish Artists Before the Period of Emancipation." This article undertook to assemble the various notices concerning Jewish artists of the past and to reveal how, despite the limitations imposed both by their religion and by the outer world, artistic activity of no mean consequence grew up among the Jews. Jewish art persisted from biblical times uninterruptedly throughout the ages. Artistic achievements subsequent to the time of the Emancipation represent no sudden break with the past but rather a continuing and progressive development.

These observations have now received vigorous support in an article which appeared in Vol. XVII of the *HUCA*, "New Notes on Pre-Emancipation Jewish Artists," by Cecil Roth of Oxford University, the well known authority on Jewish History. In the course of his searches which have led him through many lands and many epochs, the eye of Mr. Roth has been watchful for Jewish artists, and this enables him to supplement my findings with many a useful comment and amplification. For his gracious attentions, I am deeply appreciative. And I believe that I can best show my appreciation by complying with Mr. Roth's wish that I examine and elaborate upon his proposals. Having specialized in the study of Jewish art, I shall venture further than Mr. Roth himself is willing to go in the way of scrutinizing individual artists, thereby adhering to our purpose of admitting to our survey only those artists whose Jewishness or Jewish origin is beyond question. While the present article may, in this manner, acquire something of a critical tone, I shall, at the same time, be able to supply some additional material of a positive nature. My intensive study of Jewish artists pur-

sued in the course of the two years since the appearance of "Jewish Artists Before the Period of Emancipation," should offer results that may shed further light.¹

Among the obscure points before us is the question of Jewish achievement in the domain of architecture. There were doubtless Jewish architects in antiquity despite the fact that no report of their enterprises, still less any mention of their names, has come down to us. We find Jews engaged in so many types of art during their life as a nation — and this includes the building field — that no reason exists for doubting their architectural activity. The question confronting us is whether such participation could survive into the Middle Ages, that is, into a time when, being a minority among non-Jews, Jews were subject to all kinds of restrictions. The art of building requires a particularly long course of technical training and needs, for its practice, a special organization of co-workers.

In the paper, "Jewish Artists Before the Period of Emancipation," it was not possible to offer any valid observations on this subject. For a Meir Abdeli often mentioned as the architect of the Samuel Abulafia synagogue in Toledo, I was unable to find any source. The reason for this is now plain, namely, Meir Abdeli never existed. Meir Abdeli was conjured up by a certain Joseph Heydeck who, in 1795, published the Hebrew inscriptions of the Abulafia synagogue — later the church El Transito — and who drew upon his imagination to fill out gaps produced in the inscriptions by the ravages of time.² The falsification was immediately recognized and corrected by the Academy of Madrid in its *Memorias* (III p. 31 ff.). Since that time, these inscriptions have been republished again and again.³ Nevertheless,

¹ Especially to Alexander Guttman, Abraham Heschel, Moses Marx, Franz Rosenthal, and Isaiah Sonne, colleagues of mine at the Hebrew Union College, I am indebted for much valuable information.

² Joseph I. Heydeck, *Ilustracion de la inscripcion hebrea que se halla en la Iglesia di Nuestra Señora del Tránsito de la ciudad de Toledo, traducida al español*, Madrid 1795.

³ Cf. Graetz in MGWJ, V, 1856 pp. 321 ff.; Moïse Schwab in *Rapport sur les Inscriptions Hébraïques de l'Espagne*, *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Tome XIV, Paris 1907, pp. 275; A. D. Yahuda in the Hebrew periodical *Bizaron* IV, 1940/41 pp. 101 ff. and 251 ff.

to this day, the spook of Meir Abdeli haunts books on the history of art.⁴ With utmost emphasis, let it be reiterated that, regarding the architect of the Abulafia synagogue, we know nothing.

Another Jewish architect of mediaeval Spain has been mentioned in connection with the synagogue at Cordova. The inscription reads: "This little sanctuary and abode of testimony was erected as a temporary structure by Isaac מִחֵב son of the honored Ephraim, in the year 75 (1314-1315). Arise, O God, and hasten to the upbuilding of Jerusalem." The name in the inscription has generally been regarded as that of the architect. In refutation of this, I have shown that, since the days of the ancient synagogues, such dedicatory inscriptions refer not to the architect but to the founder. The Messianic hopes voiced in the inscription allude likewise to the founder. Such outbursts of feeling are appropriate to the founder, not to the expert commissioned to do the work. Abraham A. Neuman in his book *The Jews of Spain*⁵ characterizes this Moheb — so Neuman vocalizes — as both "patron and architect" of that synagogue. It is, of course, possible that the patron might, at the same time, have been the architect. Still we may not regard this מִחֵב as the architect until we obtain some further warrant for that surmise.

Cecil Roth, in the above named essay (p. 504), proffers within this same Spanish area, the name of another Jewish artist, Ince de Galli, presumably "responsible for the reconstruction of the famous Torre Nueva at Saragossa." But this carries laudation too far. The architect of that famous tower,⁶ which collapsed in the nineteenth century was, as matter of fact, Gabriel Gambao, a non-Jew. Together with a Christian and with two Moorish architects, Ince de Galli is mentioned as one of Gambao's co-workers. Inasmuch as that structure was reared

⁴ Thus he is mentioned, for instance, by Ernst Kuehnel, *Maurische Kunst*, Berlin 1924, p. 69; by Ernst Cohn-Wiener, *Die jüdische Kunst*, Berlin 1929, p. 140; by the Baedeker for Spain and other guide books.

⁵ Vol. II, Philadelphia 1942, p. 150.

⁶ Cf. Bernard Bevan, *History of Spanish Architecture*, New York 1939, p. 109 and illustration, Plate XLV.

in 1504, that is, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, Ince de Galli could have been at that time a Jew no longer. Still the report has its significance. It evidences at least an artist of Jewish origin. If Ince de Galli be the same as José de Galli, we can confirm his record by yet another piece of work which arose when, in the years 1530–1533, this José de Galli rendered some construction for the church of St. Miguel in Saragossa.⁷

As regards Italy, I could cite nothing except a notice in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*⁸ which contains, without source reference, the statement: "The synagogue built in 1247 at Trani (Lower Italy) is undoubtedly the work of a Jewish architect." This sentence, is not, as I previously supposed, a mere surmise but a statement of fact as can be demonstrated to this day. Incidentally the allusion is not to the Gothic edifice which is generally regarded and alleged in pictures to be the synagogue of Trani⁹ (although, in all probability, it never was a synagogue); the passage in the *Encyclopedia Judaica* refers to an edifice later converted into the church of Saint Anne, an architectural specimen rare in synagogal structure. While most synagogues of



1. SYNAGOGUE OF TRANI, SOUTHERN ITALY.

⁷ Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künste*, under Galli, José de.

⁸ Vol. VIII, col. 892.

⁹ Thus in the *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung jüdischer Kunstdenkmäler*, II, fig. 10; also in *Jüdisches Lexikon* III, col. 93.

the Middle Ages followed the plan of an extended rectangle, this structure is square shaped, terminating in a flat cupola which arches over a two storied polygon. (fig. 1)¹⁰ Ernest Munkacsi published a minute description of this synagogue a few years ago in a book from which I borrow the accompanying illustration.¹¹ Munkacsi also published, with meticulous emendation, the previously known tablet inscription¹² which reads as emended: בשנת חמשת אלפים ושבע ליצירה נבנת זאת הבירה על יד מבין נעים החבורה בכיפה גבוהה והדורה וחלון פתוח לאורה ושערים חרשים לסנידה ורצפה למעלה סדורה ואצטבאות לשיבת עורכי שירה להיות צדקתו שמורה לפני שוכן בשמי שפרה. The translation, not entirely free of ambiguities, would read as follows: "This superb edifice, erected in the year of Creation 5007 (1247 C. E.) by an expert, an esteemed member of the community, is adorned with a lofty cupola, illuminated by means of a window, and closed by means of carved doors; it is also equipped with a stone floor and with benches for the choir, that the memory of a pious life be preserved before Him Who dwelleth in the luminous heights."

It is entirely possible that the inscribed tablet was dedicated to the founder. But it is certain that the founder was also the architect. The expression על יד is commonly employed to convey that the person named has produced something by his own personal efforts. Thus we have, for the first time, testimony regarding a Jewish architect of a synagogue, and we may assume that this was not an isolated case. We can imagine the Jews as architects of their synagogues particularly in Lower Italy where the Jews lived, at that time, a richly cultivated life. The same applies to Spain where the Jews and the Moslems shared not only the objection to the making of images but also a delight in architecture and ornamentation.

¹⁰ This central type appears also in the synagogue of Palermo according to the description rendered by Obadiah of Bertinoro in 1486. See *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judentums*, III, 1863, pp. 195 ff.

¹¹ Ernst Munkacsi, *Der Jude Von Neapel*, Zurich undated, (1940) pp. 65 ff.

¹² First published by G. I. Ascoli, *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note Greche, Latine, Ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano*, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Nazionale degli Orientalisti*, I, Firenze 1880, p. 84 — emended by Umberto Cassuto, *Iscrizioni ebraiche a Trani*, Rivista degli Studi Orientali, XIII, 1932.

Our knowledge of Jewish master-builders is further augmented by a letter written in 1437 and preserved in the archives of Milan (Sez. Documenti Diplomatici).¹³ The writer, one Pietro de Piazza, apprises the recipient, Duke Filippo Maria de' Visconti, that a certain "Mro. Isaac de Noyone ebreo detto magistro Achino ingegnere" has announced himself in the position to construct a bridge over the river Po. This Isaac, whose ancestors had been expelled from France in the 14th century, obviously lived in Italy. With the Jews, some dukes of Upper Italy in the 15th century stood in friendly relationships. It is indeed striking that these nobles employ, or at least consider employing, a Jew as architect — all of which throws special light upon the architectural skill of Jews at that epoch.

As to sculpture, we may not expect of the Jews the same as in architecture. We do have testimony as to Jewish stonemasons. The beautifully chiseled capitals of the synagogue at Worms (12th century) are, according to the Hebrew inscription, a Jew's handiwork. It is also probable that the Jews fashioned their own tombstones which, however, are anything but ornate. The Jewish grave ornamentation of late antiquity is superseded in the Middle Ages by a stark simplicity. The Jews did not practice sculpture itself; a late notice that a Spanish Jew modeled a bust of Francis of Assisi signifies an exception, assuming the report be true. Hence my strong suspicion of the report cited by Cecil Roth (p. 504) that "Gil Silóe, son of Samuel of Nuremberg, who executed a good deal of sculpture in the glorious cathedral of Burgos" was a Jew. Gil Silóe was a Spanish sculptor of outstanding ability. Among other things, he produced in 1489 a superb tomb for John II of Castile and Isabel of Portugal in the Cartuja of Miraflores near Burgos. But the supposition that he was the son of Samuel of Nuremberg is groundless.¹⁴ Émile Bertaux, who would derive the name Silóe from the pool of Siloam mentioned in the Bible,¹⁵ adds the guess "Can this be

¹³ *Bolletino storico della Svizzera Italiana*, XV, Bellinzona 1893, p. 34.

¹⁴ See the article Silóe in *Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künste* XXXI, 1937.

¹⁵ In the section "La Renaissance en Espagne et Portugal," contained in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, V, 2, Paris 1911, p. 845.

the name of a Jew?" That guess rests upon exceedingly frail footing. Who ever heard of any Jew named after the pool of Siloam?

With regard to Jewish painting in the Middle Ages, we noted in our previous study that Jews or descendants of Jews worked as painters alongside of Spanish Christians. For this period, we now have the thoroughgoing study by Charles R. Post¹⁶ who treated mediaeval Spanish painting in numerous volumes. Here is to be found information about Guillem de Levi and Juan de Levi who painted altar pieces about the year 1400.¹⁷ The cognomen Levi occurs also among the later artists of Italy such as the painter Giovanni Battista Levi who painted altar pieces in the 16th century, or the sculptor, Giuseppe Levi de Verona who, in the 17th century, made church statues of the saints. Of these, Giovanni Battista Levi is beyond doubt a Christian and Giuseppe Levi is probably a Christian. Similarly the two Spanish painters were, judging from their given names, likewise Christians and possibly even the descendants of Christians. In the 16th and 17th century Netherlands, a whole array of artists bear the cognomen "de Jode." We also learn that the name "Jude" or "Judemann" occurs among German Christians of the 14th century, even among the knighthood.¹⁸ Evidently bearers of such a name did not shrink from retaining it after the lapse of centuries. Antisemitism in that day was concerned with creed not with blood, and counting Jews as one's ancestors entailed no drawback. It may have been similarly with Christian bearers of the name Levi. They were undoubtedly remote descendants of Jews but we do not know which generation accepted baptism.

To the list of Spanish Jewish painters, Cecil Roth (p. 509)

¹⁶ Chandler Rathfon Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930-1941.

¹⁷ On Guillem de Levi III, p. 168, 180; on Juan de Levi III, pp. 186 ff. and illustration 324; IV, part 2, pp. 626 ff. with illustrations 256-258; VIII part 2, pp. 658 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Bruno Jacob, "Die Rittergeschlechter Jude und Judemann in Hessen," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Familienforschung*, VI, 1930, p. 248 ff.

adds three Marranos: a Just, a Juan de Altabas, and a Bartolomé Bermejo. About the first two, I am not in a position to speak, having as yet been unable to check on Mr. Roth's sources. These names are, in all events, totally unknown in the history of art. They appear in none of the dictionaries of art; while Dr. Post, the above mentioned authority on the history of Spanish painting has, graciously responding to my inquiry, communicated to me that he knows nothing about them. On the other hand, the third one, Bartolomé Bermejo, is a well known painter of the 15th century and ranks, to this day, as the greatest of all Spanish Primitives. Bartolomé's importance is indicated by the fact that Post devotes to him no fewer than 130 pages. To inquire into the origin of Bartolomé would surely be rewarding.

The first to study this question was the Spanish scholar, Elias Tormo who, in an extensive essay on Bermejo,¹⁹ ventures the surmise that the artist was a baptized Jew. For this supposition, Tormo offers two reasons: 1) Some of the figures in Bermejo's pictures betray a heaviness which is a Jewish racial characteristic, and 2) Some of his pictures contain Hebrew inscriptions.

In his *History of Spanish Painting* (Vol. V), Post took up and further developed the idea of Bermejo's Jewish origin. Post readily admits his inability to find among the Jews such a thing as "a peculiar racial physique, marked in heaviness." On the other hand, the faces which Bermejo fashions in some of his pictures Post regards as "unmistakably Semitic." Post grants that occasionally other painters depict such Jewish types, but only when portraying odious characters. Bermejo, on the other hand, "impresses the Hebrew cast of countenance upon the holiest personages, the Apostles, and actually Our Lord Himself" (p. 106). In a picture representing the apostles gathered around the deathbed of Mary, some of the apostles possess Jewish features. On another picture, that of "Two angels bewailing the resurrected Christ" (fig. 2), one of the angels exhibits a slightly Jewish touch. But I am unable to trace Jewish lineaments

¹⁹ Elias Tormo, "Bartolomé Bermejo," 1926, reprinted from *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* II, pp. 1 ff.

in the face of Christ. On mediaeval crucifixes, such painstricken countenances are not entirely rare.

In this picture is also to be detected the second source of the impression that Bermejo was a baptized Jew, namely, the letters from the Hebrew alphabet. Along the sarcophagus out of which Jesus arises, stands the inscription: *החיים תקוה] במותי כלח הנויחר*. At least the first words of this inscription contain a pertinent meaning: "Through my death, thou hast hope of life."

On another painting by Bermejo, in the Museo de la Ciudadela in Barcelona, representing the resurrection, the sarcophagus is, at two places, adorned with an escutcheon on which stand the Hebrew letters *א* and *ש*. These letters have been regarded as the initials of *אבינו שבשמים*, to signify not the familiar Jewish supplication thus beginning but the Pater Noster.

Finally there are the Hebrew letters in the painting already mentioned in which the apostles surround the deathbed of Mary. The Hebrew letters run along the rim of a canopy which stands behind the bed. To extract any meaning from these signs has been impossible. Their purpose was apparently that of ornamentation.

I may add that, among the Marranos, the name Bermejo is not unknown, a bearer of this name having fled from Spain to Mexico where he was burnt at the stake in 1574.²⁰ Now, all of these points taken together seem to render plausible the surmise that Bermejo may have been a Marrano. And yet I cannot bring myself to that conclusion.

The Jewish faces on Bermejo's paintings are indeed striking. But we must not forget that this was Spain where, as a result of considerable intermarriage, the Jewish type came to be not at all rare either in bygone centuries or today. As regards the Hebrew letters, I call attention in that previous study to a similar case (p. 369) when I consider Bermejo's Italian contemporary, the painter Cosmè Tura of Ferrara who, because some of his paintings contain Hebrew words, was supposed to have been of Jewish ancestry. Against this conjecture, which Cecil Roth

²⁰ Cf. Arthur Bab, "Die Juden im Amerika spanischer Zunge," *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* XXVI, 1925, p. 5.

repeats (p. 505), I adduce primarily that Tura's father was named Domenico after a well known saint. Among the Jews, that name did not exist. The Hebrew words are — like the antique buildings in Italian pictures — to be explained by the tendency of that age to regale itself with a display of erudition. That was the age of Humanism under which ancient languages, Hebrew included, had become fashionable.

Obviously Bermejo likewise is affected by that trend. Bermejo seems to have traveled far and wide. He appears to have sojourned in the Low Countries as well as in Italy where he may have acquired a predilection for letters of Hebrew, indeed for letters of all kinds as ornamental devices. In the painting here illustrated will be discerned not only Hebrew but also non-interpretable capitals of Roman. On a head of Christ in the Museum of Vich (Post V, fig. 43), the hem of the garment is adorned with characters of Latin, but these are so uniquely constructed and intertwined that one would, at first glance, mistake them for Arabic. To this category belong Bermejo's Hebrew lettering. It comports with the taste of the times but divulges nothing about the artist's lineage.

The name Bermejo (bright red) which, as already stated, occurs among the Marranos also lends no support to the theory that Bermejo was of Jewish origin. Marranos received from their baptismal sponsors Christian names customary in Spain at that time. Such names therefore prove nothing.

But, if I have deprived Jewry of this Spanish artist or, as in the case of the two artists Levi, rendered the Jewish connection remote, I can, on the other hand, bring irrefutable evidence that Jewish artists did paint Christian pictures. It was only after the publication of my article that the document with the evidence came to my attention. This is a letter of Queen Isabel of Spain (1451–1505) who later provided Columbus with the means for his journeys.²¹ The letter, written in 1480 — not long before the expulsion of the Jews from that country — appoints a certain Francisco Chacon, "resident of Toledo, as court painter for life, with the duty of safeguarding that no Jew

²¹ The letter is printed by M. R. Zarco del Valle, in *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de las Bellas Artes in España*, Madrid 1870, p. 115 ff.

or Moor paint the figure of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ or of Holy Mary the Glorious." The creation of such an office proves that Jews as well as Mohammedans must have painted for Christians and, in so doing, must have provoked popular resentment. Of course, it seems strange that Jews, who felt bound by the Second Commandment, should produce pictures of that kind. They must have thought that the prohibition of making and worshiping images applied to their own God but not to the sacred figures of other faiths.

There is likewise evidence that Jews worked for Christians in the crafts. As noted in my previous article, Pope Benedict XIII, in 1415, issued a Bull inhibiting resort to Jews for binding books which contained the name of Jesus or of Mary or for the making of ceremonial objects such as goblets or crucifixes. Of the latter, Cecil Roth (p. 505) reports an actual instance. In the year 1399, — i. e. before the Bull appeared — the Jewish goldsmith, Solomon Barbut, fashioned a reliquary for the Augustinian priory at Barcelona. Already in biblical times, Jews excelled in their workmanship in gold. That skill evidently continued through late antiquity into the Middle Ages, and still persists in the Orient.

Joshua Starr in his book *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire from 641 to 1204* (Athens 1939, p. 28) mentions a goldsmith, Obadiah, who lived in Constantinople in the 11th or 12th century. Obadiah should be added to the list of mediaeval workers in that metal.

I omitted reference to "Rabbino" Busacca Zoref who lived in Sicily near the end of the 15th century and who is mentioned by Albert Wolf²² and again by Cecil Roth (p. 390). It did not seem clear to me whether Busacca was a goldsmith as well as a Rabbi or whether he merely adopted the name Zoref (goldsmith) because such was the occupation of his father.²³

As regards the art of designing coins, I mentioned a certain Sumayr who, in the service of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Malik (646/47-705) is said to have produced the first specifically Arabic

²² *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde*, XXIV, p. 108.

²³ Already Leopold Zunz voices this doubt in *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Berlin 1845, p. 522.

mintage. Meanwhile the Arabist, Franz Rosenthal of the Hebrew Union College, who was so kind as to scrutinize anew the sources for this statement, reports that al-Balâdurî (d. 892) who was the first to trace the earliest of the so-called Sumayrî coins to a certain Sumayr does not assert that Sumayr was a Jew. The first to regard Sumayr as a Jew was Ibn al-Aṭîr (d. 1233) and later al-Maḳrîzî, in a treatise on coins written between 1415 and 1421. The question whether Sumayr was a Jew pivots upon the reliability of these two authors, both of whom were far removed from the events that they discuss. Some confirmation of the surmise that Sumayr was a Jew can be found in a passage of al Ma'arrî, *Risâlat al Gufrân* (Cairo, 1903, p. 144) where a Jew of Ḥaybar by the name of Sumair is mentioned as the author of a few verses concerning the expulsion of the Jews from Arabia in 641.

The real nucleus of Jewish art in the Middle Ages was the painting of miniatures, preserved to this day in numerous specimens which portray with clarity what a high level was attained in this field. Too numerous for separate mention were the copyists — usually at the same time the miniaturists — who implanted their signatures in the various colophons. One example has to suffice, an example favored with the advantage that some of the works of the artist in question are to be found in American libraries. The artist's name is Joel ben Simeon, also called Phoebus. Inasmuch as Joel ben Simeon sometimes claims Bonn and sometimes Cologne as his place of origin, we may assume that the place from which he came lay somewhere between those two German cities. Joel's productions, so far as we are informed, began with the charming Haggadah which is now in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg. Judging by the style of its miniatures, this Haggadah can be dated about the middle of the 15th century. To determine the date more precisely, I called attention to the fact that, to the customary phrase in the Haggadah "Next year in Jerusalem!" Joel ben Simeon adds "or in Bruenn" (a city in Moravia). "He fears," I observed, "that Jerusalem might not yet be accessible in the following year; in that case one would again meet in Bruenn. The scribe or the man for whom he was working — very likely

both of them — evidently were in Bruenn when the manuscript was being prepared, but the Jews were expelled from Bruenn in 1454; we have thus a *terminus ad quem* for the manuscript."

Roth holds a different opinion. He regards 1454 as the *terminus a quo*. "The scribe," he argues, "hopes to be reinstated in his former home. Indeed since the recollection was so fresh and the hope so vivid, I would be inclined to suggest . . . that the manuscript was executed in or about the year 1455" (p. 503).

In itself that would be possible, but we must view that Haggadah in connection with Joel's other productions. In 1452/53, Joel Simeon copied a *Mahzor* in the city of Cremona (Turin, Royal Library, Cod. 24), which means that he was in Italy at that time. Italy exerted a marked influence upon his art, as is evident from a Haggadah (Jewish Theological Seminary, New York) which he miniatures in 1454.²⁴ Had the Nuremberg Haggadah been produced "in or about 1455" as maintained by Roth, it would similarly have displayed Italian elements. Of such, however, there is no trace; the Nuremberg Haggadah is entirely in the German style. It must therefore have been produced prior to Joel's sojourn in Italy, that is, prior to 1452-53, at which period the Jewish community of Bruenn was still in existence.

Only after my paper was published, did I learn that Prof. Alexander Marx had acquired, for the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York, six separate sheets, the products of Joel ben Simeon's work.²⁵ I also learnt that a Haggadah of this artist is being preserved in the Library of Congress at Washington. I hastened to Washington only to be apprised that the manuscripts of greatest value had been stored away "for the duration." All that I could ascertain was the date: 1478. This is a quarter of a century later than that of the *Mahzor* copied in Cremona. We can thus estimate approximately the period of the artist's activity.

Of those six loose sheets, generously sent from New York

²⁴ Of this Haggadah, I gave, in my article, two illustrations which, with their profiled heads in the style of Italian medals, testify to the influence of that foreign land.

²⁵ The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Register, 1938/39, p. 70.

to Cincinnati, I was able to make a thorough examination. In pen strokes, slightly water colored here and there, are pictured the tabernacle and its appurtenances accompanied by the relevant passages from the Bible. In connection with the seven branched candlestick use is made also of Rashi's commentary to the 25th chapter of Exodus.²⁶

Such representations of the Tabernacle or the Temple and of some or all of their equipment is a Jewish theme of great antiquity. We find such among the wall paintings of the Synagogue at Dura Europos (third century of the present era) as well as among the floor mosaics of the synagogue at Beth Alpha (6th century of our era). This theme may perhaps have moved from architecture to manuscript, although it is equally possible that its direction may have been the reverse. We may readily suppose that the Jews possessed miniature manuscripts as far back as late antiquity although, as yet, no samples have been found.²⁷ Our earliest specimen is a Pentateuch copied in Egypt in 930 and now preserved in the National Library of Leningrad.²⁸

From this point on we have a continuous sequence of such representations throughout the Middle Ages. Accordingly in his pictures of the Tabernacle and its utensils, Joel ben Simeon is but following an ancient custom. What distinguished him from his predecessors is his penchant for further elaboration. Bibles and biblical commentaries allot only one or two pages to such pictures, but Joel ben Simeon expands the theme into six pages and produces an original piece of work terminating with a colophon at the end of the last page (fig. 5): ותכל מלאכת המשכן: ודיו על יד יואל המצייר המכונה ויבש. "The making of the sanctuary and its appurtenances was brought to completion by the hand of the painter Joel, surnamed Phoebus."

Accompanying these expansions there appears the effort to present the objects with greater realism, in the manner of the

²⁶ Information provided by the kindness of Dr. Isaiah Sonne. — Rabbi Ernst Lorge went to the trouble of deciphering the text with its difficult legibility and of checking its sources.

²⁷ For more details see my forthcoming *History of Jewish Art*, Cincinnati, 1945.

²⁸ Illustration in D. Günzburg und V. Stasoff, *L'Ornement Hébreu*, Berlin 1905, Plate III.

15th century. In the above mentioned Pentateuch of 930, the representation is exceedingly abstract. The Tabernacle is dissected into its separate walls placed in a row, giving the impression of a flat ribbon rather than of a roomy edifice. The cherubim on the ark are attenuated into mere wings. During the Middle Ages, the fear of picturing organic forms went beyond what is required in the Bible. But this ban disappears in the 13th and 14th centuries when pictures begin to show, alongside of the seven branched candelabrum, the figure of the high priest kindling the lights.

Joel ben Simeon proceeds along these lines. To the high priest, he accords a separate page. The high priest stands there in his biblically prescribed attire, with the breast plate hanging from his neck and holds in one hand a small vessel of anointing oil and, in the other, a jar of sweet spices for incense. The cherubim lying on the ark consist of heads of children, winged and charming. The Tabernacle is shown twice, once in groundplan and then in the vivid perspective of a tent fastened to the ground with ropes and pegs.

The brass laver of Ex. 30.18 appears with rich ornamentation. On the same page (fig. 5), at the right, is to be seen the jar of manna (Ex. 16.33) hanging by chains and equipped with chains, also the trumpet of Num. 10.2 from which depends a waving banner. There are likewise two ram's horns (Jos. 6.9) ornamented with stripes. All of this is drawn with great nicety and shows the artist's special talent for devising beautiful objects of that order.

This talent serves him further in his sketching of the seven branched candelabrum (fig. 6). The candelabrum which, in older miniatures, is abstract and two-dimensioned, becomes here florescent and spatial. Worthy of notice is the foreshortened foot and the spherical thickening which ornaments the branch in the middle. These motifs of the candelabrum suggest the early Italian Renaissance, especially that of Upper Italy with its peculiar ornateness. Such characteristics enable us to assign to the six sheets an approximate date. They originated after Joel ben Simeon had trodden Italian soil. We found him in Cremona 1452/53.

Did Jewish miniaturists, like Jewish painters, goldsmiths, and bookbinders also work for Christians? Cecil Roth (p. 502) as well as Rahel Wischnitzer²⁹ name an Abraham Vidal who is supposed to have miniaturized the *Libro de Privilegios* for the inhabitants of Majorca in 1334 or soon thereafter. Both of these authors base themselves upon the same source namely, an essay *Jewish Art* published a few years ago by Elkan N. Adler, the well known collector of Hebrew manuscripts.³⁰ In this essay, Adler presents a chronological list of Jewish miniaturists, among them an Abraham Vidal "Judio," as the illustrator of the manuscript preserved today in the Archivo Historico of Palma, Majorca. "Palma," he writes, "regards the manuscript as its most precious treasure and also preserves its Jewish artist's receipted account in L. s. d. (Libras, Sueldos, Dineros) for each illustration and majuscular letter. The scribe was Romeo Despoal."

All of this sounds very precise and I can understand how other investigators should have accepted this statement. Nonetheless, I had some doubts — doubts generated by the very picture which Adler supplies and which I here reproduce (fig. 4) from a different copy. It shows King James, the Conqueror, the dispenser of the privileges, seated upon a throne surrounded by angels. Among the courtiers, is to be seen an abbot or a bishop and lower down, the tiny figure of a monk in the act of writing. The monk, as Adler correctly names him, is Romeo Despoal whose name stands upon the sheets spread out before him. The copyist, accordingly, is a monk. Could then the illustrator have been a Jew? That would have made indeed a curious mixture. Is it not more likely that Romeo Despoal was his own illustrator, as happened so frequently in mediaeval times? Such would explain why he is pictured on that page. Romeo wishes to be remembered by posterity, even though with modest diminutiveness. If, however, Romeo himself did not do the miniatures, were there not in his monastery, yes in every monastery, a few

²⁹ In her article, "Illumination of Manuscripts," in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, p. 540.

³⁰ Contained in *Occident and Orient, In Honor of Dr. M. Gaster's 80th Birthday*, London 1936, pp. 37-49.

artistically gifted monks by whom the miniatures could have been sketched? Add to this the fact that I had never heard of any Jewish miniaturist in connection with that manuscript. The *Libro de Privilegios* is not an obscure work but is, on the contrary, one of the best known products of Spanish miniature painting. Though a considerable literature has grown up around it, there is never a word about any Abraham Vidal "Judio." No mention is made of him by Dr. Millard Meiss of Columbia University who has but recently discussed the manuscript in a wider connection.³¹ Replying to my inquiry, Dr. Meiss reports that the name Abraham Vidal is, to him, unknown. Likewise Dr. Post, already mentioned several times, the author of the history of Spanish painting, writes me that he has never come across that name. Would that have been possible if the archives of Palma contained a document of such unequivocal reference to that artist?

It only increased my doubts when I later inspected Adler's entire list of miniaturists over again and discovered numerous errors. The code of 1233 in the State Library at Munich (Cod. Heb. 5) is not a Bible but Rashi's commentary on the Bible. The copyist of the Pentateuch in the British Museum (Add. 11639) was not Benjamin Ha-Cohen but Benjamin Ha-Sofer (the Scribe). The producer of the Catalanian world-map was not Judah Crescas of Palma but his father, Abraham. The Bible in the library at Palma (De Rossi Codex No. 782) was copied not in 1377 but in 1277. The copyist and also, no doubt, the miniaturist of the Darmstadt Haggadah was named not Isaac ben Meir but Israel ben Meir. Moses Artagel was not the illustrator of the Duke of Alba's Bible but the learned translator of the Bible from Hebrew into Spanish. A Haggadah of 1515 which formerly belonged to Adler but is now in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York could not have been illustrated by Bonifacio il Giovine Veneziano because there never existed any artist by that name.³²

³¹ "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Workshop," in *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, p. 45 ff.

³² At the end of his article, Adler reprints an essay of his which appeared 37 years earlier (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, XI, 1899), dealing with a Hebrew

I therefore suspect that Abraham Vidal "Judio" rests upon an error of the author. There may be involved perhaps a confusion with Vidal Abrafim who copied astronomical works in Majorca in 1387.³³ This question will be settled, once contact with Majorca again becomes possible.

As an accessory to miniature painting might be regarded the designing of playing cards. This practice continued even after cards were being multiplied by the graphic arts. Roth (p. 504) names a Jew of this occupation, Mayer Hayyim of Landau, Germany, about whom I have known from Wolf³⁴ but concerning whom I hesitated until I could examine the proffered source. This interesting document printed in the *Zeitschrift fuer die Geschichte des Oberrheins* (XVII, p. 255) deals with a complaint brought by a Jew before the council of Landau, Bavaria in the year 1520. The burden of the complaint is that the Jews of the town import their playing cards from elsewhere instead of purchasing them from the complainant's son-in-law, Mayer Hayyim, who plied this art in conjunction with his office as "Schulklopper." The council heeded the complaint and forbade the Jews to continue those tactics. From this we learn that, among the Jews, card playing was at that time popular and that it had generated, among them, a special art.

Roth (p. 509) is inclined to grant German painting of the 16th century yet another Jewish artist, "the shadowy figure of

manuscript which had been prepared for practical ritual use but which was at that time offered at auction in London, and which is now preserved in the University Library of Princeton, N. J. Adler gives credence to an old letter which had been inserted into the Codex and which takes the illustrator of the book to have been "Giotto of Florence, together with his most proficient pupil." Adler rejects the views of experts who doubt whether the resultant dating, namely, the fourteenth century is correct. "As for the evidence of experts, that is proverbially untrustworthy . . . It is commonplace to assume that things are not what they seem . . ." It is but recently that the letter was appraised by Erich Panofski in *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV (1941), p. 27 ff., and V (1942), p. 124. Panofski recognized the letter as a forgery, and put the date of the miniatures toward the end of the 15th century.

³³ A. Lionel Isaacs, *The Jews of Majorca*, London 1936, p. 45. Likewise Isaacs mentions no miniaturist by the name of Abraham Vidal.

³⁴ *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde*, IX, p. 53.

an Anton von Worms, said to have flourished in that city about 1530 and to have been the progenitor of the famous De Worms family." Anton of Worms (d. 1541) is one of the well known 16th century German painters and makers of prints. Only he bears no connection whatsoever with the Jewish family Worms or Wormser. Christians also were fond of being named after their place of origin.

In addition to the playing card painter, Mayer Hayyim of Landau, Jewish art of 16th century Germany — a domain which, to this day, is little known — can boast a man who was a pewterware engraver.³⁵ On a pewter dish that is still preserved (fig. 3), his name is given as Mordecai, son of R. Menahem Man. The center of the dish contains the words "Saerche (Little Sarah), daughter of Samuel Moses," who may have been the wife of the owner, a Jeremiah, son of Jacob in פ"ב, probably Paderborn, inasmuch as the dish is shown, by its stamp, to have come from the nearby town of Bielefeld. Between these embellished inscriptions, spread various symbols and figures. In Jewish art, figuration and inscription are closely intermingled. Also Jewish and, at the same time, characteristic of folk art in general, is the way in which, with a veritable *horror vacui*, script and ornamentation cover every spot available.

Of especial interest is the date, 1551, the earliest to be found on a dish of this kind although, among the Jews, the practice of engraving dishes had long been known. Indeed, I should surmise that here, as so often elsewhere, we have but the continuation of an ancient usage. There is extant, dating from late antiquity, a bronze platter engraved with various designs and, by reason of the Torah cabinet and the seven branched candelabrum, manifestly Jewish;³⁶ although the purpose for which this platter was used is not clear. The figures of the four interrogative sons on the dish fashioned by Mordecai marks it as a Seder-plate. There is no need of imagining that life within the

³⁵ Cf. Bruno Italiener, "Eine Sederschüssel aus dem 16ten Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift zum 60ten Geburtstage von Max Dienemann*, Frankfurt a/Main 1934, pp. 49 ff., from which we have borrowed our illustration.

³⁶ Today in the Louvre. Illustration in E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem 1932, fig. 24

narrow confines of the ghetto was utterly devoid of ornamentation. In those places also lived human beings who delighted in things of beauty.³⁷

Already in my previous article, I observed that the fashioning of such pewter dishes was a side line of the Jewish engravers of seals. These craftsmen can be traced from biblical times down to the modern age. They flourished especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. My list of names, as I suspected, has proved to be, by no means, complete and can here be supplemented.

Nathan Behrend, who lived in Hamburg in the 17th century, was probably the forebear of the widely ramified family of seal engravers named Nathansen.³⁸

As regards Prussia, Selma Stern has uncovered, in the Archives, some new material about Jewish adepts in arts and crafts and has published this in an important book, *Der Preussische Staat und die Juden* (Part I, Berlin 1925). It is to be regretted that, owing to the Nazi persecutions, the second part, covering the period of Frederick William I has, though printed (Schockenverlag, Berlin 1938), not been allowed to appear. The authoress, the wife of Prof. Eugen Taeubler of Cincinnati, has put at my disposal the one copy that had been rescued. I gather from this volume that two seal engravers, Abraham Joseph and Levin Solomon, lived in Berlin in the 18th century. In Koenigsberg, East Prussia, the seal engraver, Salomon Jacob attained such eminence that the commission for the regulation of Jewish affairs in a memorandum took a stand against ordering him to leave the country, because he was, not only among the Jews but also among the non-Jews, the ablest in that profession.

Many of these "Petschierstecher" found their way from Germany to other countries. Roth (p. 509) mentions a Prussian, Aaron Wolf, who settled in Leghorn and became the seal en-

³⁷ Of late much doubt has been cast on the often mentioned Sabbath room of Rabbi Samuel Belassar in Regensburg (Germany) of the 15th century, depicted by the chronicler, Anselmus de Parengar (cf. *Jahrbuch für Israeliten*, Wien 1856, p. 168). Moritz Stern in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Judentums in Deutschland*, III, 1931, p. 280 shows conclusively that there never existed any Rabbi Samuel Belassar in Regensburg or any chronicler, Anselmus de Parengar. How can anyone get pleasure out of fabricating such fictions!

³⁸ M. Grunwald, *Hamburgs deutsche Juden*, Hamburg, 1904, p. 88.

graver of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Yet another one, Aaron Isaac of Treuenbrietzen, Brandenburg, migrated to Sweden where he became (1775) the first Jew to secure the right of permanent residence since the expulsion of 1685. Having mentioned Aaron Isaac already in my first article, I merely add that he was born in 1730 and died October 21, 1816. His tombstone in Stockholm is still standing.³⁹

Sweden opened her doors also to other Jewish seal engravers such as Abraham Aaron (1744–1824) and Aaron Jacobson (1754–1830). I may add a Salmson of Prague (1762–1822) who settled in Stockholm in 1799. Following the occupation of their father, his sons, John (properly, Isaac) and Abraham went to Paris. A third son, Axel Jacob (1807–1876), draftsman and lithographer, emigrated to New York,⁴⁰ but my attempts to locate any traces of him in New York have proved futile.

In Holland, there lived, besides the well known coin designer, Samuel Cohen Elion (born 1815) and his son, Jacques, an older artist, I. Elion who wrought about 1800. The Jewish Museum of Berlin contained a signed medal of his dated 1819 and honoring a Michael Henry Godefroi.

Alongside of the seal engraver, special distinction has been won by the Jewish embroiderer. The oriental talent for creating beautiful textiles remained with the Jews throughout the stormy centuries. Besides the curtains for the Holy Ark, their accomplishments include prayer shawls embroidered in colors and worn on certain festivals by the Jews of Holland and of Italy. Jews also filled orders for non-Jews, which indicates how highly their skill was rated. Having mentioned some instances already, I merely add a few points. In the year 1720, a certain Moses Samuel obtained a permit to start a silk embroidering industry in Königsberg, East Prussia. Because the city had no competent embroiderers of silk, people were in the habit of sending their

³⁹ Cf. *Gamla Judiska Gravsplatsen i Stockholm*, Stockholm 1927, p. 151. The date of birth, 1733, given here is undoubtedly a misprint. A more recent publication on Aaron Isaac is Otto Neumann's "Aaron Isaak, ein jüdischer Petschierstecher vor 200 Jahren" in the *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Famileinforschung*, VI, 1930, pp. 251 ff.

⁴⁰ Thieme Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, under Salmson.

clothes to be embroidered elsewhere, with the result that considerable money was withdrawn from the country.⁴¹

Dr. Justus Bier of the University of Louisville, Ky. — as he has kindly communicated to me — chanced upon an interesting case in the course of his studies of the Frankish sculptor, Tilman Riemenschneider, whose magnificent tomb of Emperor Henry and Empress Kunigunde stands in the cathedral of Bamberg. This tomb received, in the year 1738/39, a new covering whose chief ornamentation was a large escutcheon. A competent Christian embroiderer being apparently unavailable, the task was assigned to a Gerson Mayer, doubtless a Jew, who carried out the costly project.⁴²

Embroidering engaged the skill also of women. I have already called attention to the Jewess whose signature is attached to the strikingly beautiful Torah wrapper in the Jewish Museum of New York: "Embroidered as a holy work by the hands of Magdalena Bassan in the year 5496" (1736). The designation "holy work" stressed for a narrow wrapper arrested my notice, but the explanation occurred to me the next time I visited the Museum. Hanging there is a Torah curtain of a synagogue in Padua. The designs and the coloration of this curtain indicate unquestionably the workmanship of our Magdalena Bassan.⁴³ The background is formed by the same yellow silk. Apparent are the same motifs — pomegranates, ribbons creased here and there, and the same smooth delicate coloration in rococo style. The curtain carries no signature. Perhaps the embroideress was not permitted to place her name on such a sacred object, wherefore she signed only the Torah wrapper, although the expression "holy work" refers to the curtain as well.

Cecil Roth has added two names to Jewish art of modern times. He calls a certain goldsmith, Graziadio, "the teacher of

⁴¹ Selma Stern, *Der preussische Staat und die Juden*, II, Berlin 1938, p. 104.

⁴² Cf. Michael Pfister, Auszug aus den Bamberger Domkustoreichnungen, *Berichte des Historischen Vereins zu Bamberg*, LVII, 1896, Supplement, Part V, p. 50.

⁴³ The Thorabinder is pictured in the work of C. Adler and J. M. Casanowicz, *The Collection of Jewish Ceremonial Objects in the United States National Museum*, Washington 1908, Pl. LXVI. The Thora-curtain *ibid.* Pl. LXI.

Benvenuto Cellini" (p. 505). The teacher of the most famous goldsmith of the Italian renaissance at its heyday, a Jew! That were indeed astounding! Cellini reports in his famous autobiography that he came from Florence to Bologna at the age of sixteen and that he tarried there for six weeks. "While there I devoted myself to drawing and working for one Graziadio, a Jew, with whom I earned considerably."⁴⁴ Not the drawing but only the working is related to Graziadio. Cellini does not tell us what his Graziadio was. In reply to my inquiry, Dr. Ulrich Middeldorf of the University of Chicago, an expert on this epoch, writes me: "The fact that Cellini speaks about making money while he is working for the man indicates rather a business connection than anything else," and "One thing is quite certain: he cannot have been Cellini's teacher, otherwise Cellini would have probably mentioned him in his Treatise on the Art of the Goldsmith." Thus does the matter look to eyes that are critical. We are unjustified in making of Graziadio either a goldsmith or a teacher of Cellini.

Roth further attaches the name of artist to Rabbi Zechariah Padova of Modena. David Azulai in his travelogue, *Ma'agal Tob* (p. 88) recounts how, at Triest, in the year 1777, rumors reached him of a controversy then raging between Rabbi Zechariah and the Modena community. To ridicule his opponents, Rabbi Zechariah is said to have made a caricature representing them as boors and picturing one of them as a dog with human head. But Azulai uses the verb עשה which can mean not only to make something but also to *have* something made. It is more likely that the Rabbi would have gotten others to compose the caricature than that he would do it himself. The caricature is a copper engraving the execution of which must have required considerable acquaintance with the subject.⁴⁵

Erich Toeplitz regards as a Jew, Grisellini, an Italian engraver of the 18th century.⁴⁶ For a Hebrew Bible published in Venice

⁴⁴ *Vita*, Book I, Ch. IX. Edition John Addington Symonds, New York 1927, p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, IX, col. 967-968 contains an illustration with erroneous inscription.

⁴⁶ Erich Toeplitz, "Grisellini, ein jüdischer Stecher," in *Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde zu Leipzig*, V, 1929, pp. 3 f.

in 1746 by a non-Jew, Bragadini, Grisellini supplied some copper engravings signed Grisellini or F. Grisellini. Moses Marx of Cincinnati possesses these engravings as well as another product by the same artist representing the sacrifice of Isaac and signed with the full name, Francesco Grisellini. No Jew, before the age of emancipation, was named after St. Francis of Assisi. On the other hand, it was a well established custom to engage Christian artists to illustrate Hebrew works.^{46a}

This series of names brings us far into modern times. There only remains to be said something about such countries as Holland, England, and America for whose Jews a rich artistic life begins at this period.

Marranos, immigrating to Holland about the year 1600, that is, a considerable number of years after the expulsion from Spain, brought with them the artistic needs acquired during their assimilationist life as Christians. When, for instance, we learn that Baruch Spinoza, in his youth, produced portraits of ink and carbon,⁴⁷ we recognize an effect of his origin. To the Marranos, portraiture was matter of course.

The Ashkenazic Jews of that time cherished something of an antipathy toward that art. As late as the early 18th century, the English friends of Rabbi Zebi Ashkenazi had to proceed somewhat clandestinely in order to obtain his picture. While executing the portrait, the painter had to occupy an adjoining room, the subject of the portrait having withheld his consent. I should venture the surmise that the likeness, which is at present in the Jewish Museum of London (fig. 12), was painted by David Estevens. As I explained in my previous study, Estevens was a Danish Jew who came to London on brief sojourns. Here, probably in the year 1715, he painted Rabbi David Nieto.⁴⁸ Now in the winter of 1714-15, Rabbi Zebi

^{46a} Since writing the above, I have learnt that already Rahel Wischnitzer had her doubts whether Grisellini was a Jew. See her article, "Autour du Mystère de la Haggadah de Venice," in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, 94, 1933, p. 184 ff. The above mentioned engraving transmutes doubt into certainty.

⁴⁷ John Colerius reports this in his biography of Spinoza. See Ernst Altkirch, *Spinoza im Porträt*, Jena 1913, p. 52 f. Altkirch regards as a self portrait the picture of Spinoza as a youth, dated 1660.

⁴⁸ An illustration in my article, *HUCA*, XVI, fig. 10.

Ashkenazi happened to be in London on a visit. In addition to this chronological coincidence, the stylistic similarities of the two works would likewise mark them as products of one and the same hand. Common to both of them is the poise of the head, the large eyes, the heavy eyelids, the fleshiness of the nose and the mouth.

In order to understand the Ashkenazi portrait, it must be noticed that the index finger of the Rabbi points to a book out of which hangs a strip of paper with the words י' אחד "The Lord is one." Precisely at that time, Nehemiah Ḥayyun was amplifying the doctrines of Sabbetai Zebi with a covert Trinitarianism which Zebi Ashkenazi vigorously opposed. Stressing the unity of God as the foremost principle of Judaism, Ashkenazi had hurled against Nehemiah Ḥayyun the ban of excommunication. It was this act of harshness that brought about Ashkenazi's dismissal from his Amsterdam position and necessitated his trip to London. If my ascription of Ashkenazi's portrait to David Estevens be correct, that portrait would constitute the only extant production of this able Jewish artist. The portrait of David Nieto exists only in an engraving.

After this digression, let us return to Holland. To the list of Jewish artists of 17th and 18th century Holland, Roth (p. 509) adds a few names, among them, that of a B. de Almeyda, a name not new to me; only it was my impression that de Almeyda was a non-Jew, despite repeated assertions to the contrary in Jewish writings.⁴⁹ In encyclopaedias of art, de Almeyda figures not as Dutch but as Portuguese, which means, since Jews no longer lived in Portugal, de Almeyda must have been a Christian. The only known work of his is a vignette prepared in 1693 for a book by Manuel de Sousa Moreyra, "Theatro historico genealogico y panegyrico erigido a la immortalidad de la casa de Sousa" (Paris 1694). The volume contains, in addition, 29 portraits and two representations copied from tombstones all of which originated with the French engraver B. Giffart. Pos-

⁴⁹ Thus by A. Wolf, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde*, IX p. 57; also by I. S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der Portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1925, p. 102, and finally by Herbert Bloom, *The Economic Activities of the Jews of Amsterdam*, Williamsport 1937, p. 208

sibly B. de Almeyda is identified with a Braz (Blasius) d'Almeida who appears as sculptor, painter, and designer in Lisbon in the year 1695.⁵⁰

Regarding the painter, Aaron de Chaves, all that I have hitherto been able to report has been that he appeared in London in 1675 in connection with the adornment of the Great Sephardic synagogue^{50a} which no longer exists and that, in 1700, he was living in Amsterdam.⁵¹ His other works were unknown to me, no dictionary of art containing his name. Subsequently, I noticed that a pamphlet by Jacob Zwarts, on a certain Rembrandt painting, publishes a production of de Chaves, which he pronounces "very rare."⁵² This production is a copper engraving of Ch. von Hagen based upon a drawing by our Aaron de Chaves as shown by the signature at the lower left. This work (fig. 7) was prepared at the request of Daniel Levi (Miguel) de Barrios (1625-1701), the Marrano poet who fled the inquisition in Spain and, after many vicissitudes, reached the Low Countries. In Brussels, Daniel Levi Barrios wrote his *Imperio de Dios en la Harmonia del Mundo* (God's Dominion in the Harmony of the World), a poetic recital of the Pentateuch. A fragment of the work appeared in 1670, after which the poet found influential

⁵⁰ Thieme Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*.

^{50a} In my previous article, I imputed to a certain D'Avila the painting which represents the Ten Commandments flanked by Moses and Aaron and which is to be found today in the Bevis Marks Synagogue. My authority was Moses Gaster: *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London 1901, p. 35. In 1931, there appeared in Oxford, England, *El Libro de los Acuerdos, being the Records and Accompts of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London from 1663 to 1681*, translated from the original Spanish and Portuguese by Lionel D. Barnett, and in this book a reproduction of that painting. For the year 5435 (1675), the notation reads: "For the canvas on which were painted the commandments £1:17:6, to Sr. H. Avilla for the gold £1:10:, for his labour £3:, to Aaron de Chaves for the painting £5: . . ." Accordingly the real creator of this charming work of art was Aaron de Chaves. D'Avila painted only the golden lettering.

⁵¹ Cf. Moses Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London 1901, p. 30, and M. Kayserling, *Biblioteca Española-Portuguesa Judaica*, Strassburg 1890, p. 38.

⁵² Jacob Zwarts, *The Significance of Rembrandt's The Jewish Bride*, Amersfoort, 1929.

patrons for the publication of the whole. Thereupon the Portuguese Community of Amsterdam, viewing the insertion of fictitious personages as a profanation of the Bible, declined to grant the book its approbation.⁵³ In the course of the battle of Daniel Levi Barrios with his opponents, that page was produced to be bound with the book. This page represents the poet, lyre in hand, treading under foot the dragon of calumny. Next to him stand his wife as Bellona, the goddess of war, his small son as Hermes, and his daughter as Amor, all skillfully merged into a group. Nor is the depiction of the poet, with his stricken countenance — nervous visionary that he was — devoid of merit.

Since the poet's son was born in 1665 and his daughter in 1670, we can deduce from the ages of the children that the engraving was produced about 1674. This comports with the fact that it was 1674 when the poet left Brussels to settle in Amsterdam.

Another work, demonstrably the creation of this same artist, is a scroll of the Book of Esther — according to the inscription, transcribed and illustrated by him in Amsterdam in 1687 and eventually reposing, privately owned, in that same city. An illustration of this scroll in the Dutch-Jewish periodical *De Vrijdagavond* (IX, 1932, p. 354) is reproduced in our figure 8. How charming the scene of Esther before the King as he extends his scepter toward her in token of his favor! How exquisitely interwoven are the ornamental plants and animals!^{53a} All of which shows Aaron de Chaves to have been a man of signal ability, well deserving of a place wherever Jewish artists are listed.

To the circle of Dutch artists belongs also a Christian cleric who became converted to Judaism and took the name Abraham ben Jacob. I have discussed this artist in my previous article where I treated his Haggadah which appeared in Amsterdam, 1695, under the patronage of Moses Wessel and at the hand of the publishers, Asher Anshel ben Eliezer and Issachar Beer ben

⁵³ Cf. M. Kayserling: "Une Histoire de la Littérature Juive de Daniel Levi de Barrios," in *Revue des Études Juives*, XVIII (1889), pp. 276 ff.

^{53a} Erroneously the illustration in *De Vrijdagavond* gives the first name as "Abraham."

Abraham Eliezer. Roth (p. 502) affirms correctly that the title page of the second edition, printed in 1712, no longer carries the artist's name but speaks only of a "most zealous workman in the craft of engraving." "Clearly," so Roth deduces, "the publishers were by now no longer so happy in his collaboration, and it is not out of the question that his experience of Judaism had not in the end turned out so satisfactorily as had formerly seemed to be the case." But the reason why the second edition omits the name of the engraver lies elsewhere. The second edition had a different publisher, Solomon ben Joseph Proops, who added to the work some charming initials in copper and some small copper engravings of the Seder ceremony and of the ten plagues, following the model of a woodcut Haggadah that appeared in Venice in 1609.⁵⁴ This second publisher substituted new copper-plates for the old ones, more ingenious in technique and richer in effects of light and shadow. That these new plates are the work of Abraham ben Jacob, I doubt. The "most zealous workman in the craft of engraving" is obviously not Abraham ben Jacob but someone else, an artist who kept his name obscured because he had merely engraved for a second timē, what had been engraved already. Only the map of Palestine, bound with the volume, has been reprinted from the plate of the first edition and therefore carries the signature of Abraham ben Jacob.

The fine Dutch tombstones of the 17th and 18th centuries at Ouderkerk near Amsterdam, I had regarded as the workmanship of Christians. This I substantiated by reference to the tombstone of Samuel Teixeira (d. 1717) which contains a relief showing the scene in which the Lord appears to the child Samuel at the sanctuary of Shiloh. It is difficult to imagine how a Jew

⁵⁴ Rahel Wischnitzer, in her valuable paper, "Von der Holbeinbibel zur Amsterdamer Hagadah," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Neue Folge, 39 (1931), p. 281, believes that the edition of 1712 also had an altered title page showing, instead of six biblical medallions, the scene of Moses at the thornbush. But that scene appears here and there likewise in the first edition, and was probably intended as a tribute to Moses Wessel, the patron of the first edition. The first edition evidently had two alternating title pages.

could accept such a theme and still more difficult to believe that a Jewish artist would have undertaken its execution. Roth (p. 508), disposed to regard this tombstone as the achievement of a Jew, calls my observation into question. The hovering figure "must be intended to represent the apparition of an angel, not of the Deity himself." The illustration in fig. 11 leaves no doubt that the representation is of the Lord, Himself. Were it that of an angel, there would have been wings, and there would not have appeared the magnified halo such as Christian art introduces when it pictures the Deity. Of course, one might say that, if such a tombstone were tolerated in a Jewish cemetery, it might as well have had a Jewish designer. But it is more plausible to assume that a Christian artist influenced the configuration and that, once the work was completed, the person who ordered the tombstone, as well as the communal authorities in charge, simply closed an eye. A similar instance appears in a book illustration originating in Augsburg in the 16th century when, in 1536, the printer, Hayyim Schwarz, published an edition of Jacob ben Asher's *'Arba Turim*. The first page contains, among other things, two representations of God. In the one, God creates the animals; in the other He forms Eve out of the slumbering Adam. These scenes are plainly of Christian invention. In fact, we know that Schwarz occasionally utilized the works of Christian artists. His 1536 edition of the *Seliḥot* has a border which derives from a woodcut by the artist Daniel Hopfer of Augsburg.⁵⁵

It happens, furthermore, that those Dutch tombstones with biblical reliefs required the workmanship of sculptors, not of mere masons and, as we have already seen, there were no Jewish sculptors previous to the age of Emancipation or, to be exact, a Jewish sculptor was an exception. Finally, we must consider that Christian contributions to the Jewish art life of Holland were common. Despite the prevailing Dutch tolerance, Jews were excluded from the artist guild. The synagogues of that country were built by Christian architects; the portraits of Jews were painted mostly by Christian painters, among them, one no less

⁵⁵ A. Freimann, "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Buchillustration bis 1540," in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, XXI, 1910, p. 31 f.

than Rembrandt. Thus nothing impedes our ascribing to Christian artists those Jewish tombstones, especially those with representations of biblical scenes.

Synagogues were reared by Christians likewise in England which the Jews entered from Holland about the middle of the 17th century. It is believed however that, in the first half of that century, two Jewish artists were active there, the miniaturist, Alexander Cooper (c. 1605–1660) and his still more famous brother, Samuel (1609–1672). This was brought out by the fact that Alexander Cooper, who afterward lived at the Swedish court, was listed among the residents of Stockholm as "Abraham Alexander Cooper, the Jew, Portrait Painter."⁵⁶ Against such conclusions may be adduced the fact that the Coopers lived in England and that sojourn in England by Jews was, in those days, not generally permitted; also the fact that Samuel is buried in a Christian cemetery and that the uncle of the two brothers was a man named John Hoskins, by no means a Jewish name. Cecil Roth (p. 501) offers an excellent compromise suggestion to the effect that Alexander Cooper was a convert to Judaism from Christianity. Such conversions did occur. We have just recalled how a German cleric ranks among the Jewish artists of Holland. A convert was usually named "son of Abraham." Still, as in the case of the German cleric, the mere addition of the name "Abraham" may have sufficed. Samuel Cooper may have appended the name "Abraham" in this way.

At the court of Queen Christine of Sweden whose portrait Alexander Cooper painted, the Jewish people enjoyed no mean standing. In matters of creed, Queen Christine was tolerant. Once when visiting Hamburg, this queen saw no objection to stopping at the home of her Jewish business agent, Isaac Seiniör Teixeira.

On the subject of English art, we now have a thorough-going study by Alfred Rubens⁵⁷ listing, with patient research, the Jewish artists of England from earliest times down to 1837

⁵⁶ Cf. G. C. Williamson, *History of Portrait Miniatures*, I, London 1904, p. 83

⁵⁷ "Early Anglo-Jewish Artists" appearing in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, Sessions 1935–1939, vol. XIV, London 1940, pp. 91 ff.

when Victoria ascended the throne. In many points, this essay agrees with my own findings, except that Rubens supplies an additional series of names. Unfortunately the abilities of these artists cannot be appraised owing to lack of illustrations. When will it become common practice for essays on Jewish art, like essays on other art, to be accompanied by reproductions! We need not merely an accumulation of names; we need also a vivid conception of Jewish artistic ability.

Rubens (p. 123) touches but casually upon the Scottish portraitist, Sir John Baptist Medina (1659–1710), undecided whether or not Medina was a Jew. Among the Marranos, the name Medina was frequent. A Salomo de Medina (d. 1730) migrated from Leghorn to Great Britain where he became the first Jew to receive the title of nobility.⁵⁸ However, Christian families also bore that name, for, as already stated, it was the custom to assign to Marranos Spanish names then common. John Baptist Medina may have been a Marrano whose family never returned to Judaism officially. Of such Marranos, especially numerous in Brussels where lived the father of John Baptist Medina, some occupied high ranks and some lower ranks in the army. The aforementioned Marrano poet, Miguel di Barrios, for instance, a captain in the Spanish army as long as he lived in Brussels, returned to Judaism only after he settled in Holland. The father of John Baptist Medina was similarly a captain in the Spanish army. From Brussels, John Baptist went to London and soon thereafter to Edinburgh. Here he also acquired the title of nobility.⁵⁹

Speaking of Aaron Mendoza who had prepared six copper plates for a Spanish volume *Dinim de Sehitah y Bedica* (Laws of Slaughter and Inspection), published in London in 1733, Rubens (p. 96, note 20) professes never to have seen a copy of the book. The Jewish Theological Seminary of New York possesses a copy in which I found six engravings each one with the inscription: *Aaron Mendoza delineavit*. According to this, Mendoza did not

⁵⁸ Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, London 1941, p. 284.

⁵⁹ Cf. Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, New Edition III, New York 1904, under Medina.

engrave these pages but merely sketched them. He must therefore not be cited as a copper engraver. The drawings, which are of a purely didactic character, exhibit little merit.⁶⁰

Rubens (p. 97) inserts in his list of English artists a painter, Samuel da Silva. But Samuel da Silva was not an Englishman. He was a Dutchman. A physician by that name lived in Amsterdam at the beginning of the 17th century. All that we know about Samuel da Silva is that he painted a portrait of Moses Gomes de Mesquita (1688–1751) who was born in Holland and functioned as Rabbi in London from 1744 to the time of his death. That portrait no longer exists, but there does exist an engraving of it (fig. 10), a mezzotint, produced by F. Faber. As happened so often with Rabbis, it was the honors bestowed upon Mesquita after his death — in 1752 — that gave occasion for that engraving. The subject, wearing a black wig and a greyish beard, shows otherwise such a youthful appearance as to indicate a man 40–50 years of age. Doubtless Moses Gomez de Mesquita was still living in Holland at that time.

To judge from this specimen, the painter of this vivid picture must have been an artist of no small consequence. How fascinating it would be to follow his traces! Perhaps, as in the case of the Danish painter Estevens — whom also Rubens mistakes for an Englishman — we may yet succeed in finding an original portrait by the same hand. However, the place in which to search is not England but Holland.

In the Memoirs of Harriet Wilson,⁶¹ Rubens (p. 123) found "a Jew named Town in Bondstreet," but does not know whether this Town is the mere product of her fruitful imagination or whether he is the landscape painter, Charles Towne, who lived in London on New Bond Street in the year 1806. Cecil Roth (p. 507) comes to Rubens' aid with a "Mr. Town, New Bondstreet" who signs a contribution to the London Jewish Hospital. Persons by the name of Town or Towne were accordingly Jewish.

Still, the problem is not so simple. There are Jewish Towns

⁶⁰ An illustration is to be found in Ph. de Vries, *Joodsche Riten en Symbolen*, II, Zutphen 1932, facing p. 22.

⁶¹ 1921 Edition p. 188 f.

and Christian Towns.⁶² One of the Jewish Towns was Francis Town (about 1738–1826). But Francis Town was no painter of landscapes. He was the inventor of the technique for painting on velvet. His children, artists also, were Lydia (afterward Mrs. Emanuel) who, like her father, painted on velvet, Charles (1781–1854), painter of landscapes and of animals, and Benjamin (flourished 1809–1814). Among the Christian Towns was Francis Towne (about 1739/1740–1816), a landscape painter, and also Charles Town (1763–1840), painter of animals, landscapes, and sports. Robert, the brother of Charles, painted portraits and genre scenes.

Cecil Roth (p. 507) enlarges the Rubens list of English Jewish artists with a painter named Burrel, mentioned in the diary of Sir Walter Scott⁶³ as a native Prussian of whom Scott took painting lessons in his youth. Roth contends that the poet betrays here a lapse of memory. Roth holds that Scott may have confused Burrel with Frederick Benjamin Barlin who, coming to England from Prussia about the year 1800, worked in England as a painter of portraits. But there really was a Burrel. Record of him can be found in the catalogues of the exhibits held by the Royal Academy of Arts in the years 1801–1807.⁶⁴ Burrel had sent some of his works to those exhibitions.

Highly instructive are some of the artists' trade cards which Rubens reprints. On that of a Benjamin Levi, who lived in Portsmouth in the early 18th century stands: "Engraver on Seals, Stamps, Plates, Copperplates and Pewter." This shows us the seal engraver not only as an engraver of pewter — a fact with which we have already become acquainted — but also as an engraver of copper. Some of Levi's *Ex Libris* have survived to this day. Now we can comprehend how the goldsmith, Abraham de Oliveyra, can be identical with the copper engraver, Lopes de Oliveyra. Jewish artists worked for a limited clientele, and this obliged them to follow many kinds of crafts

⁶² See Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* Vol. XXXIII, 1933, under Town.

⁶³ *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*, published by D. Douglas, I, New York 1891, p. 137.

⁶⁴ A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, I, 1905, p. 356.

at one and the same time. The differentiations of types and techniques, such as prevailed among the Christians, had to be deferred by the Jews until the days of the Emancipation.

The essay of Rubens concludes with an account of a meeting between the Italian adventurer, Casanova, and a Jewish miniaturist, when Casanova visited London in 1763. Casanova reports in his memoirs: "I wrote to Martinelli to procure me the best miniature painter in London and he sent me a Jew."⁶⁵ Rubens inquires who that Jew, reputedly the best miniaturist in London, may have been. I believe it was the painter, John Zoffany (1722/23–1810) discussed at length in my previous article. Of course, Zoffany, the son of a Jewish cabinet-maker of Prague, Bohemia, was, in 1763, a Jew no longer. But he may have been regarded as such, particularly since his features, as we can see from some of his portraits, betray his race unmistakably. After much wandering, Zoffany reached London in 1758 or 1759 "as a painter of small portraits," as his biographers narrate.⁶⁶ Vincenzo M. Martinelli was an adventurer like Casanova but, at the same time, a literateur. Martinelli was also at home among the lovers of the theatre. That is where he may have made Zoffany's acquaintance. For the painter was an ardent theatrical devotee, having just painted the first picture of the noted actor, Garrick, and having leaped thereby into sudden fame. Casanova did not understand English but Zoffany was a master of Italian having, before he came to England, lived in Italy for about ten years. Add to all of this the fact that we do not know of any other Jewish miniaturist in England at that period, and the conclusion seems warranted that Zoffany was the miniaturist whom Casanova mentions. The quality of Zoffany's work is of an excellence sufficient to justify the characterization, "the best miniature painter in London."

Glancing aside at France, I notice that some writers regard as Jewish the painter Raymond Bonheur (b. 1796) and his world famed daughter, Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899), painter of

⁶⁵ Navarre Society Edition, vol. XI, p. 196.

⁶⁶ Victoria Manners and G. C. Williamson, *John Zoffany*, London 1920, p. 4. A self portrait in miniature is reproduced in this volume on page 116.

animals.⁶⁷ Explicit on this point is the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York) which says concerning Rosa Bonheur: "The artist came from a family of orthodox Jews . . . She was known in Bordeaux as Rose Mazel Tow, a literal Hebrew translation of Bonheur ("good fortune") . . ." The article ends with some bibliography which, together with everything else accessible, I have searched⁶⁸ in the hope of finding some reference to Rosa Bonheur's Jewish origin. To my astonishment, I came across never a word to that effect. Concerning Rosa Bonheur's antecedents, I could ascertain only the following: Her father was the painter, Oscar Raymond Marie Bonheur, whose father was Francois Bonheur. These given names fully indicate the religion of their bearers. Nothing warrants the assumption that the name, Bonheur, is of Jewish derivation.

The name of Raymond Bonheur's mother was Marie Pérar. She also, judging from her given name, was a Christian. The name, Pérar, might suggest Pereira, that of some well known Marrano families some of whose descendants — but specifically with the name Pereira — resided in Bordeaux. But even if we pursue the surmise further, the most to be inferred is that one of Rosa Bonheur's grandmothers might have been of Marrano origin.

Marquis was the name of Rosa Bonheur's mother, born 1797 in Altona, Germany. The name, Marques (= Marquis) appears among Marranos, and Altona was the home of numerous Marranos since the 16th century. The name Marquis (מארקי) can be shown to have occurred here.⁶⁹ But the name appears likewise among Christians. Not only was Rosa Bonheur's mother, whose given name was Christine Dorothée Sophie, a Christian; Christian also was that mother's father, Laurent Modeste

⁶⁷ So in Vallentine's *Jewish Encyclopedia*, London, 1938, in *Encyclopedia Americana*, Edition IV, 1940, p. 214, and in Cecil Roth, *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization*, American Edition, 1940, p. 152.

⁶⁸ The amplest account is that furnished in the book by Miss A. Klumpke, pupil and friend of Rosa Bonheur, who wrote the artist's biography under her constant supervision. See, in this book, pp. 130 and 140.

⁶⁹ M. Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf deutscher Erde*, Hamburg 1902, p. 116 No. 1108.

Antoine Marchisio, called Marquis, as well as that mother's mother, Marianne Trilling. This Marchisio, called Marquis, was Christine's father only by law. Her real father was Monsieur Dublan de Lahet, a scion of an old French family, Rosa Bonheur's mother having been of illegitimate birth. That was why already in early childhood, Rosa Bonheur's mother was taken from Altona to Bordeaux. In all of this, I do not see how Rosa Bonheur could, as a child, have been called Rosa Mazel Tow or how she could have been the daughter of orthodox Jewish parents.

To revert once more from the realm of fable to the world of fact, we pose our final question. What about Jewish artists in America? It is indeed one of the most remarkable coincidences of history that 1492, the very year in which the Jews were expelled from Spain, marked also the discovery of a new continent which was, in an ever increasing degree, to become their home.

We are but scantily informed regarding the early fortunes of these newcomers who settled not so much in North America as in Central and South America. Persecutions broke out here also, causing some of the old settlements to disappear. This much only can we glean from existing records, namely, that Jews came to these lands not merely as merchants, sugar planters, and brokers but also as artisans and, here and there, as artists.

In Brazil, in the 17th century, lived the Marrano, Balthazer d'Afonseca who, in 1640, built the bridge connecting Recife (Pernambuco) with Mauricia.⁷⁰ In North America, in the same century, were to be found Jewish "workers in brass."⁷¹ Whether these "workers in brass" are ordinary mechanics or producers of art work we are not informed.

In the colonies of North America, there lived in the 18th century, numerous Jewish silversmiths. As the pioneers rapidly rose to opulence, this art came to flourish and the Jews, who were experienced in that technique from of old, participated in

⁷⁰ Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623-1654," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXXIII, 1934, p. 65 f.

⁷¹ Morris A. Gutstein, *The Story of the Jews of Newport*, New York 1936, p. 46.

the upswing. During the past decade, American art history has accorded those silversmiths considerable attention, gathering the names as well as the makers' stamps which, imprinted on the separate pieces, help identify the producers. A perusal of these catalogues⁷² reveals several Jewish names, among them Myer Myers (1746), Joseph Pinto (1758), Jacob Moses (1768), Isaac N. Moses (1781), Daniel B. Coan (1789), John Myers (1796), Joseph Aaron (1798) — to mention only those who were active previous to 1800.

Particular distinction was attained by Myer Myers.⁷³ Born in 1723, and pronounced freeman in 1746, he settled in New York where, from 1754 on, he conducted a shop at the Meal Market on King Street. In 1763, after he had taken into his business the silversmith, Benjamin Halstead, Myers started a new shop on King Street where he acquired such repute that, in 1776, he was elected president of the New York Silversmith Society. During the Revolutionary War, he served in the army, returning to New York in the eighties where he continued residing until his death in 1795. His style lives in delicate forms of rococo in which he fashioned teaspoons, coffeepots, creamers, dishrings and the like that are today sought by collectors and museums.⁷⁴

Alongside of these mundane objects, runs an output of religious objects. For synagogues which were springing up everywhere, Myers provided ritual appurtenances. The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Shearith Israel of New York, possesses a pair of silver "Rimonim" of his making, and the syna-

⁷² The most complete is that contained in the book of Seymour B. Wyler, *The Book of Silver*, New York, 1937, from which our reproduction has been borrowed.

⁷³ Literature: Anonymous, "A New York Jewish Silversmith of the 18th Century," in *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, XXVIII, 1922, pp. 236 ff. — The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776, Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers, New York 1938, *passim* — Helen Comstock in *The Connoisseur* vol. 104, 1939, p. 203 ff. — F. Landsberger, "The First Jewish Artist in USA," in *The Hebrew Union College Bulletin* II, 1943, p. 9 f.

⁷⁴ Works of this type are owned by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

gogue of Newport, Rhode Island, three pair of such "Rimonim" upturned on the staves of the Torah.⁷⁵

Myers likewise created ritual objects for the Jewish home. As a sample I reproduce a Hannukah Lamp (fig. 9). Graceful rococo dominates here again in the swinging feet, in the elegantly outlined background, in the eight candle-holders whose flames are reflected on the background. This lamp is the first and only one known to me as a product of Myers, although private collections may well contain similar pieces.

Jewish seal engravers, so well liked in Europe had, already in the 18th century, found their way now and then to the New World. In his study *Anglo-Jewish Artists* (p. 97), Rubens names a Joseph Cohen of Bielefeld (Westphalia, Germany) who moved to London and eventually to Charleston, South Carolina. There are no traces of Joseph Cohen that I have been able to discover.

Already in the 18th century, Charleston harbored a Jewish painter, Joshua Cantir (or Cantor?). William Dunlap (1766-1839), the well known painter and critic, tells about him in that work so important for the early history of American Art, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* which appeared in 1839. "Joshua Cantir" says Dunlap, quoting an informant,⁷⁶ "came to Charleston, South Carolina in 1792 from Denmark and became a resident. He had received his education as an artist under a professor of the Academy of Copenhagen. He was devotedly attached to the art; and possessed talents, which under more favorable circumstances and with the professional competition which he did not find at that time in South Carolina, might have raised him to a higher standing among artists than he actually enjoyed. He died in New York." In another passage, Dunlap reports⁷⁷ that in Charleston in 1821, was founded the South Carolina Academy of Fine Arts and that Joseph Cantir was one of its directors.

⁷⁵ Illustrations of the Newport Rimonim are to be found in E. Alfred Jones, *The Old Silver of American Churches*, Privately printed for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America at the Ards Press Letchworth, England, 1913 Plate XCVI. For information about the Newport Rimonim, I am indebted to Rabbi D. de Sola Pool of New York.

⁷⁶ New Edition, Boston 1918, II, p. 114.

⁷⁷ L. c. III, p. 58.

Another source of this period⁷⁸ mentions a painter, John Cantor, likewise resident in Charleston and living between approximately the same dates. These notices have given rise to the supposition that there were two artists named Cantor⁷⁹ but, inasmuch as each source mentions only one Charleston artist, I deem it possible that both accounts may refer to the same man. Be that as it may, no product of a Cantir or a Cantor has thus far been discovered.⁸⁰ We lack what we desire most, namely, something at which we can look.

Concerning 18th century Jewish architects, we hear nothing. The earliest synagogue in New York, built in 1730 by the congregation Shearith Israel, was erected by a mason named Stanley Horner. Only the painting was undertaken by a Jew, Isaac Navarro.⁸¹

The synagogue at Newport, Rhode Island, an excellent achievement, is by Peter Harrison. The first synagogue to be erected by a Jew was that of Kahal Kodesh Beth Elohim of Charleston, South Carolina, constructed in 1840-1843 by David Lopez (1809-1884). To quote the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (III, p. 116), he is "credited with the invention of the modern torpedoboat, the Little David which attacked the United States Ironsides during the Civil War." Lopez obviously combined with his architectural talent a high degree of technical skill as was the case with the two most noted of American Jewish architects in the 19th and 20th centuries, Dankmar Adler and Albert Kahn.

But here, as in our previous study, we are concerned with Jewish artists of earlier days, these artists having received so little attention as to bring into question their very existence. This period of ignorance is, at last, ended. The pendulum indeed

⁷⁸ Cf. J. L. E. W. Shecut, *Medical and Philosophical Essays*, Charleston 1819, pp. 53 f.

⁷⁹ So Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 140.

⁸⁰ Mrs. Francis D. Pollak of New York owns portraits of Mordecai Cohen (1763-1840) and his wife, Leah, one of which — but she does not know which of the two — is the work of Joshua or John Cantor. Cf. Hannah R. London, *Portraits of Jews*, New York 1927, p. 73.

⁸¹ D. de Sola Pool, *The Mill Street Synagogue*, New York, 1930.

seems to be swinging to the opposite extreme. Artists are imputed to Jewry who dissolve upon more minute scrutiny.

Dr. Cecil Roth, with whose article these remarks have been so extensively occupied, will surely understand when, to such minute scrutiny, some of his finds among the artists fall victim. Dr. Roth holds the merit of having thrown these names into the arena of debate. His errors, as I see them, have mostly been those of his authorities.

When Dr. Roth concludes by saying that he will henceforth cease to concern himself with the question of Jewish artists, because that question, in my hands, is in safe hands, I wish to oppose such an intent with utmost vigor. One of the most regrettable drawbacks attaching to the history of Jewish art is the circumstance that the domain is being explored only by a handful of specialists, with slow and imperfect progress as the result. We can dispense with no one who will bring to this domain knowledge and devotion, least of all with Cecil Roth who, conversant with wide ranges of Jewish history, hits upon sources reached by very few. The exploring of diverse lands and varied epochs is imperative if we would unearth and integrate the widely scattered material concerning Jewish art and Jewish artists.



2



3



4

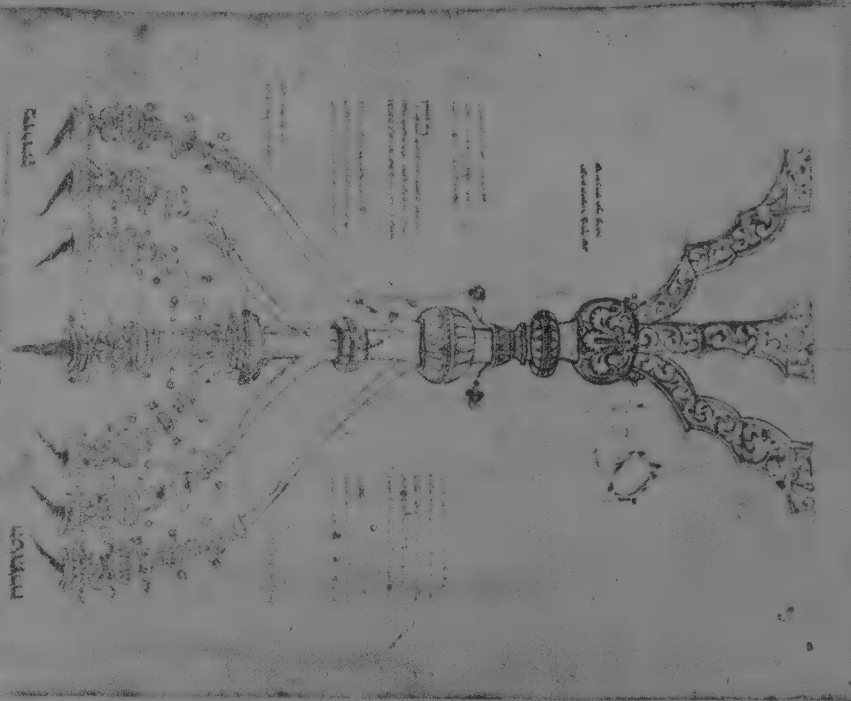
2. BERMEJO: "TWO ANGELS BEWAILING THE RESURRECTED CHRIST".

3. SEDER PLATE, ENGRAVED BY MORDECAI, SON OF R. MENAHEM MAN.

4. FRONTISPICE FROM THE LIBRO DE PRIVILEGIOS. PALMA, ARCHIVO HISTORICO.



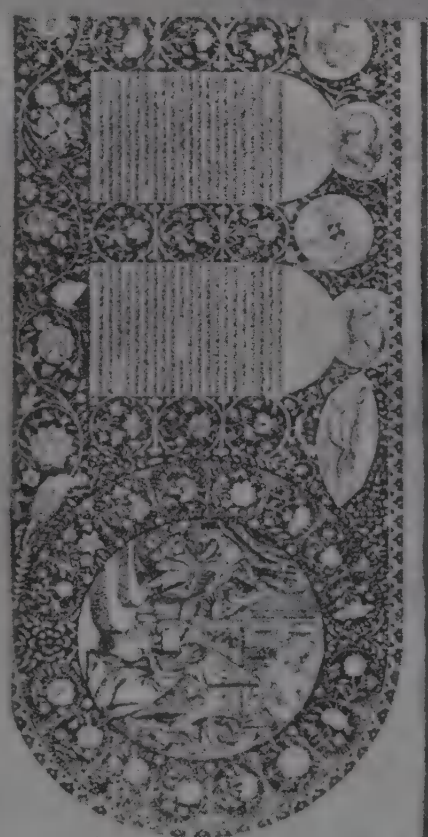
5



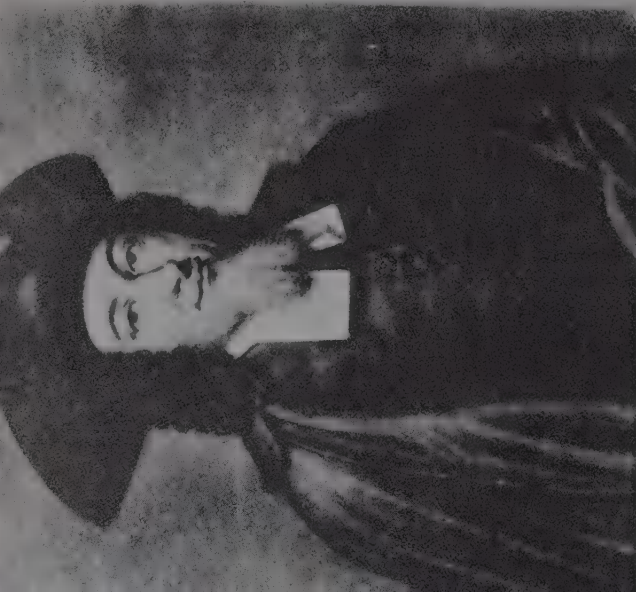
6



8



7. THE POET MIGUEL DE BARRIOS WITH HIS FAMILY. DRAWING BY AARON DE CHAVES.
8. SCROLL OF THE BOOK OF ESTHER. WRITTEN AND ILLUMINATED BY AARON DE CHAVES.
9. MYER MYERS: HANNUKAH LAMP, SILVER. NEW YORK, JOSEPH GRAHAM JR.



10. SAMUEL DA SILVA: PORTRAIT OF RABBI MOSES GOMES DE MESQUITA. MEZZOTINT AFTER THE LOST PAINTING BY F. FABER.
11. TOMBSTONE OF SAMUEL TEIXEIRA. SEPHARDIC CEMETERY NEAR AMSTERDAM.
12. DAVID ESTEVENS (?): PORTRAIT OF R. ZEBI ASHKENAZI. LONDON, JEWISH MUSEUM.

New York am 21^{ten} Decbr 1845.

Gezogene sind aus dem Vorstands des Gemein-
tsche Ched' zugegen: Kreisler aus der Westliche
des Gemeinthe Schaar Maschamain und Rödel, welche
sind auf diesen Ched ein Representatives des Mos-
sche. Diese sind gemeinten Gemeinthe, in der Westliche
Litha des Gemeinthe Tschke Ched ein.

Brif Bestellung aus J. Henry, Moses aus Westliche.
J. Henry Jans, welche auf Bestellung zum Secretar anwesend.
J. Henry Jans, die Westliche in Frankreich, das die
Jans selbst für, Jans sind Mittel zu finden, dass Jans
Dr. Max Lieberman die Bestellung als Rabbiner bei den
sind representierten Gemeinthe zu verfahren.

Anm. wird, welches Geschäft, einflussig vorgenommen
Lassen. Das die Westliche des sind representierten Ge-
meinthe, so sind die Jans Jans selbst, welches anwesend,
sind bei den Mitgliedern des sind representierten Gemeinthe, sind
gründlich Berücksichtigung des Jans Dr. Lieberman zu bezeichnen
so, welche Jans

Lassen, das aus Gemeinthe, Westliche in jedes Gemeinthe
auf Bestellung aus 21^{ten} Decbr 1845, anwesend, sind
sind die Jans Jans, das Jans Dr. Lieberman als Rabbiner
abgezeichnet.

Lassen, das aus jedes Gemeinthe, sind anwesend, anwesend
sind aus Jans Dr. Lieberman Jans Jans, welches anwesend,
sind Jans zu bezeichnen, welches Jans zu bezeichnen, welches
Jans als Committee anwesend, anwesend H. Heyman
L. Cohen und J. Hevener.

Brif Bestellung aus Jans Jans, die Westliche, welches Jans
21^{ten} Decbr 1845, anwesend.

Joseph Levin Secretar,
Gezeichnet am 21^{ten} Decbr 1845.

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE UNION
OF GERMAN SYNAGOGUES IN NEW YORK, 1845

THE MINUTE BOOK OF LILIENTHAL'S UNION OF GERMAN SYNAGOGUES IN NEW YORK

HYMAN B. GRINSTEIN, Brooklyn, New York

DR. MAX Lilienthal arrived in New York City in the latter part of the year 1845 after abandoning a project of re-organizing the Jewish educational system of Russia. His arrival created a considerable stir especially among the German Jews of the city and a plan was soon set afoot to elect him Rabbi of three of the then existing German congregations. These three synagogues were: Anshe Chesed, Shaarey Hashamayim and Rodeph Shalom.

For many years the Jews of New York City had no Rabbinical authorities. Problems of a legal-religious nature arose in the community from time to time and found their solution at the hands of learned or unlearned laymen. The German and Polish Jews who migrated to this country in the first half of the 19th century keenly felt the need for some Rabbinical authority to solve these pressing problems in a more adequate manner. In 1840 when Abraham Rice, the first Rabbi to settle permanently in the United States, came to New York City, some effort was made to have him remain in the city but he left for Baltimore soon thereafter. In 1842, Leo Merzbacher the second Rabbi to migrate to our shores, undertook Rabbinical work for Rodeph Shalom and in 1843 he preached, taught, and answered religious questions at Anshe Chesed as well. By April of 1845, the year of Lilienthal's arrival, Merzbacher had withdrawn from these two German synagogues and had joined the reform elements in the city to create Temple Emanuel.

Preaching had already been in vogue in New York City since 1839 when Bnai Jeshurun engaged Samuel M. Isaacs as *Hazan* and preacher. Merzbacher's preaching at Rodeph Shalom and Anshe Chesed probably increased the demand for such religious

instruction. By 1845 thus the stage was all set for Lilienthal's engagement as Rabbi and in addition the tradition for a union of German synagogues already existed during Merzbacher's Rabbinate.¹

Information on the union of the three German synagogues formed in 1845 has been limited to the meagre accounts of it in the *Occident* and the letters of Lilienthal in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.² Some unpublished material about it can be found in the minutes of Congregation Anshe Chesed, but this refers chiefly to Anshe Chesed's part in the union rather than to the workings of the union as a whole. The records of the other two congregations involved, of Rodeph Shalom and Shaarey Hashamayim, are missing for the most part.

But while Shaarey Hashamayim has left us few records of its own, a fragment of the original minute book of this union of German synagogues reposes today in its archives and is presented herewith in its entirety.³ The manuscript is a small ledger of folio size with entries covering some thirty pages. These entries begin on December 2nd, 1845 and end abruptly on March 21st, 1846.

The union did not end in March of 1846. It lasted at least until the end of 1847. The Anshe Chesed minutes reveal that in December 1847, Anshe Chesed declared the office of Rabbi vacant and that until that date it supported the union and sent delegates to its meetings.⁴ It is even quite possible that after Anshe Chesed withdrew, the two other congregations Rodeph Shalom and Shaarey Hashamayim continued the engagement of

¹ For the arrival of Abraham Rice and the engagement of Leo Merzbacher and Samuel M. Isaacs, see the forthcoming volume by the writer of this article entitled: *The Jewish Community of New York City, 1654-1860*.

² *Occident* III 471-472, 520 ff., 527-528, 574 ff., 583 ff.; IV 259, 551 ff.; V 109-111; *Allgemeine Zeitung* d. j. X 98, 289; XI 25-26. There is also some material on the union in the Lyons Scrapbook in possession of the American Jewish Historical Society. For a general account of the union see Philipson, David, *Max Lilienthal* p. 51.

³ The writer is indebted to Dr. Jonah B. Wise, Rabbi of Central Synagogue (formerly Ahabat Chesed and Shaarey Hashamayim) for permission to publish this manuscript.

⁴ Cf. *Jewish Community of New York*, *op. cit.*

Lilienthal for a while, perhaps until April 1848 when the records of Anshe Chesed reveal that the union school was dissolved. Be this as it may, the union certainly lasted for two years, and hence our manuscript is only a part of a larger minute book.

Though only a fragment, our manuscript reveals nevertheless a great deal about the organization of the union. Of primary importance is the stress throughout the minutes of the obligation of this union to turn to the membership of each synagogue for ratification of any major measure. Needless to say that under these circumstances Lilienthal could carry few of his plans to fruition. Another important factor revealed through this minute book is Lilienthal's own position as Rabbi and leader. Although exalted by the high and noble title of "Sein Hoherwurden Herr Rabbiner" he was virtually under the thumb-nail of the lay leaders. Lilienthal could not visit a school, preach outside of the synagogues of the union, give *kabbalah* to a *shohet* or even answer a *sheelah* without the sanction of the union officials.

There are several other matters of importance and interest which make this manuscript unique. For the first time we have here an account of the instruction given to boys and girls in the first Jewish confirmation in the United States. There is also a nine point contract with Lilienthal enumerating his Rabbinical duties, one of the first contracts so recorded.⁵ The program of Lilienthal's installation, though reported in the *Occident* is given here in full. Then there is evidence in our manuscript of Lilienthal's Rabbinical ordination, indeed a rare find, since most of the early Rabbis came to America with claims of Rabbinical and Doctorial degrees, claims which are difficult to substantiate. Lilienthal's ability to present his projects in simple form and yet in great detail, an important personal character trait, is clearly evident here in our minutes.

Of community and synagogue matters several stand forth. Probably the most important from the point of view of Jewish religious law is the proposal of writing *shitre haliza* by the

⁵ The duties of Rice in Baltimore may or may not be extant. Those of Merzbacher at Anshe Chesed are given in outline form only in Anshe Chesed Trustee Minutes Oct. 29, 1843.

brothers of a bridegroom. From the records of Anshe Chesed it would appear that these documents were in vogue in the three German synagogues as long as the union lasted.⁶ Lilienthal's attempts to regulate the kosher meat situation and his concern over the proper baking of matzoth, throw a great deal of light on religious practice at the time. Finally our manuscript indicates that Lilienthal did not champion any changes in ritual upon his arrival in New York. The only change in liturgy he proposed was the abolition of the *hanoten teshuah* prayer and the substitution for it of a prayer of his own composition.

The minute book is written in German script. English words and the names of individuals are invariably given in Latin characters. For convenience sake we give the manuscript here in Latin script with English words and names in italics. Occasionally a word or a phrase is indecipherable, since part of the manuscript was at one time soaked in water and in places it is unreadable. Localisms, in both spelling and grammatical construction, have been retained in transcription in order to preserve the flavor of German-Jewish manuscripts of early New York.

Newyork am 2ten Decmbr 1845

Zufolge eines von dem Vorstande der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ergangenen Aufrufes an die Vorstände der Gemeinden *Shaarc Hashomaim* und *Rodef Sholem* fand sich diesen Abend eine *Representation* der Vorstände dieser dreÿ genannten Gemeinden, in den Versamlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein.

Auf Antrag nahm Hr. *Henry Moses* den Vorsitz. Hr. *Henry Jones* wurde auf Antrag zum *Secretär* ernannt.⁷ Hr. *Moses* setzte die Versammlung in Kenntniss, dass der Zweck derselbe seÿ, Wege und Mittel zu finden, dem Hrn. *Dr. Max Lilienthal* die Anstellung als *Rabbiner* beÿ den hier *representirten* Gemeinden

⁶ E. g., *Ibid.*, April 26, 1846.

⁷ Henry Moses was one of the leading German Jews in the city at the time and president of Anshe Chesed for a number of years. Henry Jones was one of the founders of the Independent Order Bnai Brith and was at this time secretary of Anshe Chesed. Somewhat later he resigned from Anshe Chesed and became affiliated with Temple Emanuel.

zu verschaffen. Darauf wurde volgender Beschluss einstimmig angenommen.

Beschlossen, dass die Vorsteher der hier *representirten* Gemeinden so viel in ihren Kräften steht wirken wollen, um bei den Mitgliedern ihre *resp.* Gemeinden eine günstige Stimmung für Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* zu bezwecken.

Es wurde ferner

Beschlossen dass eine General Versammlung in jeder Gemeinde auf Sonntag den 28ten *December* veranstaltet werden, um über die Aufnahme des Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* als *Rabbiner* abzustimmen.

Beschlossen dass aus jeder Gemeinde einer ernannt werde um mit dem Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* Rücksprache wegen Gehalt und wegen von ihm zu übernehmenden Pflichten zu nehmen worauf folgende Herren als *Committee* ernannt wurden. H. Heyneman, L. Cohn und J. Alexander.

Auf Antrag vertagte sich die Versammlung bis zum 8ten *December* 7 Uhr Abends.

Joseph Lewin, Secretair

Gebilligt am 8ten *Decmbr* 1846 [1845]

Decmbr den 8ten 1845

Zufolge eines am 2ten dieses gefassten Beschlusses fand sich eine *Representation* der dreÿ Gemeinden im Versammlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein.

In Abwesenheit des Hrn. *H. Moses* wurde Hr. *H. Heynemann*⁸ zum Vorsitz berufen.

Das Protokoll der jüngst stattgefundenen Versammlung wurde verlesen und gebilligt.

Das *Committee* welches beÿ letztern Versammlung ernannt worden berichtet dass Tausend Dollars das geringste seÿ, was man dem Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* als *Salair* anbieten könne, und in Hinsicht der von denselben auszuübenden Pflichten berichtet das *Committee* dass derselbe folgende zu übernehmen bereit seÿ.

⁸ H. Heynemann (or Heinemann) was another important figure in the German community. He was the first Grand Master of the Order Free Sons of Israel.

1.) Im Allgemeinen mit Rath und That durch Lehre und Unterricht dazu beizutragen dass die jüdische *Religion* in den 3 Gemeinden immer fester gestellt werde, und dieselben als eine würdige jüdische *Corporation* jeder andern zur Seite treten können.

2.) Die Oberaufsicht über den Gottesdienst zu übernehmen und die שאלות die nach dem jüdischen Gesetze darüber vorfallen könnten zu entscheiden.

3.) In den dreÿ *Synagogen* zu predigen, und zwar an jeden שבת in einer andern nach dem Altar in welchen dieselben entstanden; auch in der selber Ordnung an פסח 4 an שבועות 2 an ראש השנה 2 an יום כפור 2 an סוכות 4 mahl zu predigen und jeden der öffentlichen Staatsfeiertage durch eine Predigt zu feiern.

4.) Alle שאלות die in den 3 Gemeinden vorkommen und in dem אבן העזר oder מן אברהם, יורה דעה einschlagen zu beantworten, also alle Fragen, die in das jüdische Leben gehören, nach jüdischem Gesetze zu entscheiden.

5.) Die שוחטים und die שחיטה unter seine Aufsicht zu nehmen, die Anordnungen, die für פסח für das Backen der מצות getroffen werden zu überwachen, überhaupt alle jüdische Anstalten dieser Gemeinden zu besichtigen dass . . . [sie?] nach den Regeln unseres heiligen jüdischen Gesetzes geführt werden.

6.) Die Oberaufsicht über die Kinderschulen zu übernehmen, und besonders dahin zu wirken dass der Religions Unterricht in seinen vollen Umfange würdig und wirksam ertheilt werde.

7.) Allen Knaben die בר מצוה werden so wie allen Mädchen die das 12te Jahr erreichen selbst den Religions Unterricht zu ertheilen, sie am שבועות öffentlich in der Synagoge zu prüfen und sie zur treuen Uebernahme unserer göttlichen Religion aufzufordern.

8.) Bei den חתנות die Trauungsreden zu halten und die *Copulationen* nach ertheilter Erlaubniss des Präsidenten einer jeden Gemeinde zu verrichten.

9. Die Kranken, wenn sie es verlangen zu besuchen, und Ihnen den Trost der Religion zu bringen, mit den Sterbenden die letzten Gebete zu sprechen, und auf Verlangen Grabreden zu halten.

Auf Antrag wurde der Bericht angenommen und das *Committee* entlassen.

Beschlossen das der Sekretär beauftragt werde, die in den Bericht bemerkten Pflichten zwey mal abzuschreiben, und die *Copien* den Presidenten der Gemeinden zuzustellen, damit sie dieselben bey den General Versammlungen ihrer Gemeinden verlesen lassen ferner

Beschlossen dass die Versammlung eine kurze Zeit aufgehoben sey um jeden Presidenten einer Gemeinde Gelegenheit zu geben mit seinen Mit-Vorsteher zu berathen welche Summa er seiner Gemeinde als Salair für Hrn. Dr. Lilienthal empfehlen wolle.

Nachdem die Versammlung wieder organisiert worden, berichteten die Vorstände dass die folgende Summen empfehlen wollen nähmlich

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| <i>Anschi Chesed</i> Gemeinde..... | \$500 ⁹ |
| <i>Schaar Haschomaim</i> Gemeinde..... | 250 |
| <i>Rodef Scholem</i> Gemeinde..... | 250 |

Auf Antrag beschlossen dass Gemeinde *Bene Jeschurun* nicht aufgefordert werde, sich an dieser Sache anzuschliessen.¹⁰ Beschlossen dass die Versammlung sich vertage bis zum nächsten Aufruf von Chairman.

Joseph Lewin Sktr.

Gebilligt den 8ten Febr. 46.

⁹ Anshe Chesed as the largest of these three synagogues, and indeed soon the largest Jewish congregation in the United States, was apparently expected to make a greater contribution towards Lilienthal's salary than the other two synagogues. The records of Anshe Chesed reveal that this salary was paid for several months but that in march of 1847 it was considerably reduced. Whether the other synagogues reduced their payments as well, and hence Lilienthal's salary as a whole was reduced, is unknown. Cf. Anshe Chesed Trustee Minutes Mar. 28, 1847.

¹⁰ This entry would indicate that there was some feeling originally that the union should be an Ashkenazic one taking in the oldest Ashkenazic congregation in New York, Bnai Jeshurun.

Dezember den 21ten 1845.

Zufolge eines aufrufs des *chairman* fand sich eine Representation der 3 Gemeinden in dem Versammlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein. Hr. *H. Moses* im Vorsitz. Folgende Beschluss wurde einstimmig angenommen.

Beschlossen dass ein *Committee* ernannt werde um von dem Hrn. Dr. Lilienthal die von dem Sekretär ausgefertigten 3 *Copien* der vom Hr. Dr. Lilienthal zu leistende Pflichten unterzeichnen zu lassen, auch seine *Atteste* und Zeugnisse einzusehen und einen Theil davon jedem Presidenten der Gemeinden einzuhändigen um solche bey den General-Versammlungen vorzulegen worauf folgende Herren als *Committee* ernant wurden. C. Nussbaum. L. Cohen. J. Fischer. Auf Antrag vertagt.

Joseph Lewin Secritair

Gebilligt den 1ten *Februar* 1846.

Dezember den 29ten 1845.

Zufolge eines Aufrufs des *chairman* fand sich eine Representation der 3 Gemeinden in dem Versammlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Schaar Haschamaim* ein. Nachdem die Versammlung von dem günstigen Resultate der gester stattgefundenen Generalversammlungen in Kenntniss gesetzt worden, wurden folgende Beschlüsse einstimmig angenommen.

Beschlossen dass das *Engagement* des Hrn. Dr. Lilienthal vom 1ten Januar an seinen Anfang nehme.

Beschlossen dass die חונים ersucht werden das *copuliren* abzugeben . . . ? dass wenn einer derselben es nicht freywillig thun wolle, derselbe keine Erlaubniss zu *copuliren* von seinen פרנס erhalte.

Beschlossen dass der Sekretär beauftragt sey vier *Contracte* zwischen den 3 Gemeinden und dem Hr. Dr. Lilienthal zu schreiben, dabey zu bemerken die Summa welche derselbe von jeder Gemeinde erhalten soll and solche vierteljährlich zahlbar zu machen.

Beschlossen dass der Sekretär für seine bisherige Mühe und für das Schreiben der *Contracte* bezahlt werde.

Der Sekretär legte hierauf den Entwurf eines *Contractes* vor, woran folgende Verbesserungen vorgenommen wurden.

1.) Es dem Hrn. Rabbiner *Dr. Lilienthal* zur Pflicht zu machen, bis spätestens 3 Monate seine *מוריה*¹¹ von *Rabbi Hirsch Aub* zu München, den Vorstehern der dreÿ Gemeinden vorzuzeigen.

2.) Beÿ den vorkommenden *שאלות* auch die mit anzuführen welche sich im *חושן המשפט* vorfinden.

3.) Es den Vorstehern der dreÿ Gemeinden zur Pflicht zu machen, in Sachen, welche dieselben für das Wohl and Beste der Gemeinden für rahtsam halten, nach Kräften mitzuwirken, um dem Hrn. *Rabbiner Dr. Max Lilienthal* die Ausübung seiner Pflichten zu erleichtern.

Beschlossen dass es dem Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* erlaubt seÿ an dem Tage wo er es versprochen, eine Rede in der *Elm st. Synagoge*¹² zu halten.

Auf Antrag vertagt bis zum 4ten *Januar*.

Joseph Lewin Sktr.

Gebilligt den 1ten *Februar* 1846.

Januar den 4ten 1846.

Zufolge des beÿ letzterer Versammlung gefassten Beschlusses fand sich eine Representation der dreÿ Gemeinden so wie auch S. H. E. W. Hr. Rabbiner *Dr. Max Lilienthal* in dem Versammlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein.

Auf Antrag wurde Hr. *H. Heynemann* zum Vorsitz berufen. Der Sekretär legte 4 *Copien* eines *Contractes* mit Hrn. *Dr. M. Lilienthal* vor.

Der *Contract* wurde gelesen, von den Vorstehern and von Hr. *Dr. L.* angenommen und unterschrieben.

Zunächst wurde besprochen auf welche Weise die Introduction des Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* als Rabbiner stattfinden solle. Nach vielen Debatten wurden folgende Beschlüsse gefasst und einstimmig angenommen.

¹¹ This is an incorrect spelling for *מוריה*. Hebrew words and phrases in the minutes of New York congregations are rarely correctly given.

¹² I. e., Bnai Jeshurn which was on Elm Street.

1.) Soll die Introduction am nächsten שבת den 10ten d. M. in der *Henry st.* Synagoge¹³ stattfinden.

2.) Nach Beendigung des gewöhnlichen Sabbath-Gottesdienstes wird ein *Capitel* תהילים von חזן gebetet.

3.) Wird Hr. Dr. L. von den 3 Presidenten der Gemeinden dem Rev. C. Nussbaum vorgestellt. Dieser stellt den Hrn. Dr. L. den Gemeinden vor, überreicht ihm einen der *Contracte*, und fordert ihn auf vor Gott die treue Ausübung seiner Pflichten anzugeloben. Hr. H. Heynemann hält die *Contracte* auf einem seidenen Kissen. Hr. Dr. L. stattet in einer kurzen Rede seinen Dank ab und überliefert einem jeden der Presidenten der 3 Gemeinden einen der *Contracte*.

4.) Wird Hr. Dr. L. von dem Rev. C. Nussbaum¹⁴ auf den פרנס Sitz geführt, welchen Sitz er auch nachher in jeder der 3 Synagogen einnehmen soll. Der חזן betet einen kurzen Psalm.

5.) Antrittsrede des Hrn. Rabbiners Dr. Max Lilienthal.

6.) Der חזן betet einen Psalm.

7.) Gebet und Segen von Hrn. Dr. L.

8.) Yigdal.

9.) Die *Ceremonie* findet zwischen dem ארון הקדש und der *Tabah*¹⁵ statt, woselbst die Vorsteher der Gemeinden, die Kinderlehrer, die Schul-Committees, und die Vorsänger ihre Plätze einnehmen.

Auf Antrag des Hr. Dr. L. wurden folgende *Committees* ernannt, um mit demselben die betreffenden Gegenstände zu besprechen, Beschlüsse darüber zu fassen, und solche einer späteren Versammlung zur Berathung vorzulegen.

1.) *Committee* an שוחטים und שחיטה J. Freund, R. Rodacher, J. Alexander.

2.) *Committee* an Kinderschulen J. Alexander, H. Heynemann, M. Kupfer.

¹³ This refers to Anshe Chesed which was located on Henry Street.

¹⁴ C. Nussbaum was a Jewish bookseller and a learned Jew.

¹⁵ This should be *tebah*. Its incorrect rendition may be due to the influence of Shearith Israel where many a Hebrew term was corrupted in the course of time. The reference to "between the *aron hakodesh* and the *Tabah*" undoubtedly refers to the space usually left vacant in New York congregations between these two synagogue objects and where ordinarily no seats would be placed. This arrangement is also due to the influence of Shearith Israel.

3.) *Committee* an Synagogen Ordnung *H. Moses, H. Hildburghauser, L. Cohn.*

4.) *Committee* an *Confirmations* fähige Kinder *S. Friedsam, J. Oettinger, J. Waldheimer.*

5.) *Committee* wegen גיירורים *H. Moses, H. Hildburghauser, L. Cohn, H. Heynemann, J. Alexander, und M. Kupfer.*

Es wurde dem Hrn. *Dr. L.* gestattet eine שם חברה zu errichten. Ferner den *Rev. C. Nussbaum* als דיין bei wichtigen Angelegenheiten mit in Berathung zu ziehen, und sich mit diesem Herrn einen 3ten und wenn nöthig auch einen 4ten zu wählen.

Beschlossen dass die שמשים der 3 Gemeinden der Reihe nach wöchentlich umzuwechseln, täglich einer im Hause des Hrn. *Dr. L.* hinkommen, um die etwa nöthigen Gänge in Geschäften der Gemeinden für ihn zu besorgen.

Beschlossen das Hr. *H. Heinemann* als *Chairman* dieser Versammlungen auch für die Zukunft *agire.*

Hr. *Jones* setzte die Versammlung in Kenntniss, dass er wohl bereitwillig sei, als Sekretär dieser Versammlungen zu *functioniren*, dass er aber ausserhalb den Versammlungen keine Zeit dafür, ausser dem Schreiben des Protokolls verwenden könne. Dieser Antrag wurde genehmigt und

Beschlossen dass die zwei Sekretäre der Gemeinden *Schaar Hashamaim* und *Rodef Sholem* solche Schreibereien welche ausserhalb der Versammlungen nöthig sind zu besorgen haben.

Auf Antrag vertagt.

Joseph Lewin Skrt.

Gebilligt den 1ten *Februar* 1846.

Januar den 7ten 1846.

Von dem *chairman* berufen fand sich eine representation der 3 Gemeinden in dem Versammlungslokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein.

Der *Chairman* setzte die Versammlung in Kenntniss, dass er sie berufen, um die noch nöthigen Anordnungen zur Installation für nächsten שבת zu treffen, worauf folgende Beschlüsse gefasst wurden.

1.) Beschlossen dass die Kanzel mit Blumen $\times \times$ verziert werde, und dass dazu eine Summa von höchstens 5. Dollars bewilligt werde, und dass Hr. *Heinemann* beauftragt seÿ, diesem Beschluss in Ausführung zu bringen.

2.) Beschlossen 400 Programme der Installation drucken zu lassen, und eine Summa von 2 Dollars dafür zu bewilligen.

3.) Beschlossen dass jeder חון ein *Capitel* תהלים betet.

4.) Beschlossen dass jeder חון eine runde Sammt-Mütze, wenn in Ornat trage, and dass Hr. *Alexander*, *Schulhöfer* und *Friedsam* als *Committee* ernant seyn, um diese Mützen bis שבת fertig machen zu lassen.

5.) Beschlossen dass alle Vorsteher am nächsten Freitag in der Synagoge der Gemeinde *Anshi Chesed* um 1 Uhr *N. M.* zusammen kommen, um noch solche Anordnungen zu treffen, als nöthig sein möchten.

6.) Beschlossen dass die Presidenten der dreÿ Gemeinden den Hrn *Dr. Lilienthal* am nächsten שבת Morgen, aus seinem Wohnhausse abholen, um ihn in die Synagoge zu führen.

Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 1ten *Februar* 1846.

Joseph Lewin Scrtr.

Januar den 14ten 1846.

Von dem *Chairman* berufen, fand sich eine Representation der dreÿ Gemeinden in den Versammlungslokale der Gemeinde *Schaar Haschomaim* ein.

S. Hohehrwürden Hr. Rabbiner *Dr. Max Lilienthal* legte einen Bericht des *Committees* für *confirmations* fähige Kinder vor, lautend wie folgt.

“Das *Committee*, geehrte Presidenten, Vice Presidenten und Trustees, dass Sie beauftragt die Einrichtung der in Ihren Gemeinden einzuführenten *Confirmation* der jüdischen Kinder (die aber mit der מצוה בר nicht zu thun hat, und die wie bisher an dem שבת gefeiert wird, an dem der Knabe zum ersten male zur Thora gerufen wird) zu bearbeiten and Ihrer geneigten Bestätigung vorzulegen, hat diese Arbeiten beendet, und beeilt sich hiermit, dieselben Ihnen zu überreichen.

Die *Confirmation* der jüdischen Kinder zerfällt in zwey Theile.

a.) in den zu ertheilenden Religionsunterricht, der der *Confirmation* vorangehet.

b.) in den Ackt der *Confirmation* selbst.

A. Religionsunterricht.

1. Den Religionsunterricht hat S. Hochehrenwurden der Rabbiner *Dr. M. Lilienthal* nach punkt 8 seines Anstellungsdekrets vom 1ten *Januar* 1846 selbst zu ertheilen.

2. Dieser Unterricht wird wöchentlich von ראש חדש טבת bis שבועות jeden Jahres zweimal im Schul-lokale der Gemeinde *Schaar Haschomaim* ertheilt, und zwar Sonntag und Mittwoch Nachmittags in jeder Woche von 4–5 Uhr.

3. Dieser Unterricht umfasst: die wichtigsten Lehren von Gott, seinen Eigenschaften und Werken, von Unsterblichkeit und Offenbarung, dann wörtlich die Zehn-Gebote mit kurzer Inhaltserklärung, darauf die Hauptpflichten gegen Gott, Fest und Fasttage, die Hauptcermonien, die Hauptpflichten gegen sich, gegen die Eltern, and gegen andere, im Allgemeinen und besonderen; alles Wichtige mit einem kräftigen Kernspruche aus der Bibel belegt, welcher von dem Knaben zugleich hebraisch recitirt wird.

4. An diesem Unterrichte nehmen Theil a) Alle Knaben und Mädchen der Mitglieder der 3. Gemeinden die schon בר מצוה oder älter als 12 Jahre und noch nicht *conformirt* sind. b) In der Regel aber diejenigen Knaben die bis zum שבועות eines jeden Jahres ihr 13tes und alle Mädchen die bis zur selben Frist ihr 12tes Jahr zurückgelegt haben.

5. Der Beginn dieses Unterrichts wird jährlich am שבת חנוכה in den Synagogen der 3. Gemeinden öffentlich bekannt gemacht, und die Eltern durch diese Bekanntmachung aufgefordert ihre Kinder bei S. H. E. W. Hrn. Rabbiner anzumelden. Die Zahl der *Confirmanten* wird dann zur Kenntniss der resp. Presidenten jeder Gemeinde gebracht.

6. Die Zeit der *Confirmation* ist das שבועות fest, als Gesetzgebungs, Bundes und *Confirmations* Tag Israels am *Sinai*. Die

Confirmation findet am Nachmittag des ersten Tages des שבועות Festes um 3 Uhr statt. — Das erste mal in der *Henry st.* Synagoge.

B. Akt der *Confirmation*.

7. Am 1ten vor שבועות wird der President, in dessen Synagoge die *Confirmation* abgehalten wird von den Hrn. Rabbiner in Kenntniss gesetzt und ersucht folgende Einrichtungen zu treffen. a) Bänke zwischen dem ארון הקדש und der בימה für die zu *confirmirenten* Knaben und Mädchen stellen zu lassen. b) Zur Seite derselben, Rechts und Links Plätze für die Väter und Mütter der zu *confirmirenten* Kinder besorgen zu lassen. c) Die Synagoge feierlich schmücken und erlauchten zu lassen. d) die für die *Confirmirenten* von den Hrn. Rabbiner bestimmten Bibelverse drucken oder einschreiben zu lassen.

8. Die *Confirmation* die der Hr. Rabbiner vorzunehmen hat zerfällt:

- a) In einen Psalmvers von den *Confirmanden* gesungen.
- b) In die Rede des Rabbiners an die Gemeinde.
- c) In die Prüfung der *Confirmanden*.
- d) Aufforderung an dieselben durch den Hrn. Rabbiner zur Treue gegen die jüdische Religion, und Singen eines 2ten Psalmverses.
- e) Antwort der *Confirmanden*. Gelübde.
- f) Segen der Eltern.
- g) Vertheilung eines gedruckten Bibelverses an die *Confirmanden* zum Andenken an die für ihr Leben so wichtige Feier.
- h) Seegen des Rabbiners.
- i) Jigdal, durch die Vorsänger der 3 Gemeinden gesungen.

9. Um die ganze Handlung an Einheit gewinnen zu lassen wurden die dreÿ Hauptstücke der *Confirmation*, die Prüfung, das Gelübde und die Einsegnung, durch die Rede des Hrn. Rabbiners in Verbindung gesetzt, und der Rede selbst ein Hauptsatz und ein Text zum grunde gelegt.

10. Am 2ten Tage des שבועות Festes werden die *Confirmirten* Knaben zusammen zur Thora gerufen mit den Worten יעמר כל הנערים wie dies auch am שמחת תורה üblich ist.

Schlussbemerkungen.

a) Da die Bekanntmachung der *Confirmation* am letzten שבת הנוכה noch nicht erfolgen konnte, so soll dieselbe in allen 3 Gemeinden nächsten שבת den 17ten d. M. erfolgen, die Meldungen in nächster Woche bei dem Hrn. Rabbiner jeden Abend zwischen 6 & 7 Uhr geschehen, und mit dem 25ten *Januar* der Unterricht beginnen.

b) Der Hr. Rabiner wird in seiner Predigt am nächsten שבת die religiöse Zulässigkeit der *Confirmation* vor den 3 Gemeinden darthun.

Newyork den 13ten Januar 1846

Unterzeichnet

Dr. Lilienthal

S. Friedsam

J. Waldheimer

J. N. Oettinger.

Auf Antrag wurde der Bericht in einzelnen Secktionen verlesen, über jede einzelne Sektion abgestimmt und der Bericht angenommen und das *Committee* mit dem Danke der Versammlung entlassen.

Folgende Beschlüsse wurden gefasst und passiert.

1.) Den Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* zu ersuchen die Bekanntmachung welche derselbe am nächsten שבת zur Kenntniss der Gemeinden zu bringen wünscht dem Presidenten einer jeden Gemeinde schriftlich zu zustellen.

2.) Dass die Gemeinden die Bibelverse von denen in Bericht des *Committees* Erwähnung geschieht, auf gemeinschaftliche Kosten drucken zu lassen.

3.) Dass ein Buch gekauft werde worin der Sekretär die Verhandlungen dieser Versammlungen *protocollire*.

4.) Das die Predigt jedesmal nach Beendigung des Gottesdienstes stattfinde.

5.) Die Vorsänger der Gemeinden zu ersuchen in der Synagoge wo gepredigt wird, wenn sie es möglich machen können hinzugehen und nach beendigter Predigt, Jigdal zu singen.

6.) Dass Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* zuerst die Arbeiten mit dem *Committee* an Kinderschulen vornehmen, ehe derselbe seine Arbeiten mit andern *Committees* beginnt.

Auf Antrag des Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* wurde noch ein *Committee* ernannt um mit demselben Anordnungen für die Beerdigung der Todten zu treffen und solche einer spätern Versammlung zur Berathung vorzulegen. Das *Committee* besteht aus *J. Oettinger, R. Rodacher und J. Alexander*.

Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* hielt um Erlaubniss an die Schule der *Melle. Palashi*¹⁶ zu besuchen und derselben mit gutem Rathe in Hinsicht des Religionsunterricht an der Hand zu gehen.

Auf Antrag wurde beschlossen, die Entscheidung über diesen Gegenstand für jetzt beruhen zu lassen.

Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* machte die Versammlung darauf aufmerksam dass eine Wittve *Landmann* Christinn, deren verstorbener Mann Jude war mit demselben 2 Kinder gezeugt, welche sie in Folge eines Testaments ihres seeligen Mannes als Juden erzogen zu sehen wünscht. Darauf wurde beschlossen, dass alle anwesenden Herrn ein *Committee* bilden sollen um nähere Erkundigung über diesen Gegenstand einzuziehen und bei einer spätern Versammlung zu berichten. Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* berichtet ferner derselbe eine *שם חברה* gegründet, dass der Beitrag 6 cts. pr. Woche für jedes Mitglied ist.

Auf Antrag beschlossen dass die Predigt nächsten *שבת* in der Synagoge *Schaar Haschamaim* gehalten werde.

Hr. *Dr. L.* berichtet dass ein Hr. *Friedmann* ein *שוחר* kürzlich von *Europa* hier angekommen sey, dass sich derselbe hier durch *שחיטה* ernähren könne, dass mann aber von ihm verlange sich zwar hier *examiniren* zu lassen, und *קבלה* zu nehmen.— Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* wünscht daher zu wissen, ob er diesen Hrn. wenn er in seiner *Examination* bestehet *קבלה* geben dürfe. Dieses wurde auf Antrag den Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* bewilligt.

Beschlossen ein Rabbinats siegel machen zu lassen worauf Hr. *Alexander, Heynemann und Kopfer* als *Committee* ernannt wurden um diess Siegel zu besorgen. Eine Summa von höchstens 9 Dollars wurde zu diesem Zwecke bewilligt, und das *Committee* wurde beauftragt zu gleicher Zeit ein Protokoll Buch zu besorgen.

Auf Antrag vertagte sich die Versammlung.

Gebilligt den 11ten *Februar* 1846.

Joseph Lewin Sctt.

¹⁶ This is a school for girls conducted by the Misses Palache.

Februar den 1ten 1846.

Zufolge eines Aufrufes vom *Chairman* fand sich heute eine Representation der dreÿ Gemeinden, in der Versammlungs lokale der Gemeinde *Rodef Scholom* ein. Hr. Heineman im Vorsitz. Die Protokolle der Versammlungen vom 8. 21. 29ten *December* so wie vom 4. 7. 14ten *Januar* wurden verlesen und gebilligt.

Vorgeschlagen und unterstützt dass der *Confirmations*-Unterricht allen Knaben und Mädchen ertheilt werde welche das 12te Jahr erreicht haben.

angenommen

Beschlossen dass die *confirmirten* Knaben nicht zur חוריה gerufen werden am 2ten Tag שבועות.

Committee wegen Rabbiners Siegel berichtet, dass ein solches Siegel 15 *Dollars* kosten würde, daher keines bestellt habe.

Beschlossen dass das *Committee* noch länger Zeit hätte und die Macht habe 15 *Dollars* dafür zu geben.

Wegen der Wittwe *Langemann* wurde dem *Committee* noch länger Zeit gegeben.

Hr. Fischer schickte eine schriftliche Entschuldigung für sein Nichterscheinen ein, welche angenommen wurde.

Beschlossen dass in der nächsten Versammlung eine Ordnung getroffen werde, um das Erscheinen eines jeden Vorstands-Mitglied beÿ Versammlungen zu sichern. Der *Chairman* setzte die Versammlung in Kenntniss dass die Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* folgende Beschlüsse zur Billigung vorlege.

- 1.) Eine Vereinigung der dreÿ Kinderschulen.
- 2.) Alle Jahr eine öffentliche Mahlzeit zu veranstalten um die dazu nöthigen Gelder zu bekommen.
- 3.) Den *Fond* zum Bau eines Schullokals dadruch anzuschaffen dass man das *Capital* in *Actien* vertheile, wovon ein Theil jährlich wieder abgezahlt werden soll.

Der 1te u. 2te Vorschlag wurde angenommen und es wurde Beschlossen dass die *Risiko* in gleichen Theilen, von den dreÿ Gemeinden übernommen werde.

Beschlossen dass die 1te Mahlzeit Montag vor פורים stattfindet. Beschlossen dass eine *Committee* 2 von jeder Gemeinde ernannt

werde um Anordnungen zu treffen. *H. Hildburghauher, J. Alexander, M. Kupfer, S. Lichtenstadter, H. Heinemann* und *V. Coon*. Beschlossen den הנותן חשועה nicht mehr zu beten, und an dessen Stelle einen von Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* abgefassten ריבון כל העולמים zu beten.

Beschlossen dass dieses Gebet vom Hr. *Dr. L.* selbst in der Synagoge wo er predigt vorgetragen werden soll. Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 8ten Februar 1846.

Joseph Lewin Secritair

Februar den 8ten 1846.

In Folge eines Aufrufs des *Chairman*, fand sich heute eine Representation der dreÿ Gemeinden in dem Versammlungs Lokale der Gemeinde *Anschi Chesed* ein. Hr. *H. Heinemann* im Vorsitz. Das Protocoll der letzten Versammlung wurde verlesen und gebilligt. Der *Chairman* berichtet dass er die Versammlung berufen um die Veranstaltung der Mahlzeit nochmals genauer zu bedenken. Nachdem mehrere Debatten darüber gehalten wurden wurde

Beschlossen dass die Vorsteher nicht berechtigt sein sollen, das *Risico* auf Kosten der Gemeinden zu übernehmen.

Beschlossen dass alle weitem Verhandlungen über diesen Gegenstand überliegen, bis die Sache nächsten פסח den Mitgliedern selbst vorgelegt werden.

Auf Antrag des Hrn. *Dr. Lilienthal* wurden folgende Beschlüsse in Hinsicht derjenigen welche *copuliert* zu sein wünschen, gefasst.

1.) Hat der חתן dem Hrn. Rabbiner seinen Namen, Wohnung und Stand, seinen Geburtsort, so wie die Namen seiner Bekannten, auch dasselbe von seiner Braut anzugeben.

2.) Hat der חתן dem Hrn. Rabbiner alle Fragen genau zu beantworten, welche nach dem דין für nöthig sind, ehe er Erlaubniss zur *Copulation* erhalten kann.

3.) In der Regel können die *Copulationen* nur in den Synagogen stattfinden, und wenn eine Ausnahme stattfinden soll, so müssen genügende Ursachen vorhanden sein die dem Vorstands-Mitgliedern einleuchten.

4.) Hat man es am שבת vor der *Copulation* in allen 3 Schulen bekannt zu machen dass ein Hr. N. N. aus N. wohnhaft No. . . . gesonnen seÿ am . . . den . . . mit N. N. *copulirt* zu seÿn. Herr Dr. Lilienthal weiss hinauf den יורה דעה fol. 178 unter der Rubrick von חוקת הנוים, zum Beweiss dass diese Bekanntmachung nicht als חוקת הנוים zu betrachten seÿ.¹⁷ Hr. Dr. Lilienthal theilte der Versammlung den Inhalt eines Briefes von *New-Haven* mit, worin die Gemeinde מושב ישראל den Hrn. Dr. L. ersucht, derselben Entscheidungen über Religionsfragen zu geben. Beschlossen dass die *New-Haven Congregation* sich an dem *Chairman* zu wenden habe, und demselben genau mitzutheilen, wass sie wünschte.

Beschlossen dass eine Versammlung auf Montag den 16ten anberaumt werde in diesem Lokale um 7 Uhr Abends, wozu die שוחטים eingeladen werden sollen, und dass nachdem diese, Auskunft über die שחיטה gegeben haben, dass dann die Vorsteher der verschiedenen Gemeinden eingeladen werden, um sich der Organisation der שחיטה anzuschliessen.—

V. und U. dass ein *Committee* ernannt werde ermächtigt bis 15 Dollars Auslage zu machen, um von einen Advokaten eine Meinung zu erhalten über den Beerdigungsplatz in *Oliver strasse*, ob die Gemeinden Anspruch daran machen können. *Moses, Koon, Hildburghauser.* angenommen.¹⁸

Beschlossen dass Schreibmaterialien für Hr. Dr. L. gekauft werden. *Committee. Alexander, Kupfer und Heynemann.* Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 22 Febr. 1846.

Joseph Lewin

Februar den 16ten 1846.

Zufolge Beschlusses bei letzter Versammlung, fanden sich die *Presidents* und *Vice Pr.* der 3 Gemeinden so wie der Hr.

¹⁷ Announcement of the names of the bride and groom in the synagogues dates back to Colonial times when the laws of the Colony of New York made provision for such an announcement. Cf. *Jewish Community of New York City, op. cit.*

¹⁸ This refers to an old claim against Shearith Israel on the part of the newer congregations and is described in detail in *Jewish Community, op. cit.*

Rabbiner *Dr. L.* im Versammlungslokale in *Henry St.* ein. als שוחטים waren anwesend die Hrn. *Heilner, Lewin, Mayer, M. Cohen, H. Friedman, Jonas Hecht.*

Hr. *Dr. L.* berichtet dass es den Hrn. *Marcus H. Levy* und *Moses Hart* nicht möglich seÿ diesen Abend hier zu sein, dass sich dieselben aber der Organization der שחיטה mit anzuschliessen wünschen.

Hr. *Dr. L.* stellte den Antrag dass die Anwesende שוחטים der Versammlung berichten mögen, was sie an der שחיטה bis jezt gefunden, was gegen die Vorschriften unseres Gesetzes ist; welcher Antrag angenommen wurde.

Die שוחטים berichteten hierauf folgendes.

1.) Fleisch bleibt 7-8 Tage hängen, niemand sieht nach um die חתימות abzunehmen.

2.) Die christlichen Fleischer verkaufen טריפה Fleisch als כשר indem sie alles unter einander hacken.

3.) Nach den טריפ Micker sieht niemand.

4.) Die Frau eines jüdischen Fleischers hat im vorigen Sommer hinterviertelfleisch an eine jüdische Frau verkauft.

5.) Ein jüdischer Fleischer in *Houston St.* hat כשר Zungen unter 'טריפ' Zungen hängen lassen, und schickte dann seinen Diener, um die Zungen (die nicht gesiegelt waren) abzuholen.

6.) Es gibt שוחטים die schon Jahre lang keine קבלה bekommen.

7.) Es giebt keine ordentliche Borscher, *Mack* borscht selbst.

8.) *Dean* hat die Siegel verwechselt, u. doch schechtet ein שוחט für ihn.

9.) Die Portugiesen legen an die Hinterviertel auch Siegel.

× × ×

Hr. *Dr. L.* berichtet dass er jezt an die Ausarbeitung eines Plans anfangen würde, wodurch den Uebel abgeholfen werden kann, und dass er diesen Plan bis spätestens 14 Tage den Vorstehern zur Berathung vorlegen würde. Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 22ten *Februar* 1846.

J. Lewin Secritair.

Den 22ten *Feb.* 1846, fand sich eine Representation der 3 Gemeinden so wie auch der Hr. Rabbiner *Dr. L.* im Versammlungslokale der Gemeinde *Schaar Schomaim* ein.

Hr. Heinemann im Vorsitz.

Protocolle vom 8ten u. 16ten d. wurden verlesen u. gebilligt. Den *Committees* an Rabbinatssiegel und an Advocaten wurde auf Antrag längere Zeit bewilligt.

Auf Antrag wurde Hr. Dr. L. zu dem *Committee* hinzugefügt um Erkundigung wegen der Wwe. Langemann einzuziehen. Briefe von Hrn. M. S. Cohen und Robt Speier jr. wurden verlesen dieselben bieten ihre dienste an, die מצות zu backen. Auf Antrag beschlossen, dass der Sekretair die Bäcker auf nächsten Dienstag Abend 6 Uhr in dem Versammlungslokale 156 Attorney Str. zu erscheinen, einlade, um dann über die *Application* zu entscheiden.

Hr. Dr. Lilienthal legte eine Abschrift seiner מורינו & חרות¹⁹ Titel von Hr. Rabbiner Hirsch Aub unterschrieben und von der Schul-Comissionär attestirt, vor, und trug darauf an, dass man die Contracte umschreibe, und den Paragraph streiche, der es dem Hr. Dr. L. zur Pflicht macht, seine מורינו vorzuzeigen. Darauf wurde beschlossen, dass diese zuerst von sachkundigen Leuten durchgelesen werde.

Hierzu wurde Hr. H. Felsenheld,²⁰ Isaac Kohnberg, C. Nussbaum späterhin ernannt & beschlossen, dass diese Herren ersucht werden, am nächsten Dienstag 6 Uhr Abends sich in den Locale 156 Attorney Str. einzufinden.

Beschlossen, dass bis nächsten שבת die geschriebenen הנותן aus den Synagogen gebracht, und an deren Stelle, das neue Gebet רבון כל העולמים geschrieben werde.

Hr. Dr. L. legte ein gedrucktes Documents vor, scheinbar eine Abschrift eines Briefes vom seligen Rabbiner S. Herrschel zu London an die Gemeinde Bnai Jeschurun in Betreff eines von גט ertheilte ר' הירש נאלדבערן.— Hr. D. wünschte, dass man an den Vorstand der Gemeinde einen Brief schreibe, und sie ersuche zu beantworten, ob gedachtes Document wirklich im Original von ihnen empfangen wurden.²¹

¹⁹ These letters are not entirely clear in the manuscript. They undoubtedly refer to חרות הוראה.

²⁰ Hermann Felsenheld was a teacher of Hebrew at the Anshe Chesed school. When Lilienthal organized a Beth Din in 1847 he invited Felsenheld, Isaac Mayer Wise and Kohlmeyer a Rabbinical student to be its members.

²¹ These unauthorized divorce proceedings are mentioned in Goldstein, Israel, *A Century of Judaism in New York* pp. 329-330.

Beschlossen dass der Secretair beauftragt sei, dieses zu thun.

Hr. *Dr. L.* legte einen Plan vor in Betreff der Synagogen-Ordnung am Freitag Abend & שבת Morgens. Berathung darüber wurde verschoben, um den Vorstehern der Gemeinden Gelegenheit zu geben, bis nächsten Sonntag sich während dem Verkaufen oder Nichtverkaufen der מצות²² einig zu werden.

Beschlossen, dass nächsten Sonntag ein Plan wegen Kinderschulen ausgearbeitet werde, um solchen den General-Versammlungen nächsten פסח vorzulegen.

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|--|--------|
| Rechnung für Schreibmaterialien | \$3.37 |
| Auch eine für Hr. Jones für seine Bemühungen | 6.50 |
| Summa | 9.87 |

wurden empfangen und beschlossen auszuzahlen.

Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 24. *Feb* 1846.

H. Jones Scr.

Den 24. *Febr.* 1846 fand sich zufolge Beschlusses bei der letzten Versammlung der 3 Gemeinden im Versammlungslokale der Gem. Rodef Scholem ein. Hr. *H. Heinemann* im Vorsitz. Der Protocoll der letzten Versammlung wurde gelesen und gebilligt. Die *Applicants* für das Backen der מצות wurden zugelassen. *H. Cohn* meldet, dass er die מצות zu 7 *Cts.* & מצות מעהל zu 9 *Cts.* *pr. lb* geben würde, und einen Mann als שומר mit 1.25 *pr.* Tag zahlen wolle, sonst aber Nichts für קהל Besseres thun könne.

Hr. *Robt. Speier jr.* forderte nur 6½ *Cts* für מצות und 8½ *Cts.* für מצות מעהל. Auf Antrag wurde beschlossen, das Hr. *Robt. Speier jr.* zum Backen der מצות engagirt werde, wenn er sich in sonstigen Anordnungen fügen wolle.

Hr. *Speier* willigte ein, sich nach den Vorschriften des Hr. Rabbiners in Betreff der *Mazoth* zu richten. 2 Leute in der Mühle u. 1 *Dollr. pr.* Tag & 2 in Backhause u. 1 *Dollr. pr.* Tag zu *employerien*, auch jeder Gemeinde 50 *lb.* gratis für die Armen zu geben. Auf Antrag wurde ein *Contract* von beiden Seiten über die Lieferung der מצות abgeschlossen.

²² Read *mizvot* and not *mazot*.

Es wurde beschlossen, dass von einer Gemeinde 2 Leute in der Mühle gestellt werden; und von jeden andern Gemeinde einer in der Backhaus geschickt werde, und dass darum gelooset werde, welche Gemeinde die 2 Leute in die Mühle schicken soll. Das Loos entschied, dass die Gemeinde Schaar Schomajim 2 Leute in die Mühle schicken soll.

Die Herren *Kohnberg*, *Nussbaum* & *Felsenheld*, welche sich eingefunden, um die von Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal* eingehändigten Papiere einzusehen, berichteten wie folgt: H. Kohnberg erkennt die מוריו als gut an, ist aber nicht mit den Unterschrift bekannt.

H. *Nussbaum* kann aber will seine Meinung jetzt nicht aussern, wünscht eine Abschrift der Papiere und will dann bei einer General-Versammlung seiner Meinung sagen.

H. *Felsenheld* erkennt die מוריו als gut an, and kann auch die Unterschrift der Hr. Rabbiner *Hirsch Aub.* Auf Antrag wurde Hr. *Nussbaum* von den *Comittee* entlassen und der Bericht der *Majarität* angenommen.

Der *Chairmann* stattete der *Comittee* im Namen der Vorsteher seinen Dank ab, für ihr Bemühungen, und die Versammlung vertagte sich bis zum nächsten Sonntag.

M. Danziger Secr.

Gebilligt den 1. März 1846.

Den 1. März 1846, versammelte, sich eine Representation der drei Gemeinden in dem Versammlungslocale der Gemeinde Schaar Schamajim. Hr. *H. Heinemann* im Vorsitz.

Der Protocoll der letzten Versammlung wurde verlesen und gebilligt. Auf Antrag wurden alle andere Geschäfte verschoben, um zuerst das noch Nöthige wegen dem Backen der מצות zu verhandeln. Hr. *Dr. L.* meldete, dass er den שומרים eine schriftliche Instruction geben werde, sowohl denen, welche beim Mahlen, als auch denen welche bei dem Backen als שומרים angestellt werden, und dass derselbe eine *Copie* davon dem *Chairmann* geben wurde, um solche in dem Protocoll als *Referenz* für die Zukunft zu haben.

Folgende ist eine *Copie* der *Instruction* für die Wächter die zum Mahlen des מצה מעלס nach der Mühle geschickt werden.

1. Die Mühle muss gut gereinigt werden (מון אברהם 453. 8.).

2. Der Stein der Mühle muss herabgenommen und gut gereinigt werden (Dort **אשל אברהם**).

3. Das erste Mehl muss bei Seite gelegt werden. (Dort).

4. Ein neuer Beutel muss herbei geschafft werden. (451.18)

5. Ebenso eine neue Siebe, wenn das Mehl auf der Mühle gesiebt wird. (451.18.)

6. Die Mahlstube, in der das Mehl hineinfällt, muss gereinigt und mit Leimrand [?] beschlagen werden, falls nicht neue Mehlkasten herbeigeschafft werden können. (451.20)

7. Der Waizen darf nicht ausgewaschen u. nicht gewässert sein. (467.2)

8. Das Mehl muss vom Mahlen an gehütet werden, dass es nicht nass werde; daher

9. Soll das Mehl schon während des Mahlens immerwährend in Säcke gefüllt werden.

10. Hat man Mäuse oder Ratten am Mühle bemerkt, so soll das Mehl so weit es angebissen ist, und noch etwas [?] darüber, bei Seite gelegt werden. (466. 12)

11. Ist ein Sack an [?] den Wand nass geworden, so soll man ihn als **חמץ** bei Seite thun [?]. (466.3).

12. Die Säcke müssen neu sein. (453.6.)

13. Das Mehl in den Säcken muss fest gepackt werden. (466.12.)

14. Wenn die Säcke von der Mühle hereingeführt werden, so sollen nicht zu viele Säcke auf einander gelegt werden. (453.7).

15. Die Wächter haben die Mühle und das Mehl des Tags und des Nachts immerfort zu hüten.

16. Die Säcke müssen gesiegelt werden, doch die Naht muss nach innen gewendet sein (**יורה דעה** 63 & 118.)

17. Die Wächter haben Vorsorge zu treffen, dass die Säcke von der Mühle aus an einen solchen Platz, hingeschaft werden, an dem sie bis zum Backen unter gehörigen Aufsicht bleiben.

Da sich die drei Gemeinden wegen dem Verkaufe der **מצות** noch nicht einig werden konnten, so wurde auf Antrag beschlossen, dass die Synagogen-ordnung fürs Erste den Vorstehern jeder Gemeinde überlassen bleibe, in wie weit sie solche einzuführen wünschen.

Hr. *Joseph Oettinger* stellt den Antrag, dass seiner Meinung nach der Unterricht der Kinder gebessert werden könne, dass die Kinder, welche die jetzt bestehenden 3 Schulen besuchen, in 3 Klassen getheilt werden, und jede Klasse dann in einem der 3 *Locale* geschickt werde, damit die Lehrer mehrern Kinder in eine Klasse bekommen, und so dieser Klasse längere Zeit widmen können. Auf Antrag wurde dieser Antrag dem Hr. *Dr. Lilienthal*. zur berathung mit den Lehrern & den Schulcommittens übertragen.

Beschlossen dass die verschiedenen Gemeinden bei den General-Versammlungen am 1800 — 1. Die Mitglieder ersuchen ihre Einwilligung zur Vereinigung der Kinder schulen zu geben. 2. Den Vorstehern die Macht zu geben das *Risico* der Auslagen für eine zu [?] veranstaltende Mahlzeit aus der Gemeindecasse zu übernehmen; indem man hofft, bei einer solchen Mahlzeit durch freiwillige Gaben, den grössten Theil der Kosten der Kinderschulen gedeckt zu sehen. Beschlossen, dass die Präsidenten der Gemeinden, die General-Versammlung am 1800 auf einen Tag, aber zu verschiedenen Stunden berufen, um dem H. *Dr. Lilienthal* Gelegenheit zu geben, die Versammlungen beizuwohnen, und den Mitgliedern die Vortheile einer Vereinigung der Kinderschulen auseinander zu setzen.

Hr. *Alexander, Kupfer & Heinemann* wurden als *Committee* ernannt, um Erkundigung einzuziehen, ob die portugiesische Gemeinde vom *Staate* Gelder zur Erhaltung einer Kinderschule erhält, und wenn so, auf welche Weise, und wie viel?

Committee an Rabbinats Siegel berichtet, dass dasselbe fertig sei, & liefert eine Rechnung von \$15 dafür ein. Auf Antrag wurde das *Committee* entlassen, und die Rechnung gezahlt. Auf Antrag vertagt.

Gebilligt den 5. April 1846.

M. Danziger Secr.

Den 18. März 1846, fand sich eine Representation der 3 Gemeinden im Versammlungslocale der Gemeinde Schaar Scho-
maim ein *H. Heimann* im Vorsitz. *Committee* wegen Kinder
Ww. Langemann berichtet dass der Knabe in Gegenwart der H.
Jung & Gänzlein gejudischt wurden sei, and dass der seelige
Langemann auf seinem Starbette seiner Frau das Versprochen

abgenommen, die Kinder als Juden zu erziehen. Beschlossen dass H. Dr. *Lilienthal* die nähere Rücksprache mit der Ww. Lange-mann nehme.

Dem *Committee* wegen Beerdigungsplatz in *Oliver Str.*, so wie dem *Committee* wegen Gelder vom Staat zu einer Kinderschule, wurden länger Zeit bewilligt.

Wegen dem von H. *Oettinger* vorgeschlagenen Plan mit den Kinderschulen kann noch nicht geschehen, bis sich die Mitglieder der Gemeinden zu Gunsten einer Vereinigung der Kinderschulen erklärt haben.

Das *Committee* wegen שחיטה, berichtete H. Dr. *Lilienthal*, dass so [?] sehr [?] derselbe auch mit den *board's* [?] Verpflichtung durchdrungen ist, der Uebelstand bei der שחיטה beiseitigen, so wurde alle Arbeiten umsonst sein, so lange man die שוחטים & Metzger nicht nöthigen kann, sich den gesetzlich & nach dem דין vorgeschriebenen Bedingungen zu unterwerfen. Denn auf jede Anordnung wird geantwortet: "Wir sind in einem freien Lande! Niemand hat uns Etwas zu befehlen, wer sich in unser Geschäft mischt, dem hängen wir einen *libel suit* an u. s. w. ['"], so wird man in jeder Arbeit immer durchkreuzt, dazu kommt noch, dass Metzger, die von Gemeinden als פסול erklärt wurden, dann zum Trotze ihr Fleisch wohlfeiler verkaufen, und die jüdischen Frauen dann erst dahin eilen, wo einige *Cts* zu ersparen sind. Allein diesen kann abgeholfen werden, wenn die Gemeinden zu folgenden Beschlüssen ihre geneigte Einwilligung geben:

1. Alles was geschehen, wird nicht beachtet, sondern alle שוחטים & Metzger werden höflichst eingeladen, sich den vom Rabbiner & den *board's* der 3 Gemeinden als gesetzlich nothwendig geltenden Bedingungen zu unterwerfen.

2. Diejenigen, die sich daran Theil zu nehmen weigern, oder nach übernommener Verpflichtung überwiesen werden dass sie dieselben übertreten, sollen als פסול erklärt, und als solche 3 Sabbathe hintereinander in der Synagogen des Rabbinats herabgerufen werden.

3. Die Gemeinden ermächtigen ihre *board's* die Wirtschaft eines jeden Mitglied ihrer Gemeinde, das bei einem als פסול erklärten Metzger Fleisch nimmt und dessen überwiesen ist, in

der Synagoge als **טריפה** verkundigen lassen zu dürfen. Letzterer Beschluss entzieht den Metzgern die den gesetzlich getroffenen Anordnungen der **שחיטה** nicht nachkommen, die Kundschaft von fast 720 jüdischen familien, und wird sie in ihrem eigenen Geldinteresse bewegen, den neuen Anordnungen sich zu fügen, und dadurch wird dem religiösen Wunsche der Gemeinden bis **שבועות** genügt werden können, wirkliches **כשר** Fleisch zu bekommen. Sobald der ehrenwerthen Gemeinden diesen Beschluss geneigte ist [?] angenommen, wird an der neue Organisation der **שחיטה** in der hiesigen Stadt eifrigst gegangen werden.

Auf Antrag beschlossen obige Beschlüsse bei den nächsten Versammlungen den Gemeinden-Mitgliedern zur Billigung vorzulegen.

Wegen **מצות** berichtete Hr. Dr. Lilienth.:

a. Dass er die Mühle in *Brooklyn* [sic] nur als im Nothfalle für erlaubt betracht, da dieselbe nicht gehörig gereinigt und auch kein neuer Mehlbeutel dort angebracht werden kann.

b. Dass H. Bäcker Spier zwar alles mögliche gethan um den Anforderungen des Gesetzes zu genügen, dass die **מצות** daher vollkommen als **כשר** gelten, dass aber auch hier Manches als nur durch den Nothfall erlaubt, betrachtet werden muss.

Indessen bemerkt der Hr. Rabbiner, dass in *Amerika* wo das Getraide so wohlfeil ist, und in Gemeinden, die 720 *members* & Sitzhalter zählen, eigentlich von einem Nothfalle gar keine Rede sein könnte, und dass die Juden in hiesigen Stadt, für das schwere Geld, dass für **מצות** gezahlt wird, wohl ganz **כשר** ihre **מצות** haben könnten.

Um einerseits dieses also zu bewerkstelligen, wie es jüdischen Gemeinden zusteht, und zwar ohne irgend welche Kosten oder neue Auflagen den Gemeinden zu verursachen, um andererseits aber auch nicht den chicanen unterworfen zu sein, wie sie H. Cohn in diesem Jahre der Gemeinde gemacht, liste ich folgende Propositionen den geehrten Gemeinde-Mitgliedern zu geneigten Beschlussnahme vorzulegen:

1. Die 3 Gemeinden sollen ihre *resp. board's* auf 2 Jahre authorisiren die **מצות** für dieselben zu backen und damit den

Gemeinde casse kein *Risico* lauft, soll jeder Gemeindeglied angeben müssen, wie viel es am nächsten *פסח Matzoth* bedarf, und verpflichtet sein, diese Anzahl bei den *board's* nehmen, oder falls es seine *מצות* anderswo nimmt wenigstens den Betrag dafür seinen *board's* entrichten zu [müssen?].

2. Nachdem dieser Beschluss angenommen ist, soll während des Jahres bis zum nächsten Pesach von den *board's* ein *Committee* ernannt werden dass auf bloßes Anlehen, von der Gemeindecasse das Getreide kauft, und überhaupt die nothigen Anstalten für das Backen der *מצות* trifft. Nach dem Berichte [?]. Ablage dieses *Committees* berechnen die *board's* wieviel 1 lb Matzos kostet und legen darauf nur eine solche Summe als Auflage, um als Eigenthum der Gemeinde die Maschienen anzukaufen, und einen neuen Beutel herzuschaffen. Sollte die Auflage im ersten Jahre 1 Ct. auf das lb. *מצות* übersteigen wollen, so solle diese Auflage 2 Jahre dauern, wornach [?] die Auflage vielleicht nur $\frac{1}{2}$ *cts. pr. lb Matzos* machen wird und in beiden fällen werden die *מצות* da kein Gewinn erzielt wird, so wohlfeil oder noch wohlfeiler als bisher sein.

3. Nachdem die Gemeinden die Maschienen als Eigenthum besitzen, können sie, wenn es vortheilhafter erschienen sollte, die *board's* auch ferner beauftragen, die *מצות* in obenerwähnten Weise, für die Gemeinden zu backen, oder die *מצות* wie bisher im Versteigerungs wege backen lassen, und für den Gebrauch der Machienen sich ein Summe zahlen lassen, dass jährlich dafür ein neuer Mahlbeutel angeschafft werden kann.

4. Am nächsten *סוכות* soll jeder Gemeindeglied, wenn der *שמש* die Einladungen zu den General-Versammlungen herumträgt, eigenhändig in ein dem letzteren eingehändigtes Buch eintragen, wie viel *מצות* es wünscht, und durch diese Unterschrift zur Bezahlung des Betrages des Bedarfs verpflichtet sein.

Durch diese 4 Beschlüsse erhalten die Gemeinden, wie es im Gesetze vorgeschrieben ist, jährlich ihre neuen Mahlbeutel ohne Kosten dafür zu haben, habe ihre eigenen Maschienen und mithin vollkommen *מצות כשר*; sind keinen *Chickanen* und Intriguen ausgesetzt, und können, falls es für gut befunden werden

sollte, dass die *board's* fort backen, nach eine jährliche Summe von \$3–400 für andere Gemeinde bedürfnisse erübrigen; dann diese Summe bleibt gewiss jedem Bäcker als Gewinn.

Und alle diese Vortheile werden ohne irgend welche Kosten, sondern blos durch ein Anlehen erzielt dass bei der Gemeinde casse von vor פסח bis nach פסח gemacht wird.

Beschlossen dass auch diesen Plan der geneigten Prüfung und Beschlussnahme der Gemeinden vorzulegen. Folgender Bericht von H. Dr. Lilienthal, wurde verlesen und angenommen & bestätigt.

Geehrte Herrn!

Unter den jüdischen Einrichtungen, die bisher unsere Aufmerksamkeit vorzüglich in Anspruch nahmen, sind die Trauungen. Es sind die nothwendigen Verbesserungen getroffen werden, um dieselben aber zu ergänzen, sind noch die שטרי חליצה einzuführen. — Sie wissen nämlich, geehrte Herren, dass nach jüdischen Gesetze, fall ein Mann kinderlos stirbt, die Frau des Verstorbenen, um sich wieder verheirathen zu können, von einem der Brüder des Verstorbenen חליצה zu bekommen hat. Um die Frau von ungerechten Forderungen eines solchen Bruders zu schützen, und ihr die schriftliche Versicherung zu geben, dass die Brüder, im Falle des obenerwähnten Starbfalls sie mit der חליצה nicht aufhalten, ist es noch jüdischem Gesetze eingeführt, dass die Brüder eines jeden Mannes, der sich verheirathet, der Frau desselben noch der Trauung den שטרי חליצה zu zustellen. Dasselbe wurde bisher in allen jüdischen Gemeinden der vereinigten Staaten vernachlässigt und selbst in unsere Gemeinden sind, wie wir gesagt, wurde 4 Frauen, die ihre Männer verloren, keine שטרי חליצה in händen haben und daher Weitlaufigkeiten in dieser Beziehung ausgesetzt sein werden. Um diesem Uebelstande in unserer Gemeinde abzuhelpen, schalge ich nun ergebenst vor die שטרי חליצה und zwar auf folgende Weise einzuführen.

1. Meldet sich ein Mann zur Trauung, und erhält die Erlaubniss in eine der 3 Gemeinden getraut zu werden, so hat der Rabbiner denselben nach seinen Brüdern ihren Namen & ihren Wohnart zu fragen.

2. Sind dieselben hier in der Stadt, so sind sie vor des Rabbinat zu rufen haben dort die שטרי חליצה zu unterschreiben, die von dem Rabbinat der *resp.* Frau eingehändigt werden.

3. Wohnen dieselben in der vereinigten Staaten, kommen aber zu gewissen Zeiten, und zwar bald nach der Trauung nach *New York*, so soll der eben getraute Mann verpflichtet werden, seine Brüder während ihrer anwesenheit in hiesiger Stadt vor das Rabbinat zu bringen, wo sie die שטרי חליצה zu unterschreiben haben, die von dem Rabbinat der *resp.* Frau eingehändigt werden.

4. Wohnen dieselben aber für beständig im Lande, oder kommen spät noch der Trauung hierher, so sollen ihnen die שטרי חליצה zugeschickt werden, mit den nothigen Anweisungen von Seite des Rabbinats wie sie dieselben zu unterschreiben, und wieder an das Rabbinat zurückzusenden haben. — Die Kosten hat, wenn die Briefe infrankirt an das Rabbinat einlaufen, der eben getraute Mann zu tragen.

5. Sind die Brüder gar nicht in Amerika, so soll nach der unter angegebenen Form, von Seiten des Rabbinats & des Präsidenten der Gemeinde, in deren Synagoge die Trauung stattgefunden, nach Angabe des Wohnorts der Brüder von Seiten des *resp.* Mannes, an die Rabbiner jenes Ortes geschrieben & er gebeten werden die שטרי חליצה von den Brüdern ausfertigen zu lassen und an das hiesige Rabbinat einzusenden, das sie der *resp.* Frau zustellen wird. Das etwaige Porto hat der *resp.* Gatte zu tragen.

6. Der Rabbiner händigt dem חון jeder Gemeinde die Form der Briefe an die auswärtigen Rabbiner ein, der חון wird von dem Vorstand seiner Gemeinde beauftragt bei jeder חתונה die nöthige Anzahl Briefe oder שטרי חליצה zu schreiben und sie dem Rabbiner einzuhandigen.

7. Jede Gemeinde bestimmt mit wie viel sie den חתן für jedem Brief oder שטר חליצה besteuert.

8. Bei dem Berichte, der bei jeder Trauung von dem Rabbinat den *resp.* Präsidenten zugestellt wird, wird die Anzahl der Briefe oder שטרי חליצה angegeben, damit der *resp.* Präsident den Collector beauftragen kann, die betreffende Summe zu erheben.

9. Die Auslagen für Briefporto, die das Rabbinat etwa haben könnte, müssen von der *resp.* Gatten bei Einhändigung der erhaltenen שטרי חליצה gezahlt werden.

10. Die שטרי חליצה werden wie כתובות in ein von jeder Gemeinde besonders anzuschaffende Buch, vom חזן eingetragen, und diese *Copien* vom Rabbinat und dem *resp.* Präsidenten der Gem. in deren Synagoge die Trauung war, durch ihre Unterschrift bekräftigt.

11. Die Form der שטרי חליצה ist im נחלת שבועה angegeben, und wird nach dieser Angabe mit den nothwendigen Veränderungen abgeschrieben.

12. Die Form für die Briefe an die Auswärtigen Rabbiner ist folgende:

New York dem _____

Ew. Ehrwurden!

Von der Unterzeichneten Rabbinat ist am (*Datum*) in der Synagoge der Gemeinde *N...N....* Herr (deutscher & jüdischer Stamm & woher) — mit *Demaiselle* _____ nach jüdischem Gesetze getraut worden. Nach der Angabe des *H. N. N.* _____ wohnen seine Brüder Herr _____ in _____ Herr _____ in & _____ und zählen sich zu dem Rabbinat *Ew. Ehrwurden*. Wollen Sie daher gefälligst die Gute haben, von den genannten Brüdern die שטרי חליצה ausfertigen zu lassen und sie an das unterzeichnete Rabbinat einzusenden.

Zu allen Gegendiensten bereit zeichnen *Ew. Ehrwurden* ergebenster _____ *Adresse* _____

Da die *Direction* der *Talmud Torah Schule* die *board's* ersucht hatte aus jeder Gemeinde ein *Committee* zu ernennen, welches *Monatg* abend mit derselben zusammen treffen soll, um einen *Plan* für eine Kinderschul zu entwerfen, so wurde beschlossen, dass dieselben Herrn, welche die erste Versammlung beiwohnten, auch zu dieser gehen sollen.²³

Gebilligt den 5. April 1846.

M. Danziger Sectr.

²³ This refers to the Talmud Torah Institute conducted by Samuel M. Isaacs and members of Bnai Jeshurun. For further details on this school see *Jewish Community of N. Y. C., op. cit.*

Den 21 März 1846.

Versammelte sich ein Represetation [sic] der 3 Gemeinden in dem Versammlungslocale der Gemeinde *Rodef Shalom*. Hr. *H. Heineman* im Vorsitz. In Abwesenheit des Hr. *Henry Jones* functionirte *H. L. Heilner* als Secretair & wurde die Verlesung des letzteren Protocolls *dispensirt*.

AUFRISS EINER JUEDISCHEN THEOLOGIE

MAX WIENER, New York City

GLAEUBIGE wie Unglaeubige fuehlen, dass zwischen der Religion und allem ihnen sonst vertrauten Leben und Denken eine unuebersteigbare Scheidewand besteht. Wohl wirkt sich Religion in der Existenz der Menschen und in ihrer Geschichte aus, beansprucht jedenfalls, sie zu erfuellen, ja, zu beherrschen, aber sie nimmt diesen Anspruch aus einer Sphaere, die alles irdische Dasein ueberhoeht. Denn mit dem Gott des Glaubens ist eine Wirklichkeit gesetzt, die uebernaturlich, jenseitig ist and sich in dieser Beschaffenheit auch dann behauptet, wenn zwischen ihr und dem Diesseitigen, Natuerlichen eine Wechselwirkung besteht. Wie vieles and wie dringliches Gott den Menschen zu sagen hat, — dass er ein Geheimnis, grundsaeztlich unaufdeckbar, dass sein Wort, in die irdische Welt hineinbrechend, ein "Wunder" ist, solchem Glauben begegnet man an der Schwelle der Religion; wenigstens aller derjenigen, fuer welche die biblisch-juedische den Urtyp darstellt.

Wer dieses Faktums nicht inne wird, dem bleibt der Sinn des Gottesglaubens verschlossen. Es ist der Gegenstand des Staunens, der Verwunderung and tiefen Ergriffenheit fuer den Frommen, wie es Aergernis and Anstoss dem Unglaeubigen bedeutet. Der denkende Unglaeubige erweist sich so als Bundesgenosse des Glaebigen. Denn wo die Kuehnheit jener Forderung in ihrer Schroffheit klar empfunden und — verworfen wird, da wird auf der anderen Seite erkannt, welcher Anspruch an den Glaebigen gestellt ist.

Uns handelt es sich nicht um die Frage der Entstehung der Religion, sondern um die Analyse des *Sinnes*, der Selbstaussage, der Selbstverstaendigung des Gott-Bewusstseins im Geiste des Glaebigen. Wir sprechen von uns selbst als Religion habende, bekennende Menschen; von uns, die, durch die wissenschaftliche

Kultur ihres Zeitalters hindurchgegangen, sich nicht nur die Einsicht in den Anspruch einer goettlichen Offenbarung bewahrt haben, sondern diesen Anspruch als unabweisbare Forderung an sich selber empfinden and bejahen.

Das allein erfuehlt den Begriff einer *theologischen* Eroerterung. Es ist *unser* Glaube, *unsere* persoenliche Glaeubigkeit, die wir zu begreifen haben, die wir nicht durch vorzeitige und voreilige Rationalisierung um ihren urspruenglichen und unwandelbaren Sinn bringen duerfen. Dem Verstand mit seinen Kategorien und Regeln ergeht es wie dem Koenig Midas der Sage. Wie diesem sich alles in Gold verwandelt, was seine Finger beruehren, so formt sich fuer wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis alles zu natuerlichem Geschehen; es gibt nichts, was nicht im Kosmos kategorial erfassbarer Wirklichkeit seine Stelle faende. Das ignoramus ist nur eine Forderung zu weiterer Bemuehung, ein Ansporn; ignorabimus eine schwachmuetiger und unangebrachter Verzicht. *Religionswissenschaft* in allen ihren Zweigen kann rechtmassig nur verfahren wie Wissenschaft ueberhaupt; das heisst, sie *muss* ihren Gegenstand naturalisieren, wenn man so sagen darf, profanisieren. Sie hat als Psychologie, Phaenomenologie, Soziologie oder Geschichte die religioesen Erscheinungen zu beschreiben und zu ordnen, mag sie im Gesamthaushalt des individuellen wie des Voelkerlebens mit einander vergleichen und wuerdigen; sie unterscheidet sich in ihrer Methode wie in ihren Zielen nicht von aller sonstigen Wissenschaftsbemuehung.

Theologie entspringt einer anderen Quelle. Sie hat nur Sinn und Lebensrecht, wenn der Theologe selber den einzigartigen und unvergleichbaren Charakter bejaht, den die Religion von ihrer Grundlage her, der Offenbarung, empfaengt. Dass der bewiesene Gott nicht der Gott ist, den der Glaeubige meint, das ist Jehuda ha Levi¹ nicht weniger gewiss als Terstegen; und die Lehre von den negativen Attributen innerhalb der juedischen Religionsphilosophie verhuellt nur mit logischen Argumenten einen Gott, der — mit Kategorien und Denkbegriffen nicht einzufangen — in eigener, "total anderer" Seinsphaere verharret.² Eine "natuerliche," demonstrativ verfah-

¹ Jehuda ha Levi, Cusari IV, 3-13.

² Max Wiener, Vom Sinn und Sein Gottes, MGWJ, LXXXI (1937), 1-12.

rende Theologie mag geduldet werden; und das echte religioese Bewusstsein beruft sich gern auf die angeblich so klare Manifestation Gottes in der Welt. Aber all solche theistisch orientierte Philosophie und Weltanschauung *begründet* dem Glaebigen nicht das Recht zur Glaebigkeit, sondern ist nur eine Illustration fuer ihn, etwas, was *nachtraeglich* hinzukommen kann, was aber auch fehlen duerfte, ohne den Glaubensgrund selbst zu erschuettern.

Theologie bleibt die Reflexion des Glaebigen ueber seine eigene Religion; und deren einziger Ursprung liegt in der Offenbarung, und diese selbst wieder bedeutet den Durchbruch des unvergleichlichen und unerkennbaren Goettlichen in die Sphaere irdischen Daseins. Das ist wenigstens der Kern aller biblischen und von ihr ausgehenden Lehre.

Wie aber kann von einem grundsatzlich Unerkennbaren Erkenntnis ausgehen, bedeutsamste Erkenntnis, eine Erfahrung, welche die Haltung des Menschen gegenueber allem Sein, gegenueber Gott und Leben massgebend bestimmen soll? Wie artikuliert sich das Unausdrueckliche zu verstaendlicher Sprache? Dem Mystiker macht das keine Sorge. Er hebt die Welt in Gott auf, und so verschwindet mit ihm selber, dem Menschen, und dieser Welt, die nichts oder nur Schein ist, aller Gegensatz. Er braucht nicht zu sprechen noch angesprochen zu werden, weil er in Gott ist und so das koestlichste gehaltvollste Schweigen erlebt. Will er, mit dem Antlitz hierher gekehrt, sprechen, so kann er nur stammeln, wie herrlich es doch ist and wie armselig der Traum von der Welt und in ihr. Anders der Mensch der biblischen Offenbarung. Er weiss sich nicht nur von Gott mit unwiderstehlicher Kraft ergriffen, er fuehlt sich zugleich von ihm angedet and gezwungen, das Wort seines Gottes weiterzugeben; denn er wird durch dieses Wort zu Menschen gesandt, die er ansprechen und fuehren soll.

Vom Gesichtspunkte der Theologie, der eigenen Theologie her darf man nicht versuchen, der Erfahrung des Erleuchteten psychologisch beizukommen. Das Offenbarungserlebnis erklaren wollen, wuerde hier heissen, es vernichten. Es muss fuer den Religioesen Geheimnis bleiben. Es ist Wunder, ein uebernatuerliches Geschehen in voller unabdingbarer Bedeutung. Man

darf es nicht mit kuenstlerischer Intuition oder genialer Eingebung auf irgend einem Gebiet des Kulturschaffens einsetzen. Solche Nivellierung zerstoert das Selbstzeugnis des religioesen Bewusstseins im Kern. Der Prophet ist etwas anderes als religioeses Genie. Der Glaebige darf and wird sicher sein, dass Gott, der die Welt erschaffen hat und erhaelt, auch Genies des Geistes und der Tat erweckt; aber er zweifelt nicht daran, dass das etwas anderes ist als die Berufung zum Propheten. Allein die Gewissheit, dass die Begegnung Gottes mit dem Propheten sich auf einer Ebene vollzieht, die verschieden ist von der des allgemeinen Kulturlebens, verleiht der Forderung der Religion ihre besondere Autoritaet. Sie will die Wahrheit schlechthin verkuenden and hat sich darum auch oft genug gegen die Ausstrahlungen so manches ueberragenden Genius' in Dichtung und Kunst gewandt.

Was tut der Prophet, der Mensch ist und bleibt und nicht wie Mystiker vom Goettlichen aufgesogen wird, mit diesem Erlebnis? Er muss es *deuten*, es zunaechst dem eigenen Geist verstaendlich machen. Er besitzt vor sich selber die Autoritaet zur Interpretation durch die Gewissheit seiner Berufung. Das ist die grundlegende Paradoxie der Theologie. Gott ist nicht *nur* unerkennbar, unerfassbar, seine Wege und Gedanken nicht *bloss* himmelhoch verschieden von denen der Menschen: derselbe Gott, der geheimnisvolle biblische Gott, enthuehlt sich in Richtung auf die Welt. Das ist der Grundsinn der prophetischen Interpretation des Wunders. Alles Sprechen ist schon diesseitig, natuerlich, vernuenftig, ein fuer den Menschen Sinn habendes Sprechen. Wenn die Offenbarung Tatsache wird, ein geschichtliches in einem Hier und Jetzt statthabendes Faktum, dann muss sie sich rationalisieren. Ihre Selbstverstaendigung im Geiste des Propheten stellt die Ur-Rationalisierung dar. Das heisst fuer die Theologie nicht, dass die Offenbarung ihres goettlichen Sinnes beraubt, sondern umgekehrt, dass die urspruengliche Deutung durch den Propheten mit der hoechsten Autoritaet ausgestattet wird. Die Hinwendung des Goettlichen zur Welt bedingt seine Humanisierung. Das besagt nicht, dass Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der reinen Vernunft oder der Erfahrung sich erschoepft, sondern allein, dass ihr jeweiliger Ausdruck nur vermittels

welthafter Denk- und Wertkategorien sich vollziehen kann. Der Mensch schafft nicht Gott im menschlichen Ebenbilde. Denn Gottes Dasein erschliesst sich allein durch das Wunder der Offenbarung. Alle Qualifizierung seines Wesens aber ist fuer die Theologie nicht als "wissenschaftliche" Beschreibung gemeint, sondern als Symbolisierung. Dass diese Symbolisierung aber ihrem Gegenstande gemaess ist, ist dadurch verbuergt, dass sie nichts anderes als die urspruengliche prophetische Aussage und Deutung ist. Als solche ist sie dem Propheten und allen, die ihm anhangen, durch die goettliche Autoritaet gedeckt.

Die gestiftete, im Offenbarungsglauben begruendete biblisch-juedische Religion kann sich in Lebendigkeit nur erhalten, wenn in ihren Anhaengern das Bewusstsein jenes Ursprungs wach bleibt, sowohl im sachlichen Gehalt, von dem im folgenden zu sprechen ist, wie in der Gewissheit goettlicher Sendung. Die geschichtliche Existenz solchen religioesen Lebens wird durch die Tradition getragen. Diese ist im Judentum ebenso wie in den dem juedischen Typus folgenden Religionen offenbar mehr, als was das Wort besagt und was die betont "traditionalistische" Richtung innerhalb der juedischen Gemeinschaft wahrhaben will: sie ueberliefert nicht bloss den historisch urspruenglichen Inhalt der biblischen Lehre, sondern stellt, von Generation zu Generation wachsend, eine Fuelle von Dingen dar, von denen die Urzeit nichts weiss. Wenn der Rabbinismus zu allen Zeiten geneigt war, das in unabsehbare Weiten sich dehnende Gesetz als muendliche Tora der schriftlichen gleichberechtigt zur Seite zu setzen und eine Entwicklung der religioesen Lebensaeusserungen im strengen Sinne entgegen dem Sachverhalt zu leugnen, so geschieht das darum, weil der menschliche Faktor im urspruenglichen Wirk-samwerden der Offenbarung zu wenig beachtet wird. Alles soll objektive und als solche kundgebende goettliche Rede sein. Von uns wird die Auffassung vertreten, dass Gottes Wort vom Menschen artikuliert werden muss, wenn der Mensch es verstehen soll.

Bevor wir uns unsrer Aufgabe zuwenden, wollen wir uns kritisch mit einigen Werken beschaeftigen, die gleich uns — mit einer Ausnahme — von einem nicht durch die Tradition gebundenen Standpunkt unser Problem eroertern. *K. Kohler's "Jewish*

Theology'' will gemaess Anlage des Werkes die historischen und systematischen Probleme in *einem* behandeln.³ Dieser Grundriss erschwert die klare Herausstellung des eigenartigen Charakters der Theologie in ihrer Unterscheidung von der Geschichte der Religion. Der Theologe hat nur als Bekenner seiner, seiner persoentlichen Religion, zu sprechen, die er mit dem von ihm eindeutig verstandenen Glauben seiner Gemeinschaft identifiziert. Die Toleranz, das einfuehlende Verstehen des geschichtlichen Betrachters, greift da nicht Platz, wo es um die Gueltigkeit, die Alleinguelteigkeit des eigenen religioesen Lebens geht. Der Theologe darf nicht alles begreifen und verstehen wollen; er muss vielmehr — bei weitest gehender praktischer Toleranz — darauf beharren, dass richtig nur der eigene Standpunkt ist. Gilt das fuer alle Vertretung der Wahrheit, so erst recht fuer die der juedischen Religion, die, von erlangter Reife ihres Selbstbewusstseins, spaetestens vom Deuteronomium ab, Exklusivitaet als ihren Grundpfeiler betrachtet hat. "Judaism is a religion of *historical* growth, far from claiming to be the final truth, is ever regenerated anew at each turning point of history . . ." ⁴ Das gilt fuer jede geschichtliche Erscheinung. Aber gerade die juedische geoffenbarte Religion behauptet, — und sie lebt und stirbt mit dem Glauben daran — dass das Wort Gottes — und zwar sein Wort an die auserwaehlten Propheten — in Ewigkeit besteht. Niemand wird leugnen, dass wir an den Gott der Bibel und seine Mitteilung an die Menschen nur glauben koennen, weil wir zuvor — ganz unabhaengig von aller "positiven" Religiositaet und ihren Forderungen — den Glauben an einen uns sich offenbarenden Gott in unserm Herzen verfestigt fuehlen. Es ist uns nur moeglich, einen volleren *hoeheren* Sinn in prophetischer Erleuchtung zu finden, wenn wir bescheidenen Durchschnittsmenschen uns selber eines goettlichen Blickes gewuerdigt fuehlen. Aber ohne die Gewissheit von der ewig ueberragenden Bedeutung der urspruenglichen Offenbarung, die durch keine spaetere Erleuchtung ueberfluegelt werden kann, verliert alle "positive" Religion ihren Sinn. Das Problem hat schon einmal einen so

³ K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology, Systematically and Historically Considered*, New York, 1928 (Preface 1917), S. 8.

⁴ *Ibidem*, S. 4.

“orthodoxen” Mann wie Joseph Albo beschaeftigt,⁵ allerdings unter dem Gesichtspunkt der verschiedenen biblischen Gesetzgebungen selber. Alle Reform — und auch die im neueren Judentum — will ja tatsaechlich keine Neuerung, sondern umgekehrt eine *Rueckkehr zum urspruenglichen Gehalt* sein und erkennt so mit echtem religioesem Instinkt die richtunggebende Bedeutung des Anfangs an.

Auf die klare Herausstellung dieses kommt es freilich an. Kohler macht einen Ansatz dazu, indem er mit der Bundesidee beginnt. Doch an unrechtem Platze bestrebt, den Universalismus des Judentums von vornherein sicher zu stellen und als die fruehste Lebensaeusserung zu erweisen, unterschaezt er bei weitem die Idee des Bundes zwischen Gott und Israel gegenueber der Bundschliessung mit den Kindern Noas. So verbaut er sich den Weg zu einer dem geschichtlichen Sachverhalt gemaessen Systematisierung des biblisch-rabbinischen Religionsgehalts. Sein Aufriss: 1) Gott, 2) Mensch, 3) Israel und das Gottesreich⁶ verlagert die Hauptstuecke, wie sie geschichtlich wirksam geworden sind und noch heute den religioesen Juden ergreifen. Der Gottesgedanke ist doch nicht gerade fuer das Judentum charakteristisch. Und selbst der Monotheismus bekommt seine Schlagkraft im Judentum nicht als abstrakte Idee, als “vernuenftige” Wahrheit, sondern allein durch seine urspruengliche Verknuepfung mit der Geschichte des Offenbarungsvolkes. Kohlers Disposition hat eine auffallende Aehnlichkeit mit dem Grundriss der kalamistischen Religionsphilosophen. Waehrend aber bei einem Saadia oder Bachja der Zusammenhang mit dem juedischen Gemeinbewusstsein durch das immer rege Gefuehl des unerhoerten Offenbarungswunders, mit dem ausschliesslich Israel begnadet ward, gesichert ist, erscheint bei dem *modernen* Rationalisten diese Verknuepfung recht locker. Denn die Attributenlehre Kohlers ist aengstlich bestrebt, alle charakteristischen irrationalen Elemente aus dem goettlichen Wesen wegzuretuschieren, so dass allein ein Gott, aus reiner ethischer Vernunft konstruiert, uebrig bleibt. Dieser ethische Rigorismus geht so

⁵ Joseph Albo, Ikkarim, III, 13, 14.

⁶ Kohler, S. 28.

weit, dass der armen menschlichen Seele sogar das Bestreben verdacht wird, in Gott ihr Heil, ihre Erloesung zu suchen. Das soll dem Begriff der goettlichen Heiligkeit widersprechen, die angeblich verlangt, dass hoechstes menschliches Ziel nur gaenzlich uninteressiertes Gut-tun sein darf.

In der Sphaere dieser Deutung bereitet die Stellung Israels, in der Tat der verwegenste Anspruch an die Vernunft, besondere Schwierigkeit. Der Form nach wird die Erwaehlung als ein Schluesselpunkt des juedischen Religionsbewusstseins anerkannt.⁷ Wir werden gewiss auch der Auffassung zustimmen, dass der Akt der Erwaehlung nicht einmalig war, sondern sich ueber die ganze Geschichte erstreckte;⁸ ebenso der, dass Israels Genius der der Religion war und ist, dass dieses Volk Lehrer der Menschheit war und bleibt. All das lehrt auch Jehuda ha Lewi, aber mit ganz anderem Pathos und Gefuehl. Kohler empfindet die Schwierigkeit des Erwaehlungsgedankens, wenn er die Sendung Israels mit derjenigen von Roemern und Griechen vergleicht und den Vorrang Israels in der Klarheit von dessen religioesem Missionsbewusstsein zu erblicken glaubt.⁹ Ob das historisch richtig ist und in welchem Masse, bleibe dahingestellt. Das aber ist sicher: die Ungeheuerlichkeit des Erwaehlungsanspruchs ist bloss ertragbar, wenn dieser Anspruch in der Gewissheit der wunderbaren und einzigartigen Offenbarung Gottes wurzelt. Nur wenn die ganze Geschichte der Menschheit im Lichte eigener historischer Erlebnisse gesehen wird, nur dann wird den Nachfahren derer, die am Sinai gestanden, Moses und sein goettlicher Auftrag glaubhaft. Hier wirkt sich Kohler's Ineinanderschachtelung von systematischen und historischen Erwaegungen besonders unguenstig aus. Er bleibt individualistischer Rationalist und vermag so fuer sein aktuelles Glaubensbewusstsein alles auszuschöpfen und nutzbar zu machen, was die biblisch-juedischen Quellen fuer die sittliche Erhoehung des Einzelmenschen und fuer die Laeuterung der persoentlichen Haltung zu Gott bieten. Wo aber die harten Tatsachen der Geschichte oder doch ein hoechst massiver Glaube an solche

⁷ S. 323.

⁸ S. 326.

⁹ S. 325.

Tatsachen in das juedische Religionsbewusstsein tiefe Furchen eingegraben haben, da suchen wir vergeblich nach einem Wiederhall im System dieser Theologie. So wird die messianische Hoffnung lediglich als historisches Lehrstueck behandelt. Es ist in Ordnung, dass dem bewusst und ausschliesslich *politischen* Zionismus ein Platz in der Theologie versagt wird.¹⁰ Es erscheint aber unzureichend, nur mit *einem* Satz sympathisch vom *religioesen* Zionismus zu sprechen und diesen mit der alten Sehnsucht nach Wiederherstellung von Staat *und* Tempel zu identifizieren, ohne zu sagen, welche Stelle diese Idee im allgemeinen juedischen Religionsbewusstsein einzunehmen hat. Das ist eine verwirrende Weitherzigkeit. Denn gerade hier waere der Ort gewesen, sich vom Standpunkte des politisch-ethischen Fortschrittsgedankens, der den Hintergrund dieser Theologie bildet, mit der traditionell juedischen Geschichtsauffassung auseinanderzusetzen. Wir sind um die politischen und geschichtlichen Erfahrungen von einer Generation reicher als Kohler; und wenn auch Wirklichkeit nichts gegen Wahrheit beweist, so empfinden wir gerade heute stark die Notwendigkeit, die Grundlagen eines theologischen Systems nachzuprueren, die offenkundig aus ganz verschiedener Welt- und Geschichtslage erwachsen sind.

Ist bei Kohler die Eigenkraft des Religioesen doch bei aller Ethisierung deutlich zu spueren, so verwischen sich bei *Claude Montefiore* die Grenzen voellig. Ihm ist das Judentum oder sein liberales Judentum die ideale, die wahre Religion, weil der Mensch in dieser von allen Schlacken und historischen Zufaelligkeiten gereinigten Lehre den sichersten, am wenigsten umstaendlichen Zugang zum Tun des Guten findet. Geschichte, auch die Geschichte der Religion ist fuer ihn gleichsam nur dazu da, um durch mannigfache Umwege und Irrtuemer hindurch das echte Ideal herauszustellen. Diesem so ausgezeichneten religionshistorischen Forscher ist das geschichtliche Leben selber immer nur Mittel zu dem Zweck, die rechte Erkenntnis zu produzieren, aber nicht das Schicksal, der Weg. So ergibt sich das Einzelwesen und sein sicheres Wissen um Wahrheit und Streben nach

¹⁰ S. 390.

Verwirklichung dieser Wahrheit als eigentlicher Gehalt der Religion.

Waere er nur Individualist und nicht zugleich strenger Ethizist, dann haette er in seinem Buche ueber Paulus eine andre Haltung zu dem religioesen Geheimnis eingenommen. Gewiss ist von jedem juedischen Standpunkt aus sehr vieles an der Paulinischen Genugtuungs- und Gnadenlehre auszusetzen; und Montefiores Versuch, die juedische vorchristliche Religion des Paulus zu rekonstruieren, ist dankenswert. Aber die Kritik am Paulinischen Glauben selber erscheint an einem ethischen Schema orientiert, das jedes Fragen nach den aufwuehlenden Problemen von Schicksal und Angst, von allgemein menschlicher Erloesungssehnsucht und Scheu vor dem Unbegreiflichen an der Schwelle abweist. Solche Probleme moegen ja — "objectiv" gesehen — Hirngespinnste sein. Aber ohne ihre Realitaet im Bewusstsein und Unterbewusstsein des Menschen haette es niemals Religion gegeben, und mit ihrer voelligen "Aufklaerung" hoert Religion auf.¹¹

Montefiore ist ueberzeugt, dass das Judentum den kuerzesten Weg zur Erkenntnis des Guten darstellt. Das ist sein Lebensrecht noch heute. Indem es aber reiner als irgend eine andere der existierenden Religionen die Wahrheit enthaelt, darf es sich nicht dagegen sperren, von aussen her Erkenntnisse in sich aufzunehmen und sich zu amalgamieren. Unter diesem positiven Gesichtspunkt schreibt er ueber "The relation of St. Paul to liberal Judaism." Das ist vom Standpunkte der "positiven" historischen Glaubensgemeinde her nicht ungefaehrlich. Gewiss zeigt die Geschichte aller Religionen eine solche Amalgamierung. Aber ein anderes ist ein unbewusstes historisches Wachsen und Hineinwachsen, wobei der Glaebige gewiss ist, das Fremde ist ja gar nicht fremd, sondern ist mein eigenster Besitz; ein anderes solche reflektierend verfahrende Religionsbereicherung, sozusagen im vollen Licht der Oeffentlichkeit.

In der Tat sieht sich Montefiore zu der Frage gedraengt: Warum Judentum und nicht unitarischer oder theistischer Glauben?¹² Die Frage scheint ihm von zwei Seiten her aufge-

¹¹ C. Montefiore, *Genesis of the Religion of St. Paul*, London, 1914, S. 150.

¹² *Judaism, Unitarianism and Theism*, London, 1908.

noetigt, einmal von denen, die bei Bejahung eines liberalen, von seiner nationalen und geschichtlichen Grundlage losgelösten Judentums sich aus der Etikette nichts mehr machen; and dann von denen, die, religioese, aber der traditionellen Gestalt entfremdete Juden, sich gefuehlsmaessig einen Zusammenhang mit der historischen Gemeinde bewahrt haben. Montefiore geht seinen Weg konsequent zu Ende. Fuer ihn ist wahre Religion uebernational. Nur so vermag sie, Menschen zu einen, nicht zu trennen. Und doch mahnt er die Juden, im historischen Verbande zu bleiben. So wenig der Unitarier mit der Leugnung der spezifisch christologischen Lehrstuecke das Band mit der Christenheit zerschneiden will, deren Lehre ihm ja so vieles andere noch gibt, so wenig kann ein Jude sich ausserhalb seiner geschichtlichen Gemeinschaft stellen, die in den Propheten seinem Glauben vorbildliche Gestalt gegeben hat. Dazu kommt, dass der Mensch nun einmal vom "Wesen" allein nicht leben kann. Es muss Farbe annehmen, wie auch der juedische Monotheismus mit seiner bestimmten, anderwaerts nicht anzutreffenden Nueancierung die Herzen seiner Glaebigen ergreift. Montefiore vergisst nicht, als ein charakteristisches Moment auch *seines* Judentums das Gesetz anzufuehren, das er ja nicht ausgeschaltet, sondern nur aus der orthodoxen Fessel befreit und fuer eine rein ethisch-soziale Praxis nutzbar gemacht sehen will.¹³

Das alles mag man zugeben und vor allem die Bedeutung einer besondern, aus traditionellem Boden erwachsenden Religiositaet fuer die Erziehung von Kindern und Erwachsenen anerkennen. Schwierig wird die Sachlage jedoch durch die ethizistische Einseitigkeit, der der besondere Gehalt der Religion aufgeopfert wird. Bezeichnend ist hierfuer der Aufsatz "The meaning of progressive revelation." Hier wird "religioese und moralische" Offenbarung der Entdeckung jedwedem menschlichen Wissens ueberhaupt gleichgeordnet. "Copernicus und Jesaia waren beide in verschiedenen Weisen fuer das vorbereitet, was sie 'entdeckten,' oder fuer das, was ihnen 'offenbart' wurde."¹⁴ Es ist zwecklos, bei diesem Gegenstand *eine* Ueberzeugung durch

¹³ *Ibidem*, S. 8.

¹⁴ C. Montefiore, *Meaning of Progressive Revelation*, London, 1914, S. 3.

eine andere bekaempfen zu wollen, zumal wir eingangs festgestellt, dass Offenbarung kein demonstrierbares Ereignis ist. Nur das sei uns hier zum Bewusstsein gebracht, dass die Differenz sich nicht um Orthodoxie und Liberalismus dreht, sondern um den Religionsbegriff selber. Die Art, wie die primaeren Autoritaeten und ihre Lehren, die anerkannten Offenbarungstraeger und ihre Worte von den Spaeteren ausgelegt werden, mag zu mannigfachen Spaltungen fuehren, nicht die Anerkennung der ueberragenden Urtatsache selber. Montefiore zeigt gegenueber massiver Recht-Glaebigkeit mit grossem Scharfsinn, wie in der Auswertung der Offenbarung der menschliche Faktor, das Verstehen und Rationalisieren, immer weiter greift.¹⁵ Es ist genau das, was wir mit unserem Gleichnis vom Koenig Midas meinten. Damit ist aber gegen einen urspruenglichen, unaufloesbaren, unerklaerbaren Kern gar nichts gesagt. M. verschleiert sich den spezifischen Sinn der religioesen Offenbarung dadurch, dass er von ihr nur als dem Quell eines *Wissens*, der Spendung wahrer Ideen spricht. In der Erfahrung von Geschichte und Schicksal aber, in dem, was einst das biblische Volk oder seine befugten Sprecher als Bundschliessung und Erwaehlung empfanden, in dem, was der einzelne Mensch als Fuegung, als unerklaerbares Leid oder als Freude "erlebt," drueckt sich nicht minder religioeses Bewusstsein aus.

Die Nivellierung von religioeser Inspiration zu Genialitaet ueberhaupt heisst nicht, wie M. darzutun sucht, die Macht Gottes entschraenken, sondern umgekehrt das, was unter dem Gott der Religion in aller historisch wirksam gewordenen Religion gemeint war, seines besonderen Sinnes berauben. Es klingt plausibel fuer einen aufgeklaerten Geist: "If you add it — i. e. the inspiration — to Jesus or to Plato you do not remove it from Hosea."¹⁶ Aber wer ueber die Aufgeklaertheit aufgeklaert ist, empfindet, dass allzu viel allzu wenig ist. Mag sein, dass alles so gekommen waere, wenn nicht die biblisch-juedische Religion mit ihrem ungeheuren Anspruch in die Welt hineingetreten waere. Aber dass kraft dieses Anspruchs fuer den Juden — und nicht nur aus historischen Pietatsgruenden — Plato auf einer

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, S. 9–10.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, S. 20.

anderen Ebene steht und stehen bleibt wie Hosea, dass Religion mit Gebet und Fest, mit Kultus und Ritus, mit Tradition, mit Glaebigkeit und Verzweiflung, mit Hoffnung und Angst alle Grundlagen verliert, das scheint uns sicher. Handelte es sich um nichts als um wahre Ideen, dann hat die Religion der Wissenschaft und Philosophie das Feld zu raeumen. Ist religioese Erfahrung eins mit aesthetischem Erleben, der Prophet der produktiv Schaffende, der Glaebige, der sich dem Kunstgenuss verstaendnisvoll und einfuehlend Hingebende, — dann mag die Kunst ihre Funktion uebernehmen. Wie der idealistische Dichter denkt:

“Wer Wissenschaft und Kunst besitzt,
der hat auch Religion.
Wer diese beiden nicht besitzt,
der habe Religion!”¹⁷

Wir sehen auf dem Grunde des Selbstzeugnisses des historisch gewachsenen Glaubens, dass er als eine autonome Wesenheit sich gibt. Nur dieser Weg der Charakterisierung kann zum Verstaendnis fuehren. Alle Betrachtung von aussen her muss das sinnhafte Eigenleben der Religion gefaehrden, wo nicht zerstoeren. M.'s Werk bleibt hochbedeutsam als scharfsinniger, lichtvoller Versuch, die Religion restlos zu humanisieren. Es ist ein aufhellendes Beispiel fuer Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der reinen Vernunft.

Wenn wir in diesem Zusammenhang auf S. Schechter's "*Some aspects of rabbinic theology*" kurz eingehen, so geschieht es nicht zum Zwecke einer prinzipiellen Auseinandersetzung mit den Grundlagen. Schechter schreibt nicht als Theologe, sondern als Religionshistoriker; und wo er Grundsaeztliches streift, da geschieht es vom traditionellen Standpunkte her. Ein eigenes theologisches "System" darf man von diesen "aspects" auch um so weniger erwarten, als sie grossenteils eine Sammlung urspruenglich gesondert veroeffentlichter Aufsaezte darstellen. Von dem Buche gilt, was es von den alten Rabbinen sagt,¹⁸ dass ihnen offenbar *die* Religion gesund erschien, die eine Theo-

¹⁷ Goethe, *Zahme Xenien*.

¹⁸ S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, New York, 1909, S. 12.

logie hat, ohne sich ihrer bewusst zu werden. Gerade die Zufälligkeit in der Vereinigung der Teilansichten ohne besondere systematisierende Absicht stellt naemlich bei einem solchen Manne den instinktsicheren Gehorsam gegenueber dem Geist der von ihm beschriebenen Religion dar. Die Beschraenkung auf das Rabbinische bedeutet nicht, dass hier nur eine voruebergehende Periode der Entwicklung zu Worte kommt. Denn gerade Schechter's Darstellung zeigt, wie gesaettigt die rabbinische Religion mit biblischen Motiven ist. Das Wesentliche und Richtige ist, dass diese Teilansichten uns das wirkliche Antlitz des Judentums deutlich und klar schauen lassen: die juedische Gemeinschaftsreligion, deren Traeger ein Volk bleibt. Wie viele seltsame Verstiegenheiten und partikularistische, ja chauvinistische Extravaganzen hier aufgezeigt, oft auch schonungsvoll verschleiert werden, — das theologische Kernproblem, die Paradoxie der Erwaehlungs idee, bleibt immer im Brennpunkt des Interesses. Nur der korrekte Grundriss gestattet solides Bauen. Und wenn hier vor allem die Probleme: Verhaeltnis Israels zu Gott, das Koenigtum Gottes, der Weg in der Geschichte, das Gesetz ausfuehrlich gewuerdigt werden, so wird damit gerade die Grundlage gesichert, auf der innerhalb der juedischen Religiositaet die Anliegen der Einzelseele gestillt werden koennen. "Das Gesetz leitet seine Autoritaet vom Koenigtum her."¹⁹ Damit sind Gottesreich und Gottesvolk mit der Substanz des Lebens, das unter dem Joch der Gebote steht, von Anfang her und fuer die Dauer verknuepft. Wie klar diese Gedanken in den urspruenglichen Konzeptionen des biblischen Geistes angelegt sind, das hat neuerdings Buber's "Koenigtum Gottes" behandelt.

Dabei tritt gerade in der rabbinischen Formulierung des Vorzuges Israels die Beziehung auf den Gott der Geschichte, der in der Geschichte Gott der Menschheit ist, hervor.²⁰ Die Belegstellen verdienen eine genaue Analyse unter dem Gesichtspunkt, wie verschlungen mit einander die nationalen und universalen Motive sind. Mit einem pathetischen Ja oder Nein ist nichts getan. Wie sich nicht bloss neben der kollektivistischen

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, S. 116.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, S. 130 f.

Haltung, sondern in ihr und aus ihr heraus die persoenlich-individualistische entfaltet und im juedischen Religionsbewusstsein lebt, das kann gerade aus dem rabbinischen Geist herausgeholt werden. Nur darf man nicht vorschnell systematisieren.²¹ Schechter's "Some aspects" sind so ausgewaehlt, dass sie auf die Fuelle und den Reichtum der Totalansicht hinweisen, auf das Ganze des Judentums, nicht bloss auf eine Episode in der Geschichte.

Leo Baeck's "*Wesen des Judentums*" ist nicht eigentlich ein theologisches Buch. Es vermeidet eine spezifisch theologische Problemstellung, die wir heute in ihrer Eigenart und Haerte gegenueber aller anderen Haltung zur Wirklichkeit besonders empfinden und darum pruefen muessen. Baeck fuehlt sicherer als andere liberale Juden die Paradoxie des Religioesen;²² und von dem billigen Optimismus der fortschrittsfreudigen Buerger aus der Zeit vor dem Weltkrieg haelt er sich in gemessenem Abstände. Religion ist ihm — und die des Judentums bildet den klassischen Ausdruck — die sittliche Bejahung der Welt, also wesentlich Ethik. Aber da das sittliche Handeln, um seinen vollen Sinn zu empfangen und zu bewahren, auf Gott bezogen sein muss, so gehoert Gott selber in die Ethik hinein. Der juedische Monotheismus, in dem Gott mit dem Gestalter und Vollbringer des Guten, dem Schoepfer der Welt, des Menschen eingesetzt ist, wird so zur wahren Lehre der Sittlichkeit, und das juedische Volk mit seiner Geschichte und seinem Gesetz das wahre Feld fuer die Manifestierung des hoechsten, des auf Gott gekehrten sittlichen Wollens. Der universale Gedanke ist von vornherein wirksam, und alle Geschichte, ob Israels oder der anderen Voelker, stellt ihn in seiner Erfuellung wie in seiner Verletzung stets ans Licht. Dabei verliert bei Baeck der juedische religioese Mensch in der Substanz seines Lebens nichts von der Eigenart, zu der seine Tradition und sein Schicksal ihn gepraeagt haben. Und es ist die Staerke dieses "Wesens des Judentums," dass der monotheistische Ethizismus, der die Grundlage des juedischen Bewusstseins bildet, dieses nicht auslaugt und einem formal abstrakten Ideal nivelliert, sondern es im Erdgeruch seiner Eigenstaendigkeit belaesst.

²¹ *Ibidem*, S. 157 f.

²² Leo Baeck, *Wesen des Judentums*, S. 106 ff.

Wir werden in der Grundhaltung den Einfluss Kants nicht uebersehen koennen. Er zeigt sich hier wie in aller — nicht nur liberalen — juedischen Reflexion in dem gemeinsamen Gedanken, dass der hoechste, dem Menschen zur Verwirklichung aufgegebenen Wert der sittliche ist. Wobei allerdings meist die Frage ungeklaert bleibt, ob das Sittliche ein integrierendes Moment im Heiligen bildet oder dieses voellig in sich aufsaugt. Den radikalsten Ausdruck hat die Einssetzung von Religion und Sittlichkeit in Hermann Cohen's "*Ethik des reinen Willens*" gefunden. Wenn die Bibel Gott, den ethisch-monotheistischen der Propheten, als Schoepfer der Welt und zugleich als Gesetzgeber proklamiert, so sieht Cohen damit in der religioesen Sprache genau das ausgedrueckt, was er philosophisch mit der "Idee" Gottes meint, die ihm die Garantie fuer den Zusammenbestand von naturwissenschaftlichem Sein und ethischem Sollen ist. Der Gott der Propheten ist nicht bloss der Schlusspunkt einer *religioesen* Entwicklung, die zum ethischen Monotheismus fuehrte, er ist zugleich die wichtigste "Grundlegung" *ὑπόθεσις* im wissenschaftlichen System der Ethik. Da fuer Cohen aber Wissenschaft im strengen Sinn der platonischen *ἐπιστήμη* die einzig legitime Norm fuer die Beurteilung menschlicher Kultur ueberhaupt bildet, wird hier Religion von der Wissenschaft schlechthin verschlungen. Der juedische Universalismus empfaengt die Wendung, dass die richtige, fuer die Vernunft allgemeinguelte Wahrheit in der prophetischen Lehre enthalten sei. Wie genau das gemeint ist, das zeigt die Einbeziehung der messianischen Idee in dieses System der wissenschaftlichen Ethik. Ist Gott Buerge fuer die Verwirklichung der sittlichen Aufgabe, so vollzieht sich dieser Prozess selber in der Geschichte; und insofern ist Geschichte Erfuellung des messianischen Gedankens. Fuer Cohen ist das nicht Sache religioesen Glaubens, sondern erweisbares Lehrstueck im Gebaeude der *philosophischen* Ethik selber. Das hat dieser Anschauung die nicht freundlich gemeinte Kritik von Kuno Fischer eingetragen, sie sei mehr juedisch als philosophisch. Wir aber glauben, in Cohen's radikalem Rationalismus den energischsten je von juedischer Seite gemachten Versuch zu sehen, Judentum als Wahrheit schlechthin, als die wissenschaftlich richtige und erweisbare Wahrheit von den fuer den

Menschen wichtigsten Dingen aufzufassen. Er ist der eigentliche Fortsetzer von Maimuni, wie er sich persoendlich auch als solcher fuehlte.

Cohen's Lehre und speziell die religionsphilosophischen Elemente in der "Ethik des reinen Willens" sind ein aufhellendes Beispiel, dass *Religionsphilosophie* ein Bestandstueck philosophischer Ergruendung schlechthin ist, die von der besonderen Haltung der Theologie nicht beruehrt wird. Wir waren uns in unserer Einleitung darueber klar geworden, dass nicht Offenbarung als solche uns einen konkret fassbaren Sinn erschliesst. Denn der Akt selber bleibt Geheimnis, muss es bleiben, wenn Religion, die sich auf ihn aufbaut, ihren eigentuemlichen Charakter bewahren soll. Lediglich die *Deutung* des Begegnisses mit dem Goettlichen spricht Lehre aus, stellt Forderungen, verheisst und troestet. Und doch steckt in jenem dunkel bleibenden Erlebnis selber ein Faktor, der den Erleuchteten in seiner Hinwendung zur Diesseitssphaere begleitet. Das ist die Gewissheit, dass die Beruehrung mit dem Goettlichen und der aus ihr wirksam werdende Ansporn das schlechterdings gewaltigste und wichtigste Ereignis ist, das ein Mensch erleben kann. Es gibt nichts Irdisches, es sei noch so maechtig oder schoen oder lustvoll, was dem Werte jener Erfahrung nahe kommt. Ihr gegenueber wird alles andere nichtig; oder, wenn es grosse Dinge im Dasein gibt, so dehnt sich dort das schlechthin und in jedem Betracht Unendliche. Doch der Prophet wird bei aller kreatuerlichen Kleinheit von dem grenzenlos Erhabenen nicht vergewaltigt. Er mag sich — ein schwacher Sterblicher — dem Ruf des Ewigen aus Angst entziehen wollen; denn sein Wort brennt wie Feuer, es schmeckt bitter, und kein Mensch will es hoeren. Aber der goettliche Zwang ist nicht blosser Gewalttaetigkeit; denn im Augenblick, da der biblische Prophet von ihm ergriffen wird, erfahert er zwar nicht die unaussprechliche Wonne des Mystikers, wohl aber das Erlebnis erhabenen, unausweichbaren, heiligen Willens. Soweit es ihm ueberhaupt moeglich ist, das Goettliche ahnungsvoll zu erkennen, entfaltet es sich ihm als heiliger Wille. Er fuehlt dessen Autoritaet und weiss zugleich, dass er ihr innerlich nicht entrinnen kann.

Das sichere Wissen um die in der Offenbarung sich kund-

gebende Autoritaet bildet die Grundlage des prophetischen Bewusstseins. Wir muessen die Zweiseitigkeit dieser besonderen Autoritaet beachten. Sie weist einmal auf ein in seinem Sein unerkennbares oder vielmehr ueber alle Erkennbarkeit erhabenes Wesen,²³ und sie heischt zugleich Unterwerfung unter einen heiligen Willen. Was immer Gott seinem "Wesen" nach sein mag, — dass er will, Anspruch erhebt und dass dieser Wille kraft seiner Macht und Erhabenheit, seiner Heiligkeit, unbedingt Gehorsam fordert, dass ihm zugleich die innere Zustimmung des Angeredeten gebuehrt, das ist der erste Akt der prophetischen Selbstdeutung des Offenbarungsbewusstseins.

Autoritaet empfaengt einen Sinn nur innerhalb echter Gemeinschaft. Darum ist biblisch-prophetischer Glauben ab ovo verschieden von jeder Mystik, die ueber die ihr wesenhafte Einung die Zweiheit von Gott und Mensch und damit die Moeglichkeit eigentlicher Gemeinschaft verliert. In dieser Toenung des Begriffs der goettlichen Autoritaet ist das grundlegende Motiv zur Sittlichkeit mitgesetzt: nicht Zwang im Verhaeltnis zwischen Zweien, sondern einsehbares, in seinem inneren Recht erfahrenes Muessen. Wo die biblische Symbolik in der Darstellung prophetischer Berufungen das Zwangsmoment ueberspannt, wie etwa in der Jona-Geschichte, da weiss die Erzaehlung nachtraeglich das Recht Gottes zu solcher Noetigung mindestens den Zuschauern plausibel zu machen. Dieser Gott ist kein Gott beseligender Anschauung fuer den Menschen, sondern des unausweichbaren, aber heiligen Willens.

Ein Abglanz dieser Kraft, ins menschlich Irdische uebersetzt und auf dessen Sphaere hingekehrt, teilt sich dem Erleuchteten mit. Die Urbedeutung des Wortes nabi, in der das Wunderhafte, Unheimliche der goettlichen Mitteilung zum Ausdruck kommt, tritt hinter dem Sinn der autoritativen Sendung des Propheten durch Gott zurueck. Der Prophet ist Fuehrer, Gesetzgeber, Herrscher, in all diesen Funktionen unaufhoerlich vom Bewusstsein goettlicher Mission begleitet, von Gott als Autoritaet fuer die Menschen eingesetzt. Fuer welche Menschen? Fuer alle oder fuer einem bestimmt umrissenen Kreis? Unzweifelhaft nur fuer

²³ Max Wiener, Vorbemerkung zum religioesen Verstaendnis der religionsphilosophischen Attributenlehre, Festschrift Freimann, Berlin, 1937.

sein Volk. Er mag die erfahrene Offenbarung als weltweit gueltige Wahrheit deuten, als "objektive," an sich fuer alle verbindliche Erkenntnis und Lebensnorm — er *kuendet* sie nur seinem Volke. Was immer der fuer alle eine und selbige Gott mit der von ihm geschaffenen Menschheit vorhaben mag, — die biblisch-propheetische wie die rabbinisch-traditionelle Religion kennt als von Gott primaer angeredet nur das israelitisch-juedische Volk. Dieses wird gerade durch solche Anrede zum Volk. Der Prophet ist wie der Mann Gottes so der seines Volkes. Mose ist der Sprecher des Volkes in der Verhandlung, die zur Bundschliessung am Sinai fuehrte. Sie ist das fuer alle Zeit grundlegende Ereignis fuer den Glauben wie fuer die Geschichte Israels.

Juedische Theologie muss sich von vorneherein der eigentuemlichen Beziehung des Glaubensgehalts zur Geschichte bewusst werden, wenn sie nicht die Elemente dieses Inhalts verlagern und um ihren wahren Sinn bringen will. Der faktisch im Judentum angelegte "Universalismus" wird darueber nicht zu kurz kommen, wenn wir aus der charakteristischen Geschichtsbezogenheit alles ausschöpfen, was in ihr liegt. Die *Menschheit* hat keine Geschichte, wenigstens bisher noch nicht. Die Praehistorie betrachtet den Menschen als Gattungswesen vor seiner Abloesung von untermenschlichem Zustand unter dem Gesichtspunkt seiner primitiven technischen Zivilisierung bis zu dem Punkte, wo mit dem hoeheren geistigen Leben Gruppen mit besonderer Sprache sich von einander scheiden und je ihre besondere Geschichte haben. Erst jenseits der primitiven Einheit oder besser gesagt, wesentlichen Einerleiheit der Menschen hebt geschichtliche Entwicklung an. Was die nach unserem Glauben in der Zukunft geeinte Voelkerwelt noch zu "geschichtlicher" Bewegung bringen mag, das liegt im Dunkel der messianischen Idee verschlossen. Aber was sich zwischen diesen beiden Wendepunkten erstreckt, das ist Geschichte nur in der Mannigfaltigkeit der Gruppen, Staemme, Nationen und ihrer verschiedenen Wege. So gibt es innerhalb des juedischen Selbstbewusstseins gemaess allen Zeugnissen von Leben und Schrifttum kein Moment von hellerem, wacherem Gefuehl als die lebendige Beziehung zur juedischen Gemeinschaft und zum juedischen Schicksal.

Das verleiht auch der biblischen Offenbarung und ihrer

Deutung durch den prophetischen Kuender das besondere Gesicht. Wir lernen jetzt den charakteristischen Sinn prophetischer Autoritaet kenne, wenn ihr von Gott gesandter Traeger als Mensch unter *seinen* Menschen steht. Er muss sprechen, und er muss zu seinem Volke sprechen, der selbstverstaendlichen Gegebenheit, der Atmosphaere seines persoentlichen Lebens.

Autoritaet als soziologische Erscheinung duerfte allenthalben im religioesen Zusammenhang entstanden sein oder aus einer Seelenhaltung, die in diesen einmuendete. Zauberer und magiekundiger Priester erzwangen durch die uebernaturlichen Kraefte, die sie ihren Gottheiten abtrotzten, den Gehorsam ihrer Gemeinde fuer den Daemon, der durch sie sprach und handelte. Ob und wie weit dieser Urtyp von Autoritaet noch durch die Quellen der juedischen Religion — biblischen oder rabbinischen — hindurchschimmert, mag deren *geschichtliche* Analyse ausmachen. Der *theologischen* ist von vornherein ein hoeheres Stadium gegeben, in dem der Gehorsam auf innerer, verstehender Grundlage ruht. Der Prophet hat Autoritaet, ist Autoritaet, weil er dem Volke im Namen Gottes ein Ideal kuendet, das in der Essenz dieses Volkes selber angelegt ist. Seine Deutung des Gotteswortes ist zugleich eine Verdeutlichung des idealen Willens dieses Volkes. Die Midraschim, die sich bemuehen aufzuzeigen, warum der Ewige, der Herr ueber die siebzig Voelker der Erde, gerade Israel erwaeht, illustrieren dies in ihrer naiven Weise. Israel allein unter allen Nationen *wollte* das dargebotene Wort annehmen, es gelobte, *alle* Gesetze des Sinaibundes zu hueten, waehrend die anderen diese oder jene Einschraenkung oder Ausnahme machten. Es ist nicht nur die *z'khut abot*, die den Kindeskindern zugute kommt; sondern die moralische Kraft und die Gott zugekehrte Art der Vaeter haben in den Kindern ein Volk gepraeagt, das vor anderen der Offenbarung wuerdig war. Dass die Kinder Israel Barmherzige und Kinder von Barmherzigen sind, weist auf eine besondere Richtung des volkhaften Selbstbewusstseins hin. Das hat nichts mit rassen- und naturhaften Gefuehl zu tun. Es liegt hier vielmehr eine Spiritualisierung des Volkes und seiner Geschichte vor. Jehuda ha Levi ist darin der Dolmetsch echten juedischen Erlebens, indem er Volk und Sprache, Land und Schicksal

Israels geradezu kanonisiert.²⁴ Durch seine Ueberschwenglichkeiten, die nichts weniger als Rassenschauvinismus sind, leuchtet klar die gott-, nicht naturbezogene Haltung zu seinem Stamme hervor.

Man muss das im Auge behalten, um ueber Ursprung und Wesen von Autoritaet innerhalb der geoffenbarten Religion theologisch ins Klare zu kommen. Es gibt keine Autoritaet, deren Traeger nicht der Exponent der geistig-seelischen Tendenzen des von ihm beherrschten Kreises waere. Das ist ihr soziologischer Sinn, der sich auch im religioesen Bezirk behauptet. Selbstverstaendlich besagt das nicht, dass "geoffenbart" heisst, was Grundstimmung und Anlage der Gemeinde entspricht, so dass goettliche Mitteilung ueberfluessig wuerde. Es bedeutet vielmehr, dass der erleuchtete Fuehrer im besten Geistesbesitz und in den besten Persoenlichkeiten seines Volkes die fruehste Resonanz seiner Rede findet. Der an ein Volk sich wendende Sendbote Gottes muss so sprechen, das goettliche Wort so verstehen und verstehen lehren, dass es den angeredeten Menschen etwas bedeuten, sie *ansprechen* kann. Insofern redet er wie die Tora "gemaess der Sprache der Menschenkinder." Dass gerade das Wort der biblischen Propheten befremdlich genug klang, zu sonderbar, um von der Menge auf- und angenommen zu werden, — das geht aus der ganzen Geschichte des hartnaeckigen Volkes der unbeschnittenen Herzen und verstopften Ohren hervor. Doch ebenso bezeichnend ist, dass niemals alle bis auf den letzten ungehorsam waren. "Der Rest, der sich bekehrt," lebt in den Getreuen beim goldenen Kalb wie in den zwei gutwilligen Kundschaftern, in Josuas Haus, das in jedem Fall dem Ewigen dienen will, in den Demuetigen und Armen der Psalmen und so fort. Gott und seine Propheten koennen nicht in den leeren Raum hinein sprechen, sie muessen nicht nur Hoerende, sondern Verstehende finden.

So weist auch die Analyse des Autoritaetsbegriffs und seiner urspruenglichen Realisierung darauf hin, dass wesenhafter Traeger der Religion die Gemeinschaft als solche ist. Dass die Anliegen des Individualismus darueber nicht zu kurz kommen,

²⁴ Cusari, II, 12–24.

wird sich zeigen. Das Volk aber ist immer Volk mit seiner Geschichte und in der Geschichte seiner Umwelt, letzthin aller Nationen. Das gilt nicht bloss fuer den israelitischen Stamm mit eigenem Land und lebendiger Sprache, es gilt fuer das ganze Leben der juedischen Gemeinschaft zu aller Zeit. Die Geschichte gehoert hier in den Gehalt des religioesen Glaubens selbst hinein. Denn Sinn dieser Behauptung mag ein Blick auf das Christentum erlaeuern. Fuer dieses erscheint der Christus, da "die Zeit erfuelllet ist." Die Zeit, von der hier die Rede ist, ist ersichtlich die, in der auf Erden die Dinge der Voelker und Menschen geschehen. Diese Zeit ist nun zu Ende. Es beginnt — wenn man so sagen darf — der Aeon der Zeitlosigkeit. Das kosmische Ereignis des Auftretens des Gottmenschen in der sichtbaren Welt nimmt dieser ihren Selbstwert und ordnet geschichtliches Leben dem zentralen metaphysischen Ereignis unter. Doch, genau gesprochen, ist der Christus und sein Kommen gar kein Ereignis von geschichtlicher Valenz, sondern ein metaphysischer Tatbestand. Die horizontal verlaufende menschliche Entwicklung wird durch die vertikal vom Himmel her hineinreichende Transcendente gesperrt. Das Christentum musste sich damit abfinden, dass es nach Christus noch ein "Zeit" und in dieser Zeit Geschichte gab. Es uebernahm ja auch die juedische Periodisierung. Aber es dauerte lange, bis es im Rationalismus des Thomas von Aquino die Ansprueche von Zeit und Ewigkeit in einem ausgewogenen System zu einigen vermochte. Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre geht auf diese metaphysische Grundhaltung zurueck, wie Luther, Kierkegaard und Karl Barth in ihr wurzeln. Man stellt zu Unrecht christlichen Pessimismus und juedischen Optimismus einander gegenueber als primaere Charakteristica. Die urspruengliche Differenz ist vielmehr die Stellung zur Geschichte. Das Judentum bejaht sie. Das Christentum, gegrundet auf einen zeitlosen metaphysischen Tatbestand, nimmt eine verklausulierte Haltung ein.

Wir muessen diese grundlegende Disjunktion Geschichte — Metaphysik noch weiter klaeren. Das Judentum hat in der Religionsphilosophie auf Grund der in seinem Glauben gesetzten Lehrstuecke von Gott und Schoepfung, der unsterblichen Seele, der goettlichen Willensmitteilung, der Ideen von Schicksal und

Vergeltung jeweils Lehrsysteme ausgebildet, die zeitlos geltende Wahrheit dartun wollten. Solche Versuche sind Metaphysik, und die Behandlung der Gegenstaende bei den juedischen Neu-Platonikern und Aristotelikern sieht augenscheinlich den Kern der Religion in der theoretisch richtigen Metaphysik, die sich mit geeigneter Methode aus den biblischen wie rabbinischen Quellen gewinnen laesst. Wir haben an anderer Stelle ueber diese Verlagerung der Probleme in der juedischen Philosophie gehandelt.

Kommt es hier auf die Herausstellung der Erkenntnis des zeitlos Gueltigen an und macht die Aneignung solchen Wissens Religion aus, so darf man wohl von dem Schwergewicht des Metaphysischen in ihr sprechen. Natuerlich fallen die Forderungen des biblisch-rabbinischen Gesetzes nicht unter den Tisch. Aber sie werden ausdruecklich als zweitrangig hinter die "dia-noetischen" Tugenden gesetzt. Und auch das den Glauben an die Sinnerfuelltheit der Geschichte vertretende Lehrstueck von der messianischen Idee wird beruecksichtigt. Doch so — etwa bei Maimonides und Gersonides —, dass schlechterdings kein Ausgleich zwischen dem Ideal der sich in hoechster theoretischer Erkenntnis vollendenden Einzelseele und der Idee der in der Geschichte sich auslebenden Gemeinschaft gefunden wird. Vielmehr brechen die Systeme an diesem Punkte auseinander. Das Schwergewicht des Interesses an der metaphysischen Erkenntnis konstituiert hier die vor Gott allein vollgueltige menschliche Personlichkeit, die so zum Traeger der Religion wird. In der christlichen Forderung der Hingabe an den erloesenden Gottmenschen bekommt der Individualismus einen anderen *Inhalt* wie bei den juedischen Religionsphilosophen, welche denkendes Ringen um die hoechste Wahrheit verlangen. Aber da wie dort geht Religion auf in der Interessiertheit des Individuums an seinem Heil oder der Vollkommenheit seiner Denkkraft. Da wie dort entspricht metaphysische Zeitlosigkeit, bzw. Erfuellung mit ihr, dem Bruch mit der Geschichte oder der Gleichgueltigkeit ihr gegenueber; da wie dort keine echte, von Gott als Instrument seines positiven Willens gesetzte Gemeinschaft.

Volk und Geschichte sind aber die beiden Pole, zwischen denen das eigenartige Leben unserer Religion verlauft. Innerhalb der so bestimmten Linie sind alle Lehrstuecke ausfindig zu

machen, die das System der Theologie bilden; von jenen empfangen sie das Licht, das sie in ihrer juedischen Besonderheit erstrahlen laesst. Diese Probleme sind: Gott und Schoepfung, Individuum und Menschheit, Aufgabe und Schicksal. Nur wenn diese Fragen in ihrer steten Bezogenheit zu unseren Koordinaten behandelt werden, kommt eine juedische, nicht allgemein deistische oder theistische Darstellung heraus.

Der biblisch-juedische Gott wird von Anfang an als der in der Geschichte waltende erfahren. Er schafft die Welt nur als Schauplatz fuer das Tun der Menschen. Die Basis seiner Sittlichkeit ist die von ihm gewollte Sinnhaftigkeit des Lebens vernuenftiger Geschoepfe, die er darum in seinem Ebenbilde schafft. Mit gutem Recht ist man gegenueber der Dogmatisierung jedweden in der Zeit entstandenen ethischen Kodex' skeptisch. Alles wandelt sich, auch das, was Menschen unter Gutsein verstehen. Dass aber alles Gutsein sich allein innerhalb der Gemeinschaft vollzieht, ausschliesslich in bestimmter Formung des Verhaeltnisses vom Ich zum Du aller anderen Menschen besteht, und dass dieses Verhaeltnis nicht statisch sondern dynamisch, will sagen, "gerichtet," zielbezogen ist, also Anlage zu wertbarer Geschichte enthaelt, das ist die Grundqualitaet des Sittlichen. In diesem Licht ist der biblisch-juedische Schoepfergott zu sehen. Der Glaube an ihn ist darum wesentlich von radikaler Erloesungsreligion — indischer wie westlicher — verschieden, wie wenig man dieser die ethische Tendenz abstreiten kann. Die Differenz besteht weniger im Ethischen als in der Bewertung des Sozialen, das der juedisch-biblische Gott unbedingt will. Er schafft ja auch die ersten Menschen ausdruecklich als die Ahnen kommender Geschlechter, indem er ihnen gebietet, fruchtbar zu sein und sich zu mehren.

Gewiss ist Gott auch der Gott der Natur; und in der Weite des juedischen Lebens, wie es sich in unserem Schrifttum spiegelt, nimmt das Naturgefuehl, aus Ehrfurcht und Schauer vor den gewaltigen Dingen und Ereignissen der sicht- und hoerbaren Welt geboren, einen bemerkenswerten Platz ein. Aber es bleibt doch immer Gott, der den Draechen Rahab zerhaut, die Urwesen baendigt, dessen Stimme ueber den Wassern donnert. Nicht die Allgewalt und schrankenlose Maechtigkeit der Naturkraefte

versetzt den Menschen in scheues oder bewunderndes Staunen; sondern die Groesse Gottes, dessen ueberragende Kraft sich in der Zuegelung der Natur erweist, heisst uns eine B'racha sprechen angesichts von Ozean oder Wueste. Es ist nicht der *Gott der Natur*, sondern der *Gott ueber der Natur*, eben der Gott, der die Natur fuer die Geschichte zurechtgemacht hat.

Er zeigt sich schon im Garten Eden. Denn das Paradies der Urzeit reflektiert nur das der Endzeit. Und wenn die von uns als boese und wild erfahrenen Tiere einst wieder so gutartig werden sollen, wie sie urspruenglich gewesen, so ist damit am drastischsten ausgedrueckt, fuehlbarer als in der anthropozentrischen Teleologie frueherer und spaeterer Philosophen, dass Geist der verborgene Sinn der Natur ist. Es ist der in der Geschichte sich auswirkende Gottesgeist. Die Disposition der biblischen Ur- und Stammvaetergeschichte zielt auf die Herausstellung von Israel, dem "Volke Gottes," ab. Schon talmudische Apologeten, die sich durch diesen ungeheuerlichen "Partikularismus" betroffen fuehlten, haben auf den deutlichen "Universalismus" hingewiesen, der in der Praegung aller Menschen nach der Gestalt des Adam, im Buche der Geschlechtsfolge des Menschen, in den fuer alle gueltigen noachidischen Geboten steckt. Man koennte dagegen geltend machen, dass gerade aus dem Hintergrunde solch humaner Erkenntnis sich die Konzentrierung des goettlichen Interesses ueberwiegend auf Israel um so schaefer abhebt. Besser als eine Verteidigung gegen sogenannten Partikularismus, die immer darauf hinauslaeuft, vor den "nationalen" und "chauvinistischen" Momenten hinter den "ja auch" vorhandenen "universalistischen" Schutz zu suchen, ziemt einer juedischen Theologie folgende einfache Erwaegung: Geschichte ist essentiell die Geschichte eines Ausschnitts der Menschheit in seiner dynamischen Beziehung zu den andern. Geschichte ist Volks- oder Voelkergeschichte. Der stoische oder ueberhaupt spaet-antike und so auch christliche Menschheitsbegriff ist in der Linie Individuum — Menschheit ausgerichtet, der juedische wesentlich und ueberwiegend an der von Volk zur Gemeinschaft aller Voelker. Geschichte kann sich nur an Gruppenindividualitaeten und durch sie verwirklichen. Darum ist das Volk Israel integrierender Bestandteil der Religion Israels; nicht im Sinn

der Binsenwahrheit, dass die Grenze dieses Volkes mit der Summe der Glaebigen zusammenfaellt, oder dass der Genius dieses Stammes gerade diese Religion produziert hat, nicht in statistischer oder rassenmaessiger Betrachtungsweise, sondern in der theologischen, dass Existenz, Leistung und Schicksal dieses Volkes in den Gehalt des Glaubens selber eingeht.

Auf diesen Sachverhalt ist der Gottesbegriff bezogen; und seine echten, nicht spekulativ ergruebelten Attribute zeigen ihn als den Gott der Geschichte. Insofern ist die Attributenlehre der juedischen Mutakallimun oder Crescas wohl ein treueres Spiegelbild als die der neuplatonischen Aristoteliker. Der heilige Gott offenbart sich als der Eine, der allmaechtige Schoepfer der Welt, als Koenig, Gesetzgeber und Richter. Die Klaerung der metaphysischen Moeglichkeit dieser Praedikate, ihre philosophische Interpretation, ihre Laeuterung von anthropomorphistischen Schlacken gehoert nicht so sehr zur Aufgabe der Theologie als zu der der Religionsphilosophie, die ein Zweig der Philosophie ueberhaupt ist. Jene primaeren Attribute bewahren sich in der Dynamik des Voelkerlebens. Was heisst Gottes Einzigkeit? Die Spaltung des *Echad* in Einzigkeit und Einheit-Einfachheit und der breite Raum, den die Eroerterung dieses Begriffs in der juedischen Reflexion einnimmt, ist mehr dem apologetischen Interesse, vor allem der Abwehr der christologischen Ansprueche, als einem genuinen Impuls des Judentums selber zuzuschreiben. Den grossen Propheten ist die letzte Klarheit ueber den Monotheismus darin aufgegangen, dass das eigene Volk wie die Welt der Fremdvoelker nur *ein* wirklich legitimes Ideal haben durfte, ein Leben in Gerechtigkeit und Liebe zu fuehren. Die radikale Unterordnung aller moeglichen Daseinsgehalte under das *eine* und eindeutige, ihnen durch die Offenbarung bestaetigte sittlich geschichtliche Ziel laesst fuer einen anderen Gott keinen Platz. Der Henotheismus muss dem Monotheismus weichen, wenn es Geschichte mit einer einsinnigen Richtung geben soll. Die uebrigen politisch-sozialen Attribute ergeben sich hieraus. Ihre Manifestierung in der Menschenwelt verwirklicht die von Gott gesetzten Ziele des historischen Lebens. Wie und wann immer der Gedanke von dem Messias und dem von ihm herbeizufuehrenden Gottesreich

in der biblischen Religion wirksam geworden ist, — sobald er da war, erwies er sich als der Punkt, auf den hin die ganze Entwicklungslinie ausgerichtet ist: Schoepfung, Offenbarung des Gesetzes an Israel, Gruendung, Sturz des Tempels, Exil mit seinen Leiden unter den Voelkern, Wiederaufrichtung Israels inmitten einer gereinigten und durch wahre Gotteserkenntnis geeinten Menschheit. Das Koenigtum Gottes und das Koenigtum des Messias sind auf einander bezogen.

Welchen Raum laesst solche mit Geschichtsglauben erfuellte Religion den Anliegen des Individuums? Dass diese zu Recht bestehen, ist selbstverstaendlich. Sie sind so wenig durch den sogenannten Individualismus des Jeremia und Ezechiel oder der Psalmen und des Hiobbuches im juedischen Bewusstsein erst begruendet worden, wie in der spaeteren Zeit der geschichtliche und der kollektive Faktor an Bedeutung verloren haben. Der Prophet selber stellt in seiner ausschliesslich mit dem Schicksal seines Volkes erfuellten Mission eine Individualitaet dar, die wach und lebendig gerade durch die leidenschaftliche Teilnahme an diesem Lose sich als unverwechselbare Persoenlichkeit gegen jede andere abgegrenzt. Es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass die Maenner, die Gottes Offenbarung als ihre an Israel gerichtete Mission erfuhren, die selber gaenzlich im Schicksal der Gemeinde aufgingen, die ersten wirklich greifbaren und noch heute von uns erlebbaren Gestalten ueberhaupt sind. Das viel berufene Erwachen des Individuums bedeutet nicht, dass es vorher im Schosse von Sippe oder Stamm traumlos geschlafen haette, sozusagen als seiner selbst nicht bewusstes Moment in einer mystischen Gemeinschaftsseele. Sicherlich gab es private Opfer, seitdem es persoenliche Wuensche und Hoffnungen gegeben hat. Die Institution des privaten Eigentums verlegt die Bibel in die Urzeit. Individualismus in dem hier angedeuteten Sinne bedeutet den wachen Anspruch auf Respektierung von Persoenlichkeitsrechten, und der Kampf um solche Freiheit ist der Hauptinhalt aller Geistes- und Kulturentfaltung bis auf den heutigen Tag. Fuer die juedische Theologie aber handelt es sich darum aufzuweisen, wie innerhalb der wesensmaessig auf das Gottesvolk und sein geschichtliches Schicksal bezogenen Religion der Einzelne von Gott erblickt wird.

Unsere mittelalterliche Religionsphilosophie schaut dieses Problem unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Providenz. Wie weit gibt es eine spezielle Providenz, und wer wird von ihr erfasst? — Hier liegt ein klassisches Beispiel fuer den Unterschied zwischen theologischer und religionsphilosophischer Methode vor. Ist es fuer jene selbstverstaendlich, dass sich Gott um jeden Menschen, auch um den geringstn, kuemmern *muss* und darum kuemmern *kann*, so fragt diese, ob das metaphysische Wesen Gottes eine Interessiertheit am Einzelnen und Wandelbaren zulasse. Gott denkt sozusagen nach Gersonides nur in den unwandelbaren Begriffen von Menschheits- und bestenfalls Volksuniversalitaeten. Hier entfernt sich diese Spekulation am weitesten vom Selbstzeugnis des juedischen Glaubens, dessen Inhalt sie durch solche Verbegrifflichung vernichtet. Es fehlt ihr das Organ, um das gefuehlsmaessig Erregte, das leidenschaftlich Pathetische und Feuerfluessige der religioesen Persoenlichkeit aufzunehmen. Wir sehen diese in tiefer und bleibender Bedeutung entstehen in Jeremia. Den Mann Hiob charakterisiert nichts als Kind Israels. Er ist der Mensch schlechthin, der vor Gott steht. Aber konnte er so mit Gott ringen, wenn nicht der Kampf des Jeremia vorausgegangen waere? Hier wie in vielen Psalmen haben wir den reinen Universalismus, der nur das Menschliche schlechthin kennt. Aber die Sonderprobleme, an denen dieser individualistische Humanismus herausgestellt wird, etwa Theodicee und Gebet, sind nicht nur als rechtmaessige Fragen an Gott verstanden worden; sondern sie erneuern sich einem Israeliten immer wieder gerade an der Erfahrung seines besonderen Schicksals. Wir meinen die Tatsache, dass Juden zu aller Zeit mehr als andere ihr Geschick mit dem ihrer Gemeinschaft verknuepft fanden und ihren religioesen Glauben, gegebenenfalls auch Unglauben an diesem Faktum orientierten.

Eine andere Linie fuehrt vom Kernstueck dieser Religion, der Idee des Bundes zwischen dem Ewigen und Israel, zu dem gleichen Ziel. Wie wirkt sich das Hochgefuehl der Erwaehlung in den einzelnen Kindern des erkorenen Volkes aus? Alle, die am Sinai das Gotteswort hoerten, gelten dem Jehuda ha Levi als Propheten.²⁵ Doch es bedarf nicht der Zeugenschaft eines

²⁵ *Ibidem*, II, 12.

betonten religioesen Nationalismus; dass die Kinder des Volkes als die vollberechtigten Erben des Stammvaters Jakob keine Herde von Namenlosen, keine graue Masse sind, sondern dass ueber ihnen allen die goettliche Schechina strahlt, — dieses Selbstbewusstsein zieht sich durch alle juedische Geschichte hindurch. Wie konnte es auch anders sein? In Babylonien entsteht seit dem Sturz des ersten Tempels die juedische Gemeinde. Wieviel volkhafte Praedikate sie damals und in aller Zeit beibehalten hat, was immer dem Israeliten und Juden das Privileg seiner Geburt bedeutet haben mag, — es ist doch klar, dass die Gemeinde, ihre Entstehung und ihr Bestand, primaer auf Gesinnung beruhte. Gesinnung aber ist allenthalben Sache der einzelnen, wachen und selbstbewussten Seele. Der Proselytismus setzt ebenfalls den Individualismus der Selbstentscheidung voraus; und es ist offenbar diese in der religioesen Gemeinde zutagetretende geistige Haltung, die das Judentum zu allererst in der Weltgeschichte befahigt hat, Menschen fuer seinen Gott zu gewinnen. Man mag gerade hierin den spezifischen juedischen Ausdruck fuer die Relation zwischen Einzelwesen und Menschheit sehen. Dass die Halacha den zum Judentum stossenden Ger, den Abraham ben Abraham, gleichsam als neugeborenes Kind betrachtet und seine vorisraelitische Vergangenheit annulliert, moechte man als schaerfsten Ausdruck fuer den Glauben an die Uebermacht des Geistigen ueber das Natuerliche interpretieren. Sie ist in dieser Hinsicht prinzipiell weitherziger als Jehuda ha Levi, der seinem Kusari alle Rechte eines Israeliten konzedierte, sich nur nicht denken kann, dass Gott vor dem Kommen des Messias aus dem Kreise der Nichtjuden Propheten erwecken wird.²⁶ Das haengt offenbar mit seiner spiritualistischen Milieu-Theorie zusammen, ist aber ueber den irrelevanten Einzelfall hinaus charakteristisch fuer die da und dort gebliebene Schwierigkeit, Gesinnungs- und Volksgemeinde voellig mit einander auszugleichen.

In jedem Fall bleibt die Gruppe das Bindeglied zwischen Individuum und Menschheit. Die stoisch-spaet-antike Auffassung, die den Menschen aus dem natuerlichen oder geschichtlichen Verband herausloest oder jedenfalls die Gruppe als un-

²⁶ *Ibidem*, I, 115; IV, 23.

wesentlich fuer die Entfaltung echten Menschentums betrachtet, fehlt hier. Man muesste denn an den kontemplativen Rationalismus der Religionsphilosophen denken, der nur die Denker der Wahrheit — und das sind immer nur wenige in jeder Generation — als vollwertig anerkennt. Die rabbinische Ethik hingegen ist darauf aufgebaut, durch Hebung des Selbstgefuehls des Einzelnen in ihm das Bewusstsein von Gotteskindschaft und Zugehoerigkeit zum auserwaehlten Volke zu wecken und zu staerken. Die unendliche Erhabenheit des goettlichen Vaters bedeutet ihr nicht nur, dass Demut vor ihm neben dem Vertrauen die Kardinaltugend des Menschen ist, sondern lehrt auf der anderen Seite die Menschen, sich als Brueder respektieren.

Am juedischen Sozialgesetz ist charakteristisch vor allem die Einschaerfung, dass Selbstgefuehl und Selbstachtung unbedingt zu schonen seien. Dass oeffentliche Beschaemung als Todsuende gilt, der Arme nicht nur zu unterstuetzen, sondern gemaess seiner frueheren Stellung im Leben zu behandeln, dass Wohltaetigkeit nicht taepisch, sondern mit einfuehlendem Verstaendnis zu ueben sei, dass Arbeitsbeschaffung dem Schenken vorausgehe, dass, wer sich einen Knecht dingt, sich mit ihm einen Herrn einsetzt, — das alles folgt unmittelbar aus der Idee des zwischen dem allmaechtigen und heiligen Gott und Israel geschlossenen Bundes. Denn moegen Talmud und rabbinische Kodices oft genug zwischen Juden und Nichtjuden differenzieren, mag die Not des Lebens und das Elend unverdienter Verfolgung den Gequaelten manches harte Wort entpresst haben, — das Gesetz und der durch das Gesetz erzogene Jude vergassen nicht, was Kiddusch ha-schem und was Chillul ha-schem bedeuten: naemlich Weitherzigkeit oder Enge in Bezug auf Ausdehnung des humanen Gesetzes ueber die Grenzen der eigenen Gemeinschaft hinaus.

Wenn es wahr ist, dass der Jude ueber dem Durchschnitt der Menschen barmherzig und verstaendnisvoll, gerecht und seelenoffen gegenueber den Anspruechen der Humanitaet ist, dann dankt er diese Art weder einem abstrakten "Universalismus," der nur Menschen schlechthin kennt, noch dem durch sein Schicksal entwickelten Ressentiment gegenueber der am eignen Leibe verspuerten Unmenschlichkeit, sondern primaer

etwas ganz anderem: die lebendige Teilhabe des Einzelnen am Auserwaehltheitsrang schuf in den Kindern dieses Volkes ein ausnehmendes Gefuehl der Gottesnaehe. Das wirkt sich praktisch in menschlicher Naeh-Empfindung aus. Es scheint psychologisch unmoeglich, dass diese nicht ueber die Schranken von Volk und Religionsgemeinde hinaus fluten soll. Der theoretische Universalismus weitet sich zur praktischen Humanitaet, weil der Jude von der Schule seines Volksgesetzes in wirksamste Zucht genommen und zum menschlichen Menschen geformt ward. Auch hier ist juedisches Wesen nur zu verstehen, wenn man die Verschlingung von partikularer und humaner Idee genau sieht.

Wir haben ersichtlich zwei Wege der Universalisierung zu unterscheiden: den von Volk ueber Volk zu menschheitlicher Gemeinschaft und den vom besonderen Individuum zur Allheit der Menschen. Der erstere ist in der Geschichtslehre der Propheten vorbereitet, im Plan Gottes, der alle als seine Werkzeuge nutzt und im Vollzuge seiner unbestechlichen Gerechtigkeit sogar das bundbruechige Israel zu vernichten droht. Es ist der Weg, der seinen grossartigsten Ausdruck in Deutero-Jesaia und dem Dichter der Gottesknechtlieder findet. Das Heil, das der mit Israel wieder versoehte Allmaechtige durch seinen Knecht bringt, soll bis an die Grenzen der Welt reichen. Dieser *extensive* Universalismus wurzelt in der Anschauung eines Gottes der Groesse, der Kraft, dem die Voelker der Welt eben hinreichen, um an ihnen seinen weltumspannenden Willen zu manifestieren. Dieser Gedankengang muendet in die Lehre vom Koenigtum des Messias.

Der zweite Weg ist weniger strahlend und weniger enthusiastisierend; er entbehrt des Pathos, das sich so leicht um die bewundernde Anschauung gewaltiger historischer Dimensionen rankt. Auf ihm schreitet der einzelne Glaebige, aber nicht in isolierendem Menschentum, sondern als Kind des auserwaehlten Volkes, dem Gebot hingegeben, das Gott diesem Volk zur Pflicht gemacht. Er ist durch den Gehorsam gegen dieses Gesetz in seiner Selbstsucht und Eigenwilligkeit gebrochen, vorbereitet, *auch* Buerger der Welt zu werden. Es erscheint nicht zweifelhaft, dass ohne solchen in der religioes-nationalen

Schulung erwachsenen *intensiven* Universalismus der andere, der extensive, nicht Wirklichkeit werden kann. Wenn er sich als fruchtbare Utopie in allem Auf und Ab der Weltgeschichte ueberhaupt bewaehrt, so nur darum, weil wenigstens in einem kleinen Ausschnitt geistig-geschichtlichen Lebens mit dem Koenigtum Gottes, in dem alle Volksgenossen ein Reich von Priestern bilden sollten, Ernst gemacht wurde; Ernst, soweit die Schwaechе des Menschen es zulaesst.

Worin besteht die Aufgabe des Juden vor Gott? Alle Propheeten erfahren und deuten die goettliche Stimme an sie als Forderung an den Willen. Und wenn bei der Kanonisierung der biblischen Schriften dem Pentateuch, dem Gesetzbuch *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, vom Talmud her bis auf S. D. Luzzatto der hoechste Rank eingeraeumt wird, so entspricht das durchaus dem Selbstzeugnis des Judentums. Wir sollten darum nicht seine Charakterisierung als Religion des Gesetzes apologetisch abzuwehren suchen. Die Entstehung und Ausbildung des besonders von aussen als charakteristisch empfundenen Ritual- und Zeremonialkodex' ist ein religionsgeschichtliches, nicht theologisches Problem. Hier interessiert nur Sinn und Stellung im System des Judentums. Die Antithese von Ritus und Ethos ist alt. Propheten und Psalmen eifern ja schon gegen die gedankenlose Selbstgefaelligkeit einer sich im Kultischen erschoepfenden Froemmigkeit, und diese Opposition wird von vielen Talmudlehrern und anderen traditionell gesinnten Rabbinen fortgesetzt. Warum wurde das Gesetz — und zwar das ganze, das moralische wie das juristische und rituelle en bloc — die Lebensform, der religioese Stil, die von urspruenglich begrenzten, aber einflussreichen und hoechst energischen Zirkeln der ganzen Volksgemeinde nach dem Exil aufgezogen wurden? Ersichtlich ist der Pentateuch in seiner uns vorliegenden Form schon der kanonisierte Ausdruck solcher Haltung. Wie konnten Esra oder schon Ezechiel das nach dem Gebot streng geregelte Leben jedes Gliedes der national-religioesen Gemeinde als den Sinn — und zwar als den wesentlichen, unabdingbaren — der urspruenglichen Offenbarung empfinden? Die politischen und geistigen Interessen eines kleinen, von der Umgebung mit Aufsaugung bedrohten und darum auf Absonderung bedachten Volkes koennen das allein nicht erklaren.

Religionspolitik vermag sicherlich vieles fuer die Erhaltung einer gefaehrdeten Kirche oder ueberhaupt organisierten religioesen Gemeinschaft zu leisten, den notwendigen originalen Impuls kann sie nicht ersetzen. Als solcher aber erscheint der uranfengliche Bundesgedanke und die Verkuendigung der grossen Propheten, die in ihm wurzeln.

Wir werden aus ihm in seiner Abstraktheit kein bestimmtes Gesetz, weder moralisches noch kultisches, ableiten. Diese sind von den irrationalen Tatsachen des Schicksals und Erlebens nicht unabhaengig. Aber der Bund zwischen dem *Einen* Gott und Israel, bei dessen Schliessung das Volk verspricht zu tun und zu hoeren, setzt von vorneherein Gesetzeserfuellung als ausschliessliche Aufgabe. Die Propheten haben diesen Gedanken aufs staerkste intensiviert. Gewiss, wo sie bestimmte Forderungen Gottes verkuenden, da sind es die der Gerechtigkeit und Liebe. Aber die Art ihres Sprechens musste in glaeubigen Hoerern die Gewissheit erzeugen, dass der Mensch, das Kind des Gottesvolkes zumal, vor diesem Gott niemals Ruhe, dass er immer fuer ihn etwas zu tun habe.

Im juedischen Gesetz, biblischen oder talmudischen oder noch spaeter aufkommenden, steckt gewiss als Material eine Fuelle von dem, was anderwaerts als Tabu und Mana herrscht und im "Aberglauben" sich bis heute erhalten hat. Aber wir sehen diese Dinge innherhalb von Bibel und Judentum in eigentuemlicher Weise umgeschmolzen. Es ist einmal ein Rationalisierungsprozess, der etwa der Pea-Vorschrift, der Gabe fuer die Daemonen des Bodens, und den vergessenen Garben einen sozialen Sinn unterlegt, eine Umformung, die zum Teil auch auf die Institution des Sabbats zutrifft; und gewiss hat Maimonides in so mancher Erklaerung fuer die "Gruende der Gebote" religionsgeschichtlich und psychologisch Recht. Andererseits wird so vieles vom nationalen Brauchtum dadurch geweiht, dass es als Ganzes dem Willen Gottes unterstellt wird, der Israel durch alle die Mizwot heiligen will.

Das liegt bei aller Ueberstiegenheit und absonderlichen Uebertreibung insofern auf der Linie des urspruenglichen goettlichen Appells an den Willen, dass von den Kindern des Gottesvolkes jede Handlung als von Gott gewollt geuebt werden sollte.

Der Sinn des Schulchan Aruch — und er war ja noch nicht einmal das letzte Wort — ist ersichtlich der, nicht Zeremonie auf Zeremonie, Gebot auf Gebot sinnlos zu haeuften, sondern keine menschliche Geste, keinen Akt im Leben als ein Adia-phoron, als fuer oder vor Gott indifferent, zu behandeln. Dass hierbei trotz aller immer gefoerederten Kawwana (vgl. z. B. Bachja's "Herzenspflichten") und wirklich betaetigter echter Froemmigkeit die Gefahr des opus operatum stets drohte und ihr der Durchschnittsfromme oft unterlag, kann man nicht gut leugnen. Die menschliche Seele vertraegt einfach nicht den Zustand ununterbrochener Spannung. Dieser Schatten begleitet aber nur das Licht, das gerade durch den ueberragenden Wert der Mizwot auf die Grundhaltung dieser hoechst aktiven Religiositaet geworfen wird. Wenn der Jude auch nach dem Verlust seines natuerlichen Volkstums seine Gemeinschaft als eine von Gott in besonderer Weise gefuehrte empfand, dann musste offenbar der Dienst am Ewigen zu seiner ausschliesslichen Lebensaufgabe werden. Das Dasein unter dem Joch der Gebote war nicht mehr ein selbstverstaendliches und naiv hingelebtes, sondern ein in jedem Augenblick Gott dienstbares. Warnt schon der Prophet Hosea Israel davor, sich zu freuen nach der Weise der Voelker, ist nach Bileam's Spruch Israel die Nation, die einsam wohnt und sich zu den anderen nicht rechnet, schaerft der Deuteronomist ein, ueber die Gebote zu sinnen bei Tag und bei Nacht, und ging das alles in die Tiefe der Seele ein, — dann musste das Ergebnis die Religion der Gesetzeserfuellung werden. Denn Gott forderte hier durch die Propheten immer den Willen zur Tat. Dass hinter dieser Tat Ueberzeugung stecken muss, ist selbstverstaendlich. Der voluntaristische Gott der Propheten wird als Gott der Gesetzgebung erfahren, als ein Gott, der will, dass der Mensch will.

Dieses Faktum geht allem Inhalt der Gesetzgebung voraus. Wille aber entfaltet sich nur im Raum von Ich und Du, wie Gott selber die Welt schaffen muss, um das Du der Menschheit sich gegenueberstellen zu koennen. Dass der Mensch Gott keinen Dienst erweisen kann, das weiss schon der aelteste Israelit. Aber wenn man auch in bezug auf Gott nichts bewirken kann, so moechte man jedenfalls immer in Richtung auf das goettliche

Du *wirken*. Und das Ergebnis ist, dass das Religionsgesetz nicht bloss die Totalitaet des Lebens umspannt und zu regulieren sucht, sondern, ueber das natuerliche Leben hinaus greifend, sich einen kuenstlichen, ja gekuenstelten Daseinsraum konstruiert, um Gebot an Gebot zu reihen, weil man unter allen Umstaeneden um Gottes willen etwas tun will. So konnte die Zahl der Gebote ueppig wachsen; und man freute sich dieses Wachstums. I. S. Reggio, der vor mehr als hundert Jahren der Ordnung halber eine Zaehlung aufstellte, schaezt sie auf an die 13,000.

Die gefuehlsmaessig wertende Scheidung zwischen Ethos und Ritus ist nicht nur in Israel uralt. Charakteristisch ist, dass hier konsequenter als irgendwo anders die Gesamtheit der als goettliche Willensauesserung gedeuteten Gebote in juristisch-kasuistische Form gegossen ist, wofuer es ja schon im biblischen Sakralrecht eine Fuelle von Beispielen gibt. Das entspricht dem Stil der theokratisch konstituierten Volksgemeinde. Modernes, auch juedisches Empfinden hat nichts ohne Einfluss von seiten protestantisch-lutherischer Kritik oft daran Anstoss genommen. Wir sind in der Tat geneigt, zwischen juristischem Recht als dem Bezirk staatlich erzwingbarer aeusserer Handlungen und der rein auf Gesinnung abgestellten Ethik scharf zu differenzieren, von sakraler Handlung, Gebet und Ritus, gar nicht zu reden. Dass diese Juristisierung zum Mechanismus fuehren kann und oft gefuehrt hat, ist klar. Aber man muss auch die andere Seite sehen, und hier wird man mit hohem Nutzen Hermann Cohen's "Ethik des reinen Willens" studieren. Zur vollstaendigen Handlung gehoeren Gesinnung und deren Entladung in Tat. Und wenn das Religionsgesetz von Anfang an sich nicht darauf beschraenkt, Menschenliebe und Wohltaetigkeit, humane Behandlung der Schwachen u. s. w. im allgemeinen zu fordern, sondern jeweils ein bestimmtes Mass verlangt, so kommt damit am ehesten der Ernst des Gebotes und — wie die Geschichte zeigt — auch der der Erfuellung zum Ausdruck.

Bei der Entgegensetzung von Ethos und Ritus wird oft die Foerderung uebersehen, welche die sittliche Haltung durch den Geist der beide Seiten durchdringenden Gesetzhlichkeit erfahert. Was Naechstenliebe ist, kann nicht in strenger Formel und genau

dosiert werden, wie Zizit und Mesusa, Fasten und Mikwegebot. Aber die Exaktheit, die bei den letzteren erreichbar ist, teilt sich den ersteren in soweit mit, als sie jedenfalls zur Tat werden musste, nicht in der sogenannten Innerlichkeit stecken bleiben durfte. Es war so die Basis fuer ein waches, tatbereites, helles Leben des Willens geschaffen. Die rabbinische Ethik empfindet gelegentlich eine gewisse Inkommensurabilitaet zwischen gesinnungshaft-seelischem und rein gesetzlichem Leben, wenn sie den Begriff *lifnim mischurat ha-din*, innerhalb der Grenzlinie des Rechts, erfindet und den zu besonderem Opfer bereiten Chassid vom Durchschnittsmenschen scheidet. Das ist fuer sie um so wichtiger, als sie den common sense der Ueberschwenglichkeit unzweideutig vorzieht.

Dass die *Hilchot z'daka* 20 Prozent als Hoechstgrenze fuer die Armenspende fixieren und die Ueberschreitung dieses Satzes als Verschwendung ablehnen, erscheint charakteristischer, als was uns von den Chassidim rischonim erzaehlt wird, deren exemplarische Froemmigkeit wohl mit Bewunderung konstatiert, aber nicht als Vorbild hingestellt wird. Maimonides hat nicht ohne Grund den goldenen Mittelweg des Aristoteles fuer seine Lehre von der praktischen Willenshaltung adoptiert. Die "Heiligen," die exemplarisch Frommen und Gottseligen, sind im Judentum nicht unbekannt; aber sie finden sich doch mehr in den mystischen und kabbalistischen Seitenwegen als an der Hauptstrasse der biblisch-rabbinischen Froemmigkeit. Das Gesetz verlangt sehr viel, den ganzen Menschen vom Aufstehen bis zum Schlafengehen, aber es meint, nichts Unmoegliches zu fordern.

Offenbarung ist Offenbarung der Gebote. Schwerpunkt der menschlichen Persoenlichkeit liegt so im Willen. Dass dieser durch das goettliche Gebot wohl erleuchtet und geleitet, aber nicht gezwungen, das heisst, vernichtet wird, empfindet der biblisch-juedische Mensch als selbstverstaendlich. Ausnahmen bestaetigen bloss die Regel. Der einzige bedeutende juedische Determinist, Crescas, ist ersichtlich von der islamischen Praedestinationslehre abhaengig. Die Konzentrierung aller seelischen Kraefte auf den Willen und der nie nachlassende Ernst, mit dem die Ausrichtung des menschlichen Willens auf den goettlichen gefordert wird, diese Unbedingtheit des Sollens, machen die

Stellung klar, welche die Suende in unserer religioesen Reflexion einnimmt. Suende als Auflehnung gegen Gott mag anderwaerts von der Verletzung menschlicher Satzung geschieden werden. Wo alles Gesetz im Goettlichen gruendet, faellt dieser Unterschied hin. Wenn aber das Dasein in seiner Totalitaet vom goettlichen Gebot durchwirkt erscheint und kein indifferenter Raum uebrig bleibt, da stellt die Suende ueberall ihre Fallen.

Der Jude glaubt nicht an die *metaphysische* Suendhaftigkeit des Menschen, an radikale Erbschuld. Man darf darum aber doch nur bedingt von seinem ethischen Optimismus reden. Kein hoffnungslos suendiger Keim hindert das Wollen und Vollfuehren des Gottgefaelligen; und es gelingt ja auch oft genug. Aber der Pflichten und Aufgaben sind zu viele, und des Menschen Trieb ist boese von Jugend an. So duerfte das Gefuehl *empirischer* Suendhaftigkeit beim Juden oft kaum weniger stark gewesen sein als beim Christen die Gewissheit seiner notwendigen metaphysischen Verstricktheit mit der Schuld des Urmenschen. Wenn unsere Vaeter inmitten schrecklichster Verfolgungen meinten, dass ihnen das alles "um ihrer Suenden" willen widerfuhr, so liegt darin nicht nur der unerschuetterliche Glaube an die Gerechtigkeit Gottes, sondern ebenso das Eingestaendnis der eigenen Schwaechen. Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Paulus wird psychologisch verstaendlich auf dem Untergrund der juedischen Willensreligion, die jeden Raum des Lebens besetzt, ueberall Erfuellung gebietet, aber auch ueberall mit der Suende und ihren Folgen droht. Wo Gott dem Menschen das Schicksal setzt, sich immer und ueberall entscheiden zu muessen, da ist in der Tat eine schwere Buerde auf ihn gelegt. Aber es ist nicht der Inhalt oder die Vielzahl der Gebote, deren Last so drueckt, als die Noewendigkeit, in jedem Moment bereit zu sein, sich nie entspannen zu duerfen, stets wollen, dem goettlichen Willen gemaess wollen zu muessen. Das Christentum faengt die so ausgelosten Energien in der allgemein menschlichen Erloesungssehnsucht auf und gruendet auf diese den Glauben an den erloesenden Heiland. Der Wille zum Gebot, zur Tat wird umgebogen zur Sehnsucht, von der Tat um der moeglichen Folgen dieser Tat willen befreit zu werden. Auch das Judentum verheimlicht sich nicht die Schwierigkeit, in die der Mensch durch das goettliche Gesetz,

das er erfüllen soll, hineingestellt ist. Auch hier lauert die Suende vor der Tuer. Auch hier kann nur der liebende und barmherzige Gott dem Menschen zum Heil verhelfen. Es ist gewiss eine Paradoxie, wenn nicht bloss um Vergebung der Suende gebeten wird, sondern darum, Gott moege uns Kraft geben, nicht zu suendigen oder gar, dass der Gott Ezechiels verheisst zu bewirken, dass das Volk nicht mehr gegen ihn suendigen werde.²⁷ Doch diese Paradoxie ist nur ein Sonderfall der allgemeinen, die sich aus der Spannung zwischen goettlicher Allmacht und unabhaengig gesetztem Menschenwillen ergibt. Gott hilft, das Gebot zu erfuellen; denn er kann es nicht erlassen, wenigstens nicht das immer erneute Streben zur Realisierung. Darum besteht Erloesung nach juedischem Begriff nicht darin, dass das Erfuellungsstreben als nutzlos, weil ohne Erfolg bleibend, erkluert wird, sondern darin, dass Gott den ehrlichen Willen zur bestimmten Tat verlangt und sein Scheitern dem Menschen nachsieht. Menschliche Kraft, wie nichtig sie auch sei, muss hergeben, was sie hat; der Jom kippur suehnt nur die Suende des Menschen gegen Gott; die von Mensch gegen Mensch verlangt Wiederguetsmachung. Die Reue bleibt nicht in der Gesinnung eingeschlossen, als T'schuba ist sie schon der Ansatz zu erneuter besserer Handlung. Denn der menschliche Wille darf nicht kapitulieren.

Doch er ist kein isoliertes Agens. Als orientiert auf das sittliche Gesetz geht er auf Gruendung und Erhaltung der Menschengemeinde, seine Bindung an die Halacha im engeren Sinn empfaengt Ziel und Zweck nur durch die Idee des Gottesvolkes, dem der einzelne Israelit eingeschmolzen ist. Er ist bei aller Kraft, die ihm zuerkannt, und aller Arbeit, die ihm angeschlossen wird, nie der Wille zur Macht, sondern bleibt der zum Vollzug des goettlichen Willens zur Ordnung. Nicht der energiegeladene Uebermensch, der ebenso viel darf, wie er kann, ist hier Ideal, sondern der in Gottes Schoepfung gegruendete und darum auf den Vollzug des goettlichen Plans hingenkehrte, durch das Gebot geleitete, gehorsame Wille.

Ein Blick auf diesen Sachverhalt wirft Licht auf ein Problem, das in Apologetik und Religionsgesprach zwischen neuerem

²⁷ Ez. 36.27.

Judentum und Christentum oft hitzig eroertert wurde. Es ist die Frage nach der Reinheit, das heisst Selbstlosigkeit des Handlungsmotivs. Die juedischen Quellen — biblische wie rabbinische — scheinen an diesem Punkte zwiespaeltig. Wir finden nicht wenige Stellen, die augenscheinlich Hoffnung auf Lohn oder Furcht vor Strafe in massiver Weise fuer die Motivation des Willens nutzbar machen, und ebenso viele, die den Dienst Gottes und die Unterwerfung unter sein Wort um der Liebe willen fordern. Mit Wegdeutung oder Bagatellisierung der ersteren wird so wenig erreicht wie mit der Behauptung, dass die letzteren dem "wahren" Wesen des Judentums entsprechen. Wir stehen hier wieder an einem Punkte, wo die Beurteilung der Religion von der Seite der Ethik her versagt, die Sache vielmehr von dem autonomen Interesse der Theologie aus entschieden werden muss. Wir werden niemals Kants autonome Morallehre in die juedische Auffassung von Gebot und Schicksal ohne Zwang hineindeuten. Jene Autonomie besagt: der Mensch ist das Mass aller Dinge; gewiss nicht der Mensch des Triebes und der Willkuer, sondern der Mensch, der sich selber das Gesetz gibt. Kant gruendet darauf doch wieder etwas wie Religion, indem diese autonome Vernunft angeblich einen Gott postulieren muss, der das Schicksal des Menschen in einem zu diesem Zweck eigens gesetzten Jenseits mit seiner Wuerdigkeit ausgleichen soll. Man mag zugeben oder nicht, dass unter dieser Konstruktion die so leidenschaftlich verlangte Reinheit der Motive keinen Schaden leidet. Jedenfalls aber geht die Richtung des Systems dieser Ethik von dem Menschen aus. Gott wird ausdruecklich als Gesetzgeber abgelehnt; und man kann nicht sagen, dass die autonome Sittlichkeit nicht ohne ihn genau so gut bestehen wuerde. Denn was geht den Menschen, der unter ihr steht, sein Schicksal an?

Etwas ganz anderes besagt der Weg der Theologie und besonders der juedischen. In ihr ist Gott von Anfang bis zu Ende Bildner und Gestalter von Schicksal. Weltschoepfung und Voelkergeschichte, der Bund mit Israel und die Gesetzgebung, der vergangene, gegenwaertige und zukuenftige Lauf der Dinge bis zu den Tagen des Messias, diese und die kuenftige Welt, alles das sind Momente seines wirkenden Willens. Zwar ist es

die Spannung zwischen diesem und der dem Menschen gesetzten Freiheit, was die Komplikationen in der geschichtlichen Wirklichkeit herbeifuehrt. Aber ohne jene Spannungen und Komplikationen gaebe es ueberhaupt kein in der Zeit sich realisierendes Schicksal von Einzelwesen wie von Voelkern, waere das Sein der Welt in dem Gottes aufgehoben. So steht nicht der Mensch, sondern Gott im Mittelpunkt, und adaequate Vergeltung is primaer als Ausdruck der goettlichen Gerechtigkeit gefordert. So wird von den Psalmen und Hiob bis zu jungen Selichot aus der Klage ueber Weh und erlittene Unbill schroffe Anklage gegen Gott, der gerecht sein sollte und es offenkundig nicht ist. Das heisst in begrifflicher Sprache: die Theodicee ist nicht ein Annex der Ethik, sondern die Ethik wird als ein Moment der Theodicee eingebaut.

Gewiss, so notwendig es fuer Gott ist, nichts — vor allem keine Guttat — unvergolten zu lassen, so anstoessig mag auf der anderen Seite die ewige Mahnung an ihn klingen, sich endlich aufzuraffen und sozusagen seine Pflicht zu erfuellen. Hiob empfaengt seine Antwort, oder vielmehr der Dichter des Hiob deutet Gott als den Unergruendbaren. Aber die Unerforschlichkeit ist nicht das letzte Wort. Mag sein Handeln oft ohne unmittelbar von uns einsehbaren Sinn sein, — dass es Sinn hat, bleibt sicher. Die Herausstellung dieses Sinnes, also die Interpretation des Schicksals war immer und ueberall eine Lieblingsbeschaeftigung glaeubiger Gruebelei. Wird diese Haltung, wie es nahe liegt, mit der Frage verkoppelt: was wird Gott tun, wenn ich dieses oder jenes Gebot erfuelle oder nicht erfuelle, — dann erhalten wir je nach dem Menschen, der sie stellt und loest, die verschiedensten Antworten. Auch im Judentum. Von aeusserlichster Lohnsucht, die aufs genaueste mit dem Vorhaben Gottes in den trivialsten Angelegenheiten des menschlichen Lebens Bescheid wissen will, fuehrt die Skala hinauf bis zu jener schweigenden Froemmigkeit, die unverstaendliche Leiden als "Zuechtigungen der Liebe" nimmt, wo der Mensch im Martyrium Gott fuer die Gnade dankt, mit letzter Kraft sein Gebot erfuellen zu duerfen, wo das von Gott geschenkte Leben mit seinem ganzen Lose als die Forderung Gottes an den Menschen und nicht als Anspruch des Geschoepfes an den Schoepfer erscheint.

Unsere Darstellung ist darauf angelegt, das Judentum als Religion der Geschichte schlechthin zu verstehen. Nur so kann ein Volk, Israel, der eigentliche Traeger des Glaubens sein wie zugleich in der Gewissheit seiner besonderen Aufgabe in der Welt wesentlicher Gegenstand dieses Glaubens. Wir zeigten, dass das Einzelwesen in der bewussten und wachen Hingabe an das Gottesvolk und seine Ziele seine Eigenstaendigkeit erfahrt. Ist das seine ganze Selbstaendigkeit? Die Antwort darauf wird am besten durch einen Blick auf die Eschatologie gegeben. Man braucht sich diese massive Phantastik nicht anzueignen, um doch einen konkreten Ausdruck eigener Religiositaet darin zu finden. Trotz der Unausgeglichenheit, welche die Tradition in der gegenseitigen Beziehung von Auferstehung, messianischem Reich und kuenftiger Welt aufweist, ist der Sinn dieser Lehren nicht zu verfehlen. Er besteht in einer Antwort auf die Frage: was ist das endgueltige Schicksal von Einzelwesen, Volk und Menschheit? Das Koenigtum des Messias wurde von den fortschrittsfreudigen Juden im europaeischen Emanzipationsalter gern als Symbol fuer die sichtbar auf allen Gebieten kulturellen, sozial-ethischen und politischen Lebens sich zeigenden Errungenschaften verstanden, die schliesslich in einem alle Voelker der Welt umfassenden Friedensreich der Gerechtigkeit gipfeln wuerden. In dieser Haltung ist der Unterschied zwischen Abraham Geiger, Samson Raphael Hirsch und Moses Hess nicht allzu gross. Der wesentliche Zug der traditionellen Vorstellung, dass der Zeit des Messias die Wehen des Messias vorangehen sollten, das heisst, dass hier nicht an allmaechliche Entwicklung⁴ sondern an Katastrophen und wunderbare Ueberwindung dieser gedacht ward, blieb hier unberuecksichtigt. Vielleicht spiegelt sich in der ueberlieferten Vorstellung die Neigung auch der modernen Voelker, nach grossen kriegesischen Katastrophen eine endgueltige und — wie sie meinen — gerechte politische Ordnung aufzurichten, wofuer die heilige Allianz und hundert Jahre spaeter der Voelkerbund Beispiele waeren. Moritz Lazarus, der Voelkerpsychologe, ist bescheidener. Ihm ist Messianismus weniger eine einsinnig gerichtete Entwicklung als ein Masstab zur Beurteilung historischen Lebens. So ist fuer ihn der Triumph der Wahrheit in der Dreyfus-Affaere ein messianisches Moment

in der Weltgeschichte. Fuer die enttaeuschten Voelker und vor allem fuer die Juden von heute scheint diese Auffassung naeher zu liegen; und wenn sich die Ueberzeugung durchsetzt, dass Geschichte und folglich auch Politik rechtmassig an sittlichen Masstaeben zu messen sind, dann waere gewiss auch Bedeutendes fuer die Realisierung des Fortschrittes erzielt. Eine andere Frage ist, ob da fuer die Kategorien und Zielsetzungen personalistischer Ethik ausreichen, ob sie den dynamischen Charakter des Voelkerlebens genuegend beruecksichtigen.

Gemaess der Tradition bedeutet das messianische Reich, das sich ja nur ueber begrenzten Zeitraum erstreckt, die letzte Periode in der Geschichte. Die Dinge der Natur wandeln sich nicht; nur Unterdrueckung durch die Reiche, politisch-soziale Knechtschaft hoeren auf. Dass Israel von den Enden der Erde in dem ihm verheissenen Lande gesammelt und dort ein rechtes Volksleben wieder fuehren wird, ist wohl der wichtigste Zug in diesem Zukunftsgemaelde, aber doch nur *ein* Moment in der Gesamtansicht von der allenthalben herrschenden gerechten Ordnung. Gerechte Ordnung besagt aber hier nicht, dass der Mensch sein Wesen total veraendert. Suende und individueller Rechtsbruch hoeren nicht auf; nur dem provozierenden Triumph der Frevler und Tyrannen ist ein fuer allemal durch die sicher wirkende Herrschaft des Messias oder seiner Ordnung ein Ende bereitet. Die Frage liegt nahe: warum dauert das messianische Reich nicht in unbegrenzte Weiten? Offenbar weil der Zweck der Menschheit erfuellt ist. Die Praevalenz des sittlichen Ideals im juedischen Geist, der alle andern Ideale — aesthetische, wissenschaftliche, eudaemonistische und was sonst immer — als untergeordnet betrachtet, sieht im Messiasreich die letzte Zielsetzung realisiert. Denn wuerde der einzelne Mensch zum fleckenlosen Heiligen, hoerte die Spannung zwischen Wirklichkeit und Ideal absolut auf, was heisst dann noch Leben? Gerade religioese Reflexion muss der Tatsache ins Gesicht sehen, besonders vom juedischen Standpunkt aus, dass, wenn die Achse der Welt die sittliche Vollendung ist, diese Welt sich zu drehen aufhoert, wenn es keine Suende als Bewegungsantrieb mehr gaebe. Ruhe gehoert nicht zum Leben, sondern zu dem, was hinter dem Leben kommt.

Das ist Olam ha-ba, kuenftige Welt. Sie ist Schicksal des Einzelnen. Das Judentum hat — wie Religionen vor und neben ihm — in ihr vor allem die goettliche Veranstaltung fuer den endgueltigen Ausgleich zwischen diesseitiger Tat und diesseitigem Lose gesehen. Aber es steckt noch etwas anderes hinter diesem Glauben. Was bedeutet es, dass die Frommen auf ihren Stuehlen sitzen mit Kronen auf den Haeuptern und den Glanz der goettlichen Schechina geniessen, waehrend die Frevler vollkommen ausgeloescht sind? Im Jenseits gibt es keinen Wandel, keine Veraenderung, darum auch kein Besserwerden. Denn gaebe es das, so waere das diesseitige Leben mit seinen Spannungen im Jenseitigen einfach fortgesetzt. Darueber sagt der Buddhismus das letzte Wort; oder wie man nach Schopenhauer formulieren koennte, wenn Leben Wille ist, dann greift das Leben immer wieder Leben im nie muendenden Strom des Daseins. Jenseits und Diesseits werden eins. Der Unsterblichkeitsglauben des Judentums verwirft diese Ansicht, die auf Seelenwanderung und ewige Wiedergeburt hinauslaeuft. Wenn es indes ein Ende des *Lebens* gibt, so darum nicht auch ein Ende des *Seins* ueberhaupt. So phantastisch die intellektualistische Unsterblichkeitslehre eines Maimuni oder Gersonides erscheint, wie fragwuerdig in ihr das individuelle personhafte Wesen der Seele ist, — es wird doch da mit tauglichen oder untauglichen Mitteln der Sinn der religioesen Gewissheit ausgedrueckt: vor dem ewigen und allguetigen Gott kann der Mensch nicht verloren gehen. Die Gemeinschaft mit ihm muss dauern. Die Zwiespaeltigkeit der religioesen Sehnsucht nach Ruhe und nicht aufhoerendem Dasein zugleich ist unvermeidlich. Denn die Seele, die bei Gott ist, in Ruhe und Vollendung den Glanz der goettlichen Glorie genieusst, hat — vom irdischen Standpunkt aus gesehen — mit ihrer Erhebung zugleich teil an der Raetselhaftigkeit des goettlichen Seins. Wie hier die Schwierigkeit bleibt, ueberzeitliches Sein mit dem Wirken in zeitliche Existenz hinein zu vereinbaren, so ist die Ruhe, die spannungslose Unwandelbarkeit der erhoelten Seele, verbunden mit irgend einer Form von Dasein, fuer unsere Anschauung und unser Denken uneinsehbar. Aber wie Gott fuer den Glaebigen keine Frage, sondern ein Axiom ist, so steht es mit der Fortdauer der von

Gott getragenen Seele. Beidemale ist das *Wie* so wenig zu klären, wie das *Dass* zum sicheren Besitz der religiösen Ueberzeugung gehört. Gott mag den Menschen vom *Dasein* erlösen, aber er löst ihn nicht vom *Sein* überhaupt ab. Der Schöpfer mag die von ihm geschaffene Welt vernichten können; er hat die Macht dazu. Wenn aber der Sinn göttlicher Schöpfung der Mensch ist, jeder einzelne Mensch, so hiesse es den Sinn des Schöpfers selbst vernichten, wenn der Mensch nicht in Gott erhalten bliebe. Darum besitzt Unsterblichkeit für den Religiösen die gleiche Gewissheit wie das Dasein Gottes.

THE EDUARD BIRNBAUM COLLECTION OF JEWISH MUSIC

ERIC WERNER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

IN HIS illuminating essay "Songs and Singers of the Synagogue in the Eighteenth Century," the late A. Z. Idelsohn, אֶזְרָא, drew public attention, for the first time, to that unique collection of Jewish musical writings, which we know by the name of its learned collector, the late Eduard Birnbaum.¹ Since the volume which contains Idelsohn's splendid contribution is by now out of print, it might not be amiss to quote those passages from it which appraise the significance of this great treasury of synagogal music.

"They (the singers and cantors) share the same lot as most of the Jewish poets of the Synagogue, in regard to the data of their life-record; but, while the poets frequently incorporated their names in acrostics, the musicians had no such tool, and therefore their names were forgotten while their songs delighted the souls of thousands and thousands. It is only sheer accident that their creations were preserved in writing and (still more extraordinary!) in their own handwriting. There remains yet to be acquired a considerable quantity of fairly rich material in the valuable manuscripts of those Jewish singers and musicians who first started using European means to express their musical thoughts.

"Indeed it demanded great energy and patience and endurance and devotion on the part of that person who would gather those remainders of yellow music sheets of the eighteenth century, poorly written, scattered throughout the world in

¹ *HUCA* I, Jubilee Vol. 1925, p. 398.

obscure corners, with the rubbish of dusty archives of the old communities in Central Europe, or in the hands of the descendants of old hazzanic families who had not the slightest idea of their historical value. And such a person — indeed a personality — the Synagogue song found in the late Eduard Birnbaum (1855–1920), cantor of Koenigsberg Germany — a man who devoted forty-five years of his life, until his death, to that tedious task — a man who collected singlehanded more material than an entire institution with a staff of employees would have gathered. Due to this unique devotion to and love for his ideal, *The History of Jewish Music*, the Jewish people is now in possession of a collection of its songs. And due to the bibliographical foresight of Mr. A. Oko, librarian of the Hebrew Union College Library, who sensed the far-reaching import of the unique collection, we are able to become acquainted with the distinctive Jewish song of the eighteenth century.”²

Idelsohn then goes on to discuss in particular the manuscripts written by *hazanim* of the eighteenth century, which form a major part of the Birnbaum Collection.

It is the present writer's intention to give, in the following pages, a survey of this entire collection, but without going into excessive detail. Indeed, a minute report could easily fill a full sized book and an additional catalogue. Having catalogued most of these manuscripts himself, the writer feels entitled to the statement that the Birnbaum Collection contains the most copious and authentic material extant, both in manuscript and in print, on the development of synagogal music.

Apart from the merit of having initiated and accumulated this splendid collection by his own very modest means and with indefatigable patience and perseverance, Birnbaum, also as the pioneer and first lexicographer of Jewish music, deserves our special and grateful consideration. For it was he who took the study of Jewish Music which, till then, had been the hobby of a few dilettant *hazanim* and raised it to the level of a legitimate and recognized branch of the Science of Judaism.

² *Ibid.*

EDUARD BIRNBAUM

A MEMORIAL

The family from which Birnbaum came, the home in which he grew up, the period during which he reached his manhood were all unmistakably determining factors in his career. Born in Cracow in 1855, the son of a distinguished talmudic scholar, he became familiar with Hebrew literature and Jewish lore in his earliest youth. Yet it was the beautiful, pure voice of the eleven year old boy which made his teachers on the Yeshiva at Szobotisch decide: "He must become a *hazan*." Had it not been for his striking musical talent, he might have become one among the other Rabbis in Eastern Europe. It was his ardent interest in Jewish Music that led him instead to the field of musical scholarship and to close scholarly contacts with A. Berliner, H. Vogelstein, L. Loew, D. Kaufmann, and others. In order to become a good *hazan*, he first had to be a good musician: This dictum was originally proclaimed by Salomon Sulzer and was generally accepted during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Accordingly Birnbaum went to Vienna and studied under Sulzer, attending at the same time, Jellinek's classes at the Beth Hamidrash. This marked the beginning of his intimate and devoted friendship with the admired Sulzer, more than fifty years his senior. After intensive study with the great Viennese cantor, Birnbaum went to Breslau where he studied at the cantorial school of the chief *hazan*, Moritz Deutsch. At the same time he attended some classes of Prof. Heinrich Graetz who took a warm interest in the promising young student. At the age of sixteen, Birnbaum was appointed by Prof. Graetz to serve as regular cantor at the Breslau Theological Seminary. His services, however, lasted only one year, for he accepted a position as full time cantor in Magdeburg under the Rabbi, Dr. Rahmer, scholar and editor. Two years later, the promising young singer was called to a fine position in Beuthen, Silesia, after a short period of advanced study under his fatherly friend, Sulzer, in Vienna; and from 1874-79 he was the beloved cantor of the large Beuthen congregation. During these five years he frequently

went to Vienna to work with Sulzer and to Koenigsberg to study with the old master of Eastern *ḥazanut*, Hirsch Weintraub. In Vienna, Birnbaum sat at the feet of such famous scholars as Guedemann and Jellinek, and made the acquaintance of Steinschneider and David Kaufmann. Weintraub was so convinced of Birnbaum's extraordinary ability that he designated him as his successor. When Weintraub retired, Birnbaum did indeed succeed him. The community in Koenigsberg, well knowing how to respect the shining light in its midst, raised Birnbaum's salary several times and, by appointing him for life, secured his services permanently. This proved necessary in order to counteract the many enticing calls which came from Vienna and other large cities. From this time on, Birnbaum's life ran a smooth course, interrupted only by frequent journeys in connection with his ceaseless studies.

Birnbaum's literary and scholarly endeavors started at Koenigsberg. His work presents, on the whole, a rare combination of talmudic, rabbinic, and musical pursuits, always reflecting the spirit of the Science of Judaism. Since Birnbaum was equally conversant with all three of these fields, he was apparently destined to become the Zunz, the Steinschneider, or the Geiger of Jewish Music. Although he did not attain that stature, he developed nonetheless into a great and unique scholar.

From the very outset Birnbaum was confronted with all of the difficulties connected with the Science of Judaism which, in his special case, entailed a maze of additional obstacles. Did not any liberal work in the — then young — field of Jewish Science demand the utmost tact and caution? Particularly in the domain of Rabbinics, is not the balance, between fundamentals on the one hand, and their reinterpretation on the other, a most delicate one?

But the study of Jewish Music is even more intricate. In the first place we must consider that it occupies a common area in which Music, Liturgy, Philology, and Rabbinics overlap. It is subject to all the vulnerabilities of these fields without enjoying any of their advantages. Unlike these, it deals to a great extent with purely oral tradition. There are no phonographic records, comparatively few manuscripts, and very little printed music

to furnish authentic, historical material. Our Hebrew literature contains no clear unequivocal musical terminology,³ nor was there, prior to Birnbaum, any systematic spadework in this branch of science. Indeed, to this very day, a real bibliography of Jewish music does not exist.

Thus, when Birnbaum set out to investigate the vast uncultivated domain of Jewish Music, a ground replete with splendid ruins, he had three aims toward which to work:

1. A systematic history of Jewish Music.
2. The incorporation of Jewish Music within general musicology as well as within the Science of Judaism.
3. Gradual examination of our musical heritage aimed at a scientific distinction between genuine tradition and pseudo-tradition.

To reach these goals, Birnbaum had to forge his own tools and devices. They were (a) the application of the exact musical (i. e., historic-philological) method to his realm of study; (b) the collection of as many authentic sources as possible; and (c) constant comparison between liturgical and musical developments.

The very first of Birnbaum's scholarly essays, a review of Baer's *Baal T'filla*, demonstrated that he was well aware of the problems confronting him.⁴ Investigating the origin and the existence of our musical tradition, he endeavoured to isolate and to reestablish what he deemed its individual constituent elements. He then compared them, where comparisons would be fruitful, with traditions of other related cultures, e. g. with the Gregorian music of the Catholic Church. He was, in addition, always alert to consider his material under the aspect of the manifold trends within Judaism, contemporary with his sources. This methodical principle imparts to his studies lasting value, integrating history, musicology, and liturgics into an accurate picture. Among his

³ My colleague, Dr. I. Sonne and I have given a tabulation of musical terms in medieval literature, comparing Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, Greek, and English terms. (*HUCA*, 1941.)

⁴ *Juedisches Literaturblatt* 1898, Nrs. 24, 27.

most important essays are "Briefe aus Königsberg"⁵ (*Der Juedische Cantor* 1883-4) written at the request of Mr. Francis Cohen, London, when the latter wished to deliver a learned address on the music of the Synagogue.⁶ In these essays, we note Birnbaum's earliest attempts to set up certain criteria for determining the age of synagogal melodies, although he did not always reach definite conclusions. In his review of Joseph Singer's book *Die Tonarten des traditionellen Synagogengesanges, ihr Verhaeltnis zu den Tonarten der christlichen und vorchristlichen Musikperiode* (Vienna 1886), Birnbaum goes much beyond Singer's theses. He ends with the prophetic and arresting demand: "Wenn wir trotzdem noch manche Psalmodie wiedererkennen . . . , so mag das ein Fingerzeig sein, dass wir bei der Erforschung unserer Melodien immer den Gregorianischen Gesang zu Rate zu ziehen haben."⁷ This has since become a generally accepted maxim.

An excellent liturgico-musical study that reveals the thoroughness of his method is his series of articles on "Musikalische Tradition bei Vorlesung der Megilla."⁸ This constitutes an initial attempt to find the first links in the chain of musical tradition based upon talmudic-midrashic investigation. At the same time it represents a valuable contribution to the controversial problem of the development of *Hazanut*. It also enters the scarcely explored field of the early history of the *מנהגים*. Here is where Birnbaum expounds his theory of the formal structure of the synagogal chant. As a whole, the study contains excellent spadework and deserves to be translated and expanded. Though little known, it is a classic in its realm.

Our scholar's full scientific capacity is exhibited in the essay, "Juedische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua von 1542-1628."⁹

⁵ A Bibliography of Birnbaum's writings scattered through many different magazines and stretching over a long span of time will be found in appendix I.

⁶ Mr. Cohen was the expert on Jewish Music for the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of his articles make use of Birnbaum's original material without always referring to Birnbaum. Indeed, the latter had to accuse Mr. Cohen openly of plagiarizing him. (Cf. *Israelit. Wochenschrift*, 1904, p. 246).

⁷ *Jued. Literaturblatt* 1886, Nrs. 24-25.

⁸ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1891, Nrs. 12-14.

⁹ *Kalender fuer Israeliten*, Vienna 1893.

Here Birnbaum, not content to discuss sources already known, brought new material to light and exhausted his subject. Jewish cultural history and general music history are linked in a masterly way. The article remains definitive to the present hour and merits translation into English. Particular attention is given to Salomone Rossi, thus supplementing D'Indy's and Naumbourg's fragmentary and unsatisfactory edition of Rossi's Hebrew compositions.¹⁰

Returning to his favorite subject, the origin of musical tradition, Birnbaum examines the Sephardic נוסח in his review of F. Consolo's famous collection ספר שירי ישראל "Libro dei canti d'Israele."¹¹ But his outstanding contribution to this problem is the essay "Ueber den Ursprung der Traditionen im Synagogengesang."¹² The law of love breathes throughout this work. With tender care, our musical heritage is analysed and, in many cases, vindicated before the tribunal of history. The musical rendition of the *Keroba*, together with psalmody and scriptural cantillation, is considered the foundation stone of our musical tradition. Examining the tune of the *Minḥa 'Amida* for the Sabbath, Birnbaum demonstrates, by an excellent piece of sagacious reasoning, that this tradition goes back to the time of Saadya Gaon. The melody of the *Kedusha de-Sidra* is found to have originated even earlier, in the time of the first Gaonim. The influence of the school upon the music of the synagogue is well explained, and the relationship between *hazan* and *païtan* is extensively discussed. Finally, Birnbaum reveals that a personality of outstanding reputation and commanding stature — to all appearances R. Yehudaj Gaon — supported the early *hazanim* with his authority.¹³ This discovery is one of the most important historical results of Birnbaum's study. Thereafter,

¹⁰ Paris, 1877.

¹¹ *Jued. Literaturblatt* 1893, Nr. 19.

¹² *Jued. Literaturblatt* 1899, Nrs. 39, 40.

¹³ Cf. ספר האשכול I., Ch. 25, ed. Auerbach. (Halberstadt 1867) p. 55: ורב צמח כתב מנהג אצלנו החזנים . . . והחזנים הראשונים קבלו ממר רב יהודאי, והוא מרבו ואמרים. Also ספר האשכול ed. Sch. Albeck, Jerusalem 1935, p. 104-5. עד רבו . . . כי קבלה היא בידם מחזנים הראשונים שקבלו ממר רב יהודאי ורב יהודאי מרבו עד ד'. Cf. also Ginzberg, *Geonica* II., p. 53.

the Gaonic period attracted the attention of Jewish scholars more and more. Our author made a fine contribution to that province of study. His essay "Ueber die Verdienste der Gaonen um die juedische Liturgie und den Synagogengesang" attempts to reconstruct the history of our traditional chant from the time of the Amoraim down to Natronai Gaon and later.¹⁴ It is regrettable that both of these last mentioned articles were published in little known periodicals; otherwise Birnbaum's results would soon have become an established part of the Science of Judaism. Small wonder that some recent writers in the field of Geonics proved unfamiliar with those important essays.

The article on "Polen und der polnische Ritus" deals again with the problem, so fascinating for Birnbaum, of how traditions came into being.¹⁵ Here he follows Zunz, who long before had surmised that the Polish and South-Russian traditions have a common Byzantian origin. Zunz did not discuss musical tradition, although he mentioned it. Birnbaum's article, concentrating on music, now closed this gap.

Meanwhile, Birnbaum had become in the sphere of Jewish music, the leading authority, and his correspondence with scholars was steadily expanding. Twice he was called upon to conduct postgraduate courses for the alumni of the Jewish teachers' colleges in Germany. We possess the two manuals of the lectures which he delivered on these occasions.

Modestly Birnbaum called these profound studies *Liturgische Uebungen*, (I and II).¹⁶ They establish a wholly new method of comparing the development of certain prayers with their tunes, investigating the latter from the point of view of style, and the former from that of historic Rabbinism. Unfortunately, these exercises deal with their subject in such a condensed and concise manner (in order to save space and money) that it is sometimes necessary to transcribe certain passages into longhand language, as it were. These studies, though offering priceless new material

¹⁴ *Israel. Wochenschrift* 1903, Nr. 4.

¹⁵ *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Kantorenzeitung*, 1909.

¹⁶ Verband der Juedischen Lehrer im Deutschen Reich. In Commission bei M. Popelauer, Berlin, 1900, 1902.

both for the musician and for the historian of liturgy, have not as yet been fully evaluated.

As a final tribute to the memory of his great teacher, Salomon Sulzer, Birnbaum wrote a series of ten articles for Sulzer's centennial. This affectionately tendered homage "Zum Gedächtnis Salomon Sulzer's"¹⁷ displays our author not only as a conscientious and diligent scholar but also as a spirited and tactful chronicler with a gift for elegant literary style.

When we consider Birnbaum's position in the history of Jewish Science today, almost a generation after his death, we must admire the great versatility of his scholarship; liturgy, musicology, Jewish lore, rabbinics, all of these were subjects with which he was equally familiar. Methodologically, he follows Zunz's system of collecting and comparing. Intellectually, he was a fine product of Central European *Haskala*. His was a universal interest in all phases of Judaism, and the carefully arranged alphabetical indices of his innumerable books would constitute material for a learned encyclopedia. Some of his ideas were ingenious and original; all of them were logical. And yet we must ask ourselves whether he really achieved the aims which he had set.

It is true, he did not write a systematic history of Jewish Music, but he successfully incorporated Jewish Music into the Science of Judaism and into General Musicology. For the scientific examination of tradition and for the distinction between genuine tradition and pseudo-tradition, Birnbaum has given us the tools and has shown us the method of further research.

Except for a comprehensive system of Jewish Music so fervently desired by him, yet never achieved, Birnbaum came very near to the realization of his principle ideas. The cause of his shortcomings was chiefly his deep entanglement with the sheer material which fascinated him to such a degree that, to gain the indispensable detachment, required the utmost effort. Nonetheless, Birnbaum has left us a solid foundation upon which to build and a set of effective tools with which to work.

¹⁷ *Israel. Wochenschrift* 1904.

Outstanding among these implements is his collection of musical manuscripts and books. Considering his very modest financial means we must admit that the fruit of his labours, this collection, amounts almost to a miracle. But even more astonishing than the accumulation of books and manuscripts is his own thematic catalogue of traditional Jewish melodies. We shall describe and evaluate this hitherto unknown *magnum opus systematicum* in some of the following pages.

Before parting from this lovable and admirable personality, I should like to add a few remarks about his abilities as a cantor.

A gentleman from Koenigsberg who knew Birnbaum personally was kind enough to relate to me a few observations. "Birnbaum's musical taste was excellent; never did he permit theatrical music or virtuoso pieces in the service. His warm feeling, his thorough understanding of every detail of the liturgy, made the service truthfully a divine one. As his ideal aim was the complete integration of sacred word, cultic event and liturgical music, so he personally represented an integration of the scholar, the creative artist, and the hazanic minister: in every respect an ideal *Shliakh Tzibbur*."

THE EDUARD BIRNBAUM COLLECTION

The Eduard Birnbaum Collection (E. B. C.) consists of four sections, namely: (1) general Hebraica, printed and written, (2) books and periodicals, chiefly on synagogal music, and printed synagogal or Jewish compositions, (3) musical manuscripts, indices for his books, and a few letters, and (4) last in order but in many respects first in importance, Birnbaum's own handwritten thematic catalogue of melodies, tunes, cantillations, recitatives, etc., alphabetically arranged according to the Hebrew texts. To give a detailed description of that magnificent collection can not here be our task. We must content ourselves with pointing to a few outstanding items at present unknown to the public. Even so, one is loath to chose one manuscript to the exclusion of others hardly less interesting.

I.

Ms. 4 F 71

This manuscript consists now of sixteen quarto leaves of which the ninth is almost wholly torn out. On 24 of the 30 pages, we find writing of which the initial portion is missing. As my colleague Dr. Sonne tells me, the paper is good and contains an Italian watermark used in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁸ The manuscript was formerly the property of the late Rabbi, Dr. Moise Ehrenreich of Rome, who bequeathed it to Birnbaum. The 24 written pages are furnished with note staves, drawn with a so-called *rastral*, then the customary apparatus for musical staving. Obviously we have a written choir part before us. The hand shows a neat intelligent Italian, Hebrew, and musical script. The music of this manuscript is explicitly intended for two choirs, each of which consists of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. Everything is written exclusively in the treble clef, and accordingly our manuscript seems to be for the first part of the second choir. It contains not the leading part but probably the part next to it. The 21 complete pieces contain unique material, both from the liturgical and musical point of view. In the following we give a survey of the contents:¹⁹

Fragment of an unidentified *piyut*. (1)

Inscription: *Canto 2 Chore a 8*.

ובא לציון ואמרין. (2)

Inscription: *Canto 2 a 8*

זכור ברית . . .²⁰ (3)

(Cf. Davidson *אוצר* II, p. 212, Nr. 115.)

¹⁸ I am indebted to my colleague, Dr. Sonne, for his assistance in connection with the manuscript. My sincere gratitude belongs also to my friend, Dr. S. Atlas, for some interesting suggestions and to my student, Rabbi M. Machenbaum, for his thoughtful aid.

¹⁹ For the full text of the five *piyyulim*, hitherto unknown, see in Appendix II. Cf. also our illustrations Nrs. 1 and 2.

²⁰ A poem for circumcision Cf. also F. Consolo, *Canti d'Israele*, p. 75, Nr. 163.

(For the same occasion; unknown *piyut*) ... דע לך (4)

Inscription: *Canto 2° Chore a 8.*

(For שמחת תורה) חשיש חתן ...²¹ (5)

Inscription: *2 Core*

כתר יתנו לך ...²² (6)

up to the end of the קדושה.

Inscription: *Canto 2 Core*

ראו בנים עושה פלה.²³ (7)

Inscription: *Canto 2° Core*

ברוך ה' אמן הללויה.²⁴ (8)

ברכו את ה' ועד (9)

Inscription: *Canto 2° Core*

אלוהים השיבנו עד העולם.²⁵ (10)

Inscription: *Canto*

מי חכם וישמור ויתבוננו. עד העולם.²⁶ (11)

Inscription: *Canto 2° Core*

אין כאלהינו^{26a} (12)

added Ps. 102.14, transliterated in Latin letters.

Inscription: *Canto 2° Core.*

(fragment of אלהים ה' בהקריב לסיני לעם ... (13)

an unknown *piyut*; the rest of the leaf is torn out)

Inscription: *Canto 2° Chore.*

שישו דודים הנחמדים ... (14)

(Unknown *piyut* for שמחת תורה)

Inscription: ח' קולות שיר לשמחת תורה

אל חי תמים צוה (15)

Inscription: פסוק לאמר קודם ברכו לשמחת תורה

²¹ A poem for שמחת תורה with allusions to the names of the חתן תורה and חתן בראשית.

²² The Sephardic preamble of the *Kedusha*.

²³ The usual Italian and Sephardic preamble of כמוכה.

²⁴ Ps. 106: 48.

²⁵ Cf. *Maḥzor Rome* ק'נ' לשבועות; (Ps. 80.4; 80.8; 80.20. Ps. 28.9.)

²⁶ Ps. 107.43.

^{26a} See photograph # 1.

(16)

27. . . אתה ה' תשמרם (a)

28. . . שמע ה' תחנתי (b)

29. . . סביב רשעים יתהלכון (c)

Inscription: *Cto 1mo Choro a 8.*

(See Appendix II.) . . . בורא עולם, יחיד נעלם. (17)

Inscription: ק ד ש

. . . לדור ודור הללויה. (sic!) *Cheder* (18)

added "Alleluia" (כחר)


(Transliteration of the scribe) (19)

Jachad culam cheduscia leca iescialesciu

chema scieneemar nal iad nevieca.

Ecad hu eloenu hu avinu hu malchenu umoscinenenu

hu iasminenu beracamav scienid lene(!) col cai.

Inscription: *Cto 2do Choro à 8.*Sign:  שירו נא שבחי יה אותם . . . טעונים³⁰ (20)3
1 

הנחילם תושיא עם מצות

השבים פסחי יה עם מצות

Inscription: *Canto 2do Chore a 8.*

(21) יגדל אלוקים (י) חי . . . קדשנו.

Inscription: *Cadmon Basso Alto*Inscription: *Basso capo.*

. . . שפע נבואתו הנו ארון עולם . . . ומלכותו

נאמן ביתו.

Inscription: *Basso capo.*

. . . ישלח . . . יצועתו לא יחליף . . . כרשעתו

מתים יחיה . . . שם תהלכו.

The man who wrote the manuscript must have been a fine musician no less than a person well educated generally; his Italian transliteration of the Hebrew is almost faultless. His musical *ductus* shows the trained musician in every detail, although he

²⁷ Ps. 12.8.²⁸ Ps. 6.10.²⁹ Ps. 12.9.³⁰ See photograph # 2.

wrote the manuscript apparently in great haste. While his cursive Hebrew script shows a hand obviously familiar with such tasks, there occur, nonetheless, certain ortographic blunders which exclude the possibility that a real Hebrew scholar could have been the writer.³¹ Two of the *piyyutim* (#15 and #17) hitherto unknown, are vocalized; yet the vocalization is strictly phonetic, following the Italian-Hebrew pronunciation without regard for grammatical minutiae. No distinction is made between *Tzere* and *Segol* or between *Patach* and *Kametz*.

Concerning the musical script, the following facts are obvious: (1) The *ductus*, while flighty, is clear and intelligible. The manner of notation, especially the writing of quavers and of accidentals, suggests a date between 1630-1650. We shall see later that all other features of the music correspond to that era. (2) Occasionally the writer uses old-fashioned devices; yet in general he shows a progressive mind. To cite just a few instances: He sometimes makes use of the bar-stroke new at that time. On the other hand, we find the outdated *signum perfectionis* twice, to indicate a triple tact. The quavers are modern, yet in some places old-fashioned signs for rests occur. (3) The Hebrew text is well placed beneath the notes. Each word is spelt from right to left, but the sentences are set from left to right in order to correspond to the normal course of music. When it comes to the distribution of words to music, the scribe follows, in general, the rules of Zacconi.³²

Having examined the exterior of the manuscript, we shall now proceed to consider its content, both as to music and as to text.

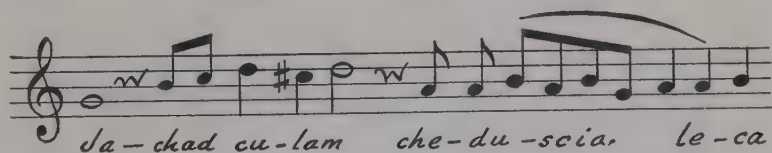
Of the 21 pieces, 10 are well known scriptural verses or familiar quotations from the liturgy for weekdays or holidays. Of the 11 *piyyutim*, the numbers 3, זכור בריה 12, אין כאלהינו and 21 יגדל belong to the ritual common to world Jewry. # 4 לך דע seems to be an addition to זכור בריה, for it likewise celebrates the ברית מילה. Four poems, (# 5, 14, 15, 17) glorify the

³¹ E. g., שבתי for שבתי, or וישלח for וישלח, or ברא for ברה etc.

³² *Prattica di musica* (Venice 1596) Prima parte. Libro primo c. 63. Cf. also Joh. Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, I., p. 443.

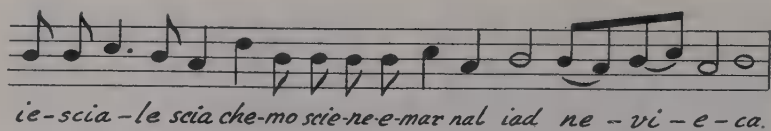
festival of שמחת תורה or the חתן תורה, two even in their superscription; # 20 seems to refer to Shabuot. To my knowledge, none of these last mentioned *piyyutim* has been previously known or published. At least nrs. 15 and 17 deserve to be publicized beyond the sphere of learned studies.³³

When we turn now to the music, our attention is immediately drawn to its most striking feature, viz. the arrangement for two antiphonal choirs. This kind of choir-setting was a famous specialty of Venice where it originated.³⁴ Giovanni Gabrieli, the musical director of San Marco in Venice, was the *spiritus rector* of that new and effective practice, the *cori spezzati*. It did not take long until Rome followed suit and Nanini, Allegri, Legrenzi and others became the representatives of what we call — not with perfect exactness — the Venetian-Roman School. Characteristic of this style is its rigid purity and intransigence in the face of the most revolutionary changes, brought about by the rise of opera and its monodic diction. The strict observance of the "classic" *a cappella* style was but slightly mitigated by the introduction of settings for double choruses (*Stile osservato*). Our manuscript shows the prevailing influence of that school in every detail, with only one exception (# 19). This instance is a typical melody in the fashion of the monodic arias, at that time, brand new, as we find them in the dramatic "*stile rappresentativo*." We quote:

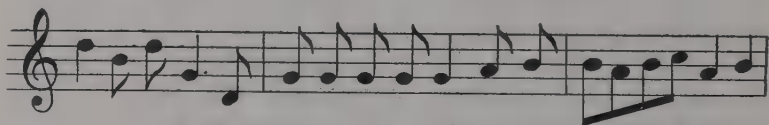


³³ For the full text of these *piyyutim*, see Appendix II.

³⁴ It has been said that the two organ lofts opposite one another in the Cathedral of S. Marco in Venice were the immediate occasion for the invention of double-choirs by Adriaen Willaert, famous musical director of S. Marco until 1562. However, we know today that, long before Willaert, that practice prevailed in certain towns of Northern Italy, for instance, in Modena. It was Willaert's disciples, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, who developed the mannerism of double choirs into a legitimate feature of the baroque.



A comparison with a typical recitative of a Roman opera shows close proximity to our example:³⁵



Although it is not easy to ascertain all of the mannerisms of an 8-part-choir composition from one middle part, and certainly not conclusive, we shall endeavour to guess at the fundamental stylistic elements of the work. It was probably not very polyphonic, though our part is rather lively. Yet the range of our extant part is very small, hardly one octave, with seldom any occasion to carry a prominent tune. Rhythmically, it shows the free attitude of the early 17th century. Changes between double and triple tact are frequently indicated. In general, the compositions seem to prefer a rather isorhythmic diction. The tonality, while not yet our major, is also no longer strictly modal. Cross relations seem not to have disturbed our composer. The choruses appear to be well planned; the formtype ABB is occasionally indicated. In some places we find sharp alternation of choirs. This feature becomes very clear when parts of Hebrew sentences are missing and rests appear in their place. The refrain form is represented in nrs. 15, 17, and 21. Nrs. 15 and 17 seem to have the same or a very similar melody. #21 suggests a free rondeau form. Most startling is the remark at the end of nrs. 15 and 17 "*ritornello fine*" and "*ritornello.*" This is intelligible only if we assume instrumental accompaniment, since it is to this that the term is usually applied. Such a practice in the synagogue would

³⁵ S. Landi: *San Alessio, Prologo*. (Cf. Buecken's *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*; R. Haas, *Das Barock*, p. 71.)



EDUARD BIRNBAUM

2^o Ave.

Handwritten musical score for the 2nd Ave. The lyrics are in Hebrew. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a traditional style with various note values and rests. The lyrics are written below the staff in Hebrew script.

Choro.

Handwritten musical score for the Choro. The lyrics are in Hebrew. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is written in a traditional style with various note values and rests. The lyrics are written below the staff in Hebrew script.

Chow. 28.

Handwritten musical notation on a single page, featuring a staff with notes and a large number '28' at the top. The notation is written in a cursive, handwritten style, likely representing a musical score or a set of instructions. The notes are arranged in a series of horizontal lines, with some notes being larger and more prominent than others. The overall appearance is that of a manuscript or a set of handwritten notes.

Below the staff, there are several lines of handwritten text in a cursive script, which appears to be a mix of English and possibly a different language or dialect. The text is written in a similar cursive style to the musical notation. The first line of text below the staff begins with 'Chow. 28.' and continues with several lines of text. The text is written in a cursive style that is difficult to decipher, but it appears to be a mix of English and possibly a different language or dialect. The text is written in a cursive style that is difficult to decipher, but it appears to be a mix of English and possibly a different language or dialect.

Monsieur

M. le Dr. Hugo Comenon m'écrit
que vous avez l'intention de vous réserver
une communication pour le Congrès d'histoire
de la musique, qui se tiendra à Paris du
23 au 30 juillet prochain. Croyez que
nous en serons très honorés, et que nous
vous remercions de votre aimable attention.

Je vous envoie ci-joint le programme
du Congrès, et un bulletin d'adhésion. Veuillez
vous adresser la lettre, en me la renvoyant
signée, de manière exactement le sujet

1900-01-23

de votre communication de la dernière
séance (vous ?), et me dire si
vous avez l'intention de la présenter vous-
même au Congrès (et dans ce cas,
quelle en serait la durée approximative ?)
communication de 15 minutes renouvelable,
ou, conférence plus étendue.) Ou bien
s'agit-il d'une Mémoire soumise à
vous sans envergure ? Je ne sais dire
que nos suggestions ~~seraient~~ que
vous soyez personnellement à Paris.
Veuillez en dire, Monsieur,
à votre considération des distinctions

Monsieur Comenon

76 rue Notre Dame des Champs.

not be incompatible with contemporary custom, as both compositions mentioned are epithalamia for the (ח' בראשית) חתן תורה, on שמחת תורה which was not considered a יום טוב so strict as to preclude the playing of musical instruments.³⁶

Here the question arises whether the manuscript contains traditional Jewish material. But that question cannot be answered at all, since we are not in possession of those parts which carry the leading melody. The fact, however, that all other traits are strictly *à la mode* and in typical Roman-Venetian style excludes the probability of inherently traditional elements. Let us not forget that Salomone Rossi, presumably a contemporary of our composer, employs very few, if any, Jewish traditional motives in his liturgical compositions.

Turning now to the question of the manuscript's provenance, we realize at once that it originated in Italy. To define its birth-place more accurately, it must have come from a community with Minhag Sephardi. The preamble (כתר) of the *Kedushah*, the *invitatorium* of the מי כמוכה (ראו בנים) are distinctive criteria of the Sepharic ritual. Thus far we are lead by the text. The music is more revealing. Both in Rome and in Venice, in fact in all Northern Italy, compositions for two choirs were in vogue during the seventeenth century; but the Sephardic ritual was more common in northeastern Italy, especially in the Venetian republic. Moreover, we know that many Jewish musicians frequented the court of the Gonzagas in Mantua and that there was a lively traffic between the Jewish communities of Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice.³⁷

During the first third of the seventeenth century, a dynamic personality of dominating authority and artistic temperament enriched Jewish life in Venice: Rabbi Leon da Modena, a most versatile figure; an author who says of himself that he mastered (or at least dabbled in) twenty six different avocations.³⁸ Among them he counts music, play-writing, and *Hazanut*. He founded a musical academy "בזכרני את-ציון" which gave weekly concerts

³⁶ Dr. Sonne directed my attention to this fact.

³⁷ Cf. E. Birnbaum, "Die juedischen Musiker am Hofe von Mantua." (*Kalender fuer Israeliten*, Vienna 1893.)

³⁸ Cf. Leon da Modena, חיי יהודה, ed. Kahane, Kieff 1911-12, p. 64.

in the Ghetto.³⁹ However, this splendor did not last very long. "The devastation caused by the plague of 1630 wrought havoc in this as in every other form of local activity; and though the musical society continued to exist for at least nine or ten years more, it never fully recovered from the blow."⁴⁰

Here also we may mention Modena's active interest in the Hebrew compositions of Salomone Rossi. It was due to the incessant initiative and encouragement of the Rabbi that Rossi was commissioned to write his synagogal compositions for choirs of three to eight parts — pieces which have kept their appeal and beauty down to the present day.

We possess an enthusiastic report about that "Accademia Musicale" and its performances on שמחת חורר under the leadership of Leon da Modena. The writer is his former disciple, the apostate Giulio Morosini, (alias Samuel Nachmias del Salonicco). He says: "I remember well that at the time of my successes in Venice during 1628 or thereabouts, if I am not mistaken, the Jews fled from Mantua because of the war, and some came to Venice. At that juncture Mantua flourished in many fields of study. Also the Jews applied themselves to music and to the playing of instruments. Upon their arrival in Venice, they organized an academy of music in the Ghetto where I was living, and sang there twice a week in the evenings. It was chiefly certain leading personalities and the rich men of the Ghetto who supported that institution. I also was to be found among those there assembled. My teacher, R. Leon da Modena, was the *maestro di cappella*."

"In that year, two rich and brilliant personalities were elected bridegrooms of the Law — as explained above — one of whom was a member of the academy. With the help of the musicians, there had been arranged for our benefit two choirs in the Spanish Synagogue which was beautifully decorated and

³⁹ Cf. A. Ottolenghi, R. Leon da Modena. *Rivista di Venezia*, Luglio 1929.), also C. Roth: "Accademia musicale del Ghetto veneziano" in *Israel*, Vol. II., and H. Zoller: "Theater und Tanz in den italienischen Ghetti." (*Mitteilungen zur juedischen Volkskunde*, vol. 39.)

⁴⁰ Cecil Roth: *Venice*, p. 201. (*Jewish Communities Series* of the JPS), Philadelphia 1930.

adorned with silverware and jewels. On the two evenings, i. e. on the "Octave" (sic) of the feast *Sh'mini Atzeret* and *Simḥat Tora*, these choirs sang figural music (that is, music in artistic settings; note of the translator) in the Hebrew language, also a part of *Arvith*, several psalms, and the *Minḥa*: that is to say, also the afternoon service of the last holiday was solemnized by music. Thus, during some hours of the evening, a throng of noblemen and ladies gathered amid such great applause that many officers and policemen had to guard the gates to secure quiet and safe passage. Among the instruments, an organ also was brought into the synagogue, which is not permitted by the Rabbis, because it is the instrument usually played in our churches"⁴¹

Elsewhere Morosini emphasizes the great part choral singing played on שמחת תורה. He reports that rhymed *piyyutim* with references to Jerusalem and the coming of Elijah and of the Messiah were sung; sometimes in Spanish or Turkish.⁴² In the center of the festivity are the חתן בראשית and חתן תורה in whose praise are rendered hymns, encomia, and eulogies.⁴³ Their names are celebrated in poems created *ad hoc*, and all the arts (above all, music) have to contribute to their glorification. When reading such reports, we need not be surprised that the strict orthodoxy of Venice tolerated such secularistic activities.⁴⁴ We learn that שמחת תורה was not considered a full holiday, inasmuch as the prohibition of work on that day was somewhat flexible.⁴⁵ Already in the early sixteenth century, the Rabbis had permitted dancing in the synagogue on that occasion.

And now we return to the five *piyyutim* in our musical manuscript. In them can be found all of the features mentioned by Morosini, rhymed poetry, double choir, typical processions, poems celebrating the names of the "bridegrooms of the Law,"

⁴¹ Guilio Morosini, *Via della Fede*, Rome 1683, p. 793. (Vol. II.) Translation by Eric Werner.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 789. Cf. also D. Simonsen, G. Morosini's "Mitteilungen ueber seinen Lehrer Leon da Modena," in the *A. Berliner Festschrift*, Berlin 1903.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 788.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 793.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Simḥat Tora."

"*musica figurata*" (a novelty in an orthodox synagogue), the rite of the "*Scuola Spagnuola*." All of this minutely confirms Morosini's description. It does not seem a very bold hypothesis, therefore, to assume that our manuscript originated between 1628 and 1650, in or around Venice, influenced by the circle of Modena's musical academy. 1628 is a *terminus a quo* since, in that year, the academy was founded by the gifted Jewish musicians fleeing from Mantua. 1650 is apparently a *terminus ad quem* since thereafter the academy no longer existed and since Modena had died a short time before. It is very improbable that Salomone Rossi was the composer; certainly we would have heard about it. Nor can I suggest any other name. Much depends upon the interpretation of the term "*maestro di cappella*" used by Morosini. If it denotes merely or exclusively the conductor, then the assumption of Modena's authorship is not warranted. But, in those times, a *maestro di cappella* was usually much more than merely a musical director. He had to officiate as his own composer, director, accompanist, and conductor. If we understand the term in so broad a manner, it would be possible to assume that Leon da Modena, that versatile, artistic personality, was himself the composer of our manuscript.⁴⁶ Be that as it may, this much we can assert: our fragment is a unique anthology of liturgical compositions, chiefly for double choir in the musical style then most fashionable, written by a highly skilled musician, probably by a master. It originated in or around Venice, between 1628 and 1650. Probably soon afterward the orthodox reaction against artistic music got the upper hand and became so strong that all "figural music" in the Synagogue was abandoned and forgotten. At least Benedetto Marcello, the Venetian *Nobile* who recorded eleven ḥazanic melodies of the Sephardic and German Jews of Venice around 1700, does not say a word about artistic Jewish endeavours in music, although he expatiates freely upon the musical standards of Venetian Jewry.⁴⁷ He states moreover that nowhere did he find notated

⁴⁶ Not, however, the scribe! The numerous orthographic blunders in the Hebrew text make this hypothesis entirely untenable.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Werner, "Die hebraeischen Intonationen des B. Marcello," (in *MGWJ*, Breslau, 1937, November-issue.) Modena's responsum permitting

music in the synagogues of Venice or elsewhere, although he had been searching for it.⁴⁸ This can have only one meaning: artistic music was, in his time, no longer fostered in the synagogue. Another *argumentum ex silentio* is offered by the traveller Abraham Levy of Amsterdam who, in his travelogue, speaks of the fine traditional music heard in the great Levantine synagogue of Venice. Not a word about artistic efforts which at that time, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, would certainly have been a feat well worth mentioning.⁴⁹

All of these facts seem to verify the exultant descriptions of the musical ability of the Venetian Jews in the period of Modena, and our manuscript adds proof to those reports.

II

By far most of the manuscripts of the Birnbaum collection stem from the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. These have been discussed extensively in Idelsohn's article mentioned in the beginning of this study. Certain items, however, not specified there, deserve at least a brief word of appreciation. It is well known, for instance, that the famous Louis Lewandowski was, for a number of years, the assistant of the cantor Abraham Lichtenstein in Berlin; and Idelsohn has, perhaps for the first time, realized how deeply Lewandowski was indebted to and influenced by his superior. As Idelsohn puts it, "Lichtenstein's hazanut became so much a part of him that he considered it as his (Lewandowski's) own And in publishing that hazanut in his work *Kol Rinnah Utfilla*, Lewandowski did not mention even the name of Lichtenstein, apparently believing that his music was or had become *His*. Only by means of Lichtenstein's own manuscript do we recognize the origin."⁵⁰ Indeed, it is fascinating to watch the transition

the use of artistic music in the synagogue is included (in French translation) in Naumbourg's edition of Salomone Rossi's Hebrew compositions, Paris 1876-7.

⁴⁸ Cf. E. Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

⁴⁹ Cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, p. 202, and 507, n. 22.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

from Lichtenstein's unorganized but really ingenious and splendidly melodious style to Lewandowski's skilled and classic arrangement of the same tunes. As an original inventor of melodies along traditional lines, Lichtenstein even surpasses Lewandowski. Our collection contains, among numerous other manuscripts of Lichtenstein, a "*Tal-Kaddish*" of enchanting beauty, a veritable gem which well deserves a new setting worthy of its splendor. Among other pearls, we mention here some fine originals from Sulzer's hand, today perhaps unique in the world, since the Germans burnt the old synagogue in the Seitenstettengasse of Vienna, where the bulk of Sulzer's manuscripts had been preserved. All the writings of Hirsch Weintraub, the third great reformer of synagogal music, are contained in our collection, among them his famous "*Tempelgesaenge*" in their first and second versions. Besides, we have a rare opportunity to look into Weintraub's workshop, since all of his sketches, notes, and the like are here accessible. Worth mentioning are also his unprinted orchestral compositions which show him to have been a gifted and serious follower of Mendelssohn. It is touching to observe, in these scores, Weintraub's unyielding struggle with problems of orchestral technique.

Of great historic importance are the complete handwritten vocal scores of the liturgies for the whole year, arranged according to communities. Birnbaum collected all of the liturgical music of Hamburg, Braunschweig, Prague, Copenhagen, Hannover, Magdeburg, Breslau, Stettin, Koenigsberg, and many other cities. Usually these scores start about 1825 and are continued into the sixties. They constitute priceless authentic material for the future historiographer of the music of Jewish Liberalism. Approximately three hundred folio volumes give a virtually complete picture of liturgical as well as musical developments in Central Europe during these formative years. A specialty *sui generis* is also the complete score of the temple music of the ancient community of Leghorn (Livorno) in three bulky volumes. However, it must be added that the traditional material contained in these compositions is frequently effaced through the carelessness, the clumsiness, and the irresponsibility of the arrangers who were, in the main, non-Jewish musicians.

A great number of manuscripts of *hazanim* from Russia, Poland, the Baltic states, France, England, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia make the collection really all European. Added to it are a considerable number of explanatory or reference notes which await resuscitation and evaluation. Excellent help for such work is offered through numerous sets of liturgical and cantorial periodicals, likewise a part of our collection. Most of these are very rare since few libraries in this country took the trouble to collect them.

Birnbaum's scholarly interests brought him into contact with many musicologists and many students of the related arts. Several of the letters document his intensive and manifold discussion of all topics connected with the musical history of ancient and mediaeval times. Although most of that correspondence is now outdated, some of the letters deserve mention either on account of the writer's personality or because of the subject under discussion.

A regular correspondent of Birnbaum's was the famous musical scholar, Prof. Hugo Riemann, who held Birnbaum's judgement in high regard and quoted him occasionally in his work. Upon Riemann's suggestion, Romain Rolland, in his function as general secretary of the musical section of the world's fair of France in the year 1900, invited Birnbaum to deliver a learned address on the subject of ancient Jewish music before an international audience of scholars and artists. Everything was arranged for Birnbaum's trip to Paris when a sudden illness in his family prevented his fulfilment of that flattering invitation.⁵¹

Peaceable as Birnbaum usually was, some of his letters show traces of sharp polemics. In all of these cases, without exception, musicology has vindicated Birnbaum's views. One instance should be quoted here, since Birnbaum took the issue out of the sphere of private correspondence and placed it before the public.⁵² This occurred when he turned sharply against Professor Emil Breslaur who, in a shallow and ignorant pamphlet, had denied

⁵¹ See photograph # 3.

⁵² "Unsere erste Musikbeilage" in *Juedische Presse*, (*Lehrer und Kantor* 1899, Nr. 3. A reprint in A. Friedmann's *Birnbaum-Festschrift*, Berlin 1922, p. 158-163.

the authenticity of traditional Jewish music.⁵³ Birnbaum replies: "Well, I can inform the gentleman that the Jews possess elements of the most ancient music in their synagogal chants, elements of which all Churches must be envious and, for that matter indeed, are envious. The Churches will never fully understand the medieval *neumes* unless they take the trouble to study the medieval Jewish grammarians and their system of musical notation, in order to apply these principles to their *neumes*."

"It is both curious and wonderful that a Christian professor (having the advantage of being a historian) must tell a Jewish professor that he went much too far when he disputed the originality of synagogal chant (E. Vogel, *Jahrbuch* 1899, p. 54). When a Jesuit, Father Dechevrens of Paris, reaches the conclusion that 'the Gregorian Chant is the music of the Hebrews and that there is for every one of the Roman Catholic melodies but one modal system, not that of the Greeks but that of the *sacred Hebrew nation*,'⁵⁴ then it is very disgraceful for a Jewish professor to resort to such extremely foul means in order to wrap himself in a historic cloak. (The end of the quotation on page 65 of his pamphlet is taken from my study *Juedische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua*.)"

All of his life Birnbaum dreamed of writing, indeed intended to write, a comprehensive history of the music of the Synagogue. All of his studies and articles, his collecting, searching, travelling, and copying were to serve that one final aim, a systematic history of Jewish liturgical music. That book, alas, was never written. Another *magnum opus* was finished, however, which constituted his most important bequest and was destined to become a challenge to future Jewish musicologists.

III

This great work is a musico-liturgical catalogue listing all melodies of synagogal songs printed or written in Europe between 1700 and 1910, to which are added many bibliographical

⁵³ Emil Breslaur: *Sind originale Synagogen- und Volksmelodien bei den Juden geschichtlich nachweisbar?* Leipzig 1898.

⁵⁴ X. Haberl, *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 1899, p. 119 a.

references. Such a catalogue amounts to a complete thesaurus of all synagogal melodies of Europe and is an exact instrument by which to test the authenticity of any given traditional tune. The catalogue contains about seven thousand cards, arranged alphabetically according to the first words of the Hebrew texts. Each card is furnished with a musical quotation of the initial motive of the melody referred to. The Hebrew text is carefully underlaid, and the first two or three sources of each tune are traced. I may be permitted to point out briefly the great value of this remarkable work.

The catalogue serves both practical and scientific purposes and constitutes a reference work by which to find, for any given text, the tune and its source, or inversely, if the melody of a known or unknown text is to be identified, our catalogue will list it, provided the melody has ever been published or was frequently sung in a synagogue between 1700 and 1910. Should this catalogue ever be published — and it most assuredly deserves to become generally available — it would be indispensable for any *hazan* who takes his duties seriously or for any good choir leader of a temple and certainly for all students of Jewish liturgy and music. Indeed, its scientific value even surpasses its practical utility.

Better than any textbook, it illustrates the development of our liturgical music along certain lines and styles. Today we know fairly well how strongly the music of the Christian environment determined the course of the synagogal music in the last three-hundred years. Thanks to this catalogue, every change can now be followed closely from one version of a melody to the next, from each decade to the decade following. We can observe something that has so often proved a fascinating riddle for the musicologist, namely, the migration of certain tunes from one corner of Europe to the other. The precise tracing of these itinerant tunes will undoubtedly shed much light on the mystery of the birth and the propagation of folksong in general, a subject most controversial among students.

Moreover, we are now in a position to examine and to check the authenticity of any individual melody which is asserted to

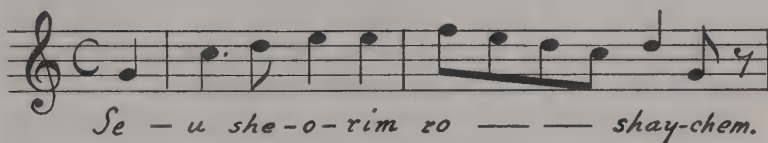
be "traditional." All too often has this term been used and misused, and it was always a complicated process to distinguish between genuine tradition and pseudo-tradition. Now we can state that, if the "traditional" melody to be examined is of European derivation, it will be found in Birnbaum's catalogue. If we fail to locate it there or if we fail to find there a version or a variant ever so distantly related to it, then it is not genuinely traditional. I have made a series of tests the results of which have fully confirmed this statement. Furthermore, the exact bibliographical implementation of the catalogue facilitates research into the genesis of art music within the Synagogue. It can be said, without undue simplification, that we created a liturgical art music only when our leading *hazanim* became familiar with musical notation. As soon as they took to writing or copying music, artistic songs began to flourish in the Synagogue. The trend of the *hazanim* in Europe ran from East to West, musical education from South to Northeast. It is only natural that our religious art music, reaching its first peak in South Central Europe, proceeded rapidly westward and then slowly but intensively eastward.⁵⁵ We need not be surprised, then, to find widely differing grades and nuances of traditional elements blended with secular artistic features throughout the development of synagogal art music. Similarly the traits of individual *hazanim* are at times curiously touched, in spots, by the personal style of composers who lived possibly a century earlier. All of these characteristics of our cult music can now be studied with ease, thanks to the catalogue and to the Eduard Birnbaum Collection and to the help of an exact scientific apparatus.

In order to illustrate the structure of the catalogue and to explain it concretely, we give two examples picked out at random:

⁵⁵ The writer is aware of the fact that the trends and directions mentioned above are due to certain general conditions which exerted a determining influence over the entire material and spiritual life of European Jewry. The question of the musical education of the Jews or of the migration of the *hazanim* is but secondary. Those conditions followed from the general status of the Jew and its varied consequences.

שאו שערים

Chor. מלכיות לראש השנה



Lewandowski, קול רנה p. 124.

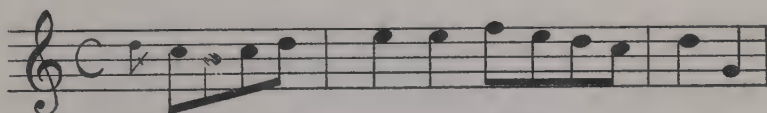
Idem תודה וזמרה vol. II., p. 214.

Ms. 124 vol. III, p. 122.

Ms. 91, (שירי מקהלת) p. 44.

Lichtenstein, (A. J.) Ms. 125, Heft 18, p. 37.

שאו שערים



Samuel Nr.6, p. 4.

Erssler, מנגינות, Nr. 6, p. 11. (Choir.)

Rosenstein, Nr. 12, p. 11. (cf. note.)

Ms. 82, Psalm-Responses, סלה — שאו שערים

We gave two examples of the arrangement of the catalogue. There are 33 more cards listed under the שאו שערים offering as many musical quotations and respective bibliographical references.

These pages were written with the intent of directing the attention of Jewish scholars to the work of Eduard Birnbaum. At the same time we seek to arouse scholarly interest in his magnificent collection. Today it is inevitable that we ask ourselves: where would this treasury of tradition have been, had not Dr. Oko, former librarian of the Hebrew Union College, possessed the foresight to secure it for our library? Dr. Oko's remark "Thus

the acquisition of the Birnbaum Collection was not an accident,"⁵⁶ we consider a modest understatement. Dr. Oko may be assured of the gratitude of all students of Jewish lore. This writer is deeply indebted to Dr. Oko for his personal interest in the Birnbaum collection. Acknowledgments are likewise due Dr. Walter Rothman, librarian of the H. U. C., and Mr. Moses Marx, the head-cataloguer, for their kind assistance.

An old proverb says: *Habent sua fata libelli*. To the Birnbaum catalogue, as yet unpublished and unknown, may fate show itself propitious!

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDUARD BIRNBAUM'S ESSAYS ON JEWISH MUSIC

This is a first attempt at a bibliography of the musical articles of Birnbaum, all of them widely scattered through various periodicals appearing over a long stretch of time. I am almost certain that the present bibliography is not complete. But even so, it may serve as a starting point for further research. Many valuable references may also be found in A. Friedmann's Birnbaum Memorial, *Dem Andenken Eduard Birnbaum*, Berlin 1922.

1. "Voranzeige der Breslauer Synagogengesaenge von M. Deutsch." (*Juedischer Cantor*, 1880, Nr. 1)
2. "Ueber Salomon Sulzer." (*Jued. Cantor* 1881)
3. Necrology on Hirsch Weintraub. (*Jued. Cantor* 1882, Nr. 1)
4. "Briefe aus Koenigsberg." (*Jued. Cantor*, 1883, Nr. 3, 5)
5. "Adolf Schoenfelds Haggada Ausgabe." (*Jued. Literaturblatt* 1885)
6. "Byron's Hebraeische Melodien." (*Jued. Cantor* 1886, Nr. 46).
7. Review of the *Sephardische Gesaenge* by Bauer and Loewit. (*Jued. Literaturblatt* 1889)

⁵⁶ Dr. A. S. Oko: "Jewish Book Collections in the U. S. A." (*American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. 45, p. 78.)

8. "Musikalische Traditionen bei der Vorlesung der Megilla." (*Allgem. Zeitung des Judentums* 1891, Nrs. 12, 13, 15.)
9. Review of Hirsch Weintraub's *Tempelgesaenge*. (*Wiener Kantorenzeitung, Wahrheit*, 1891, series of ten articles.)
10. Review of S. Sulzer's *Sikoron, Gabe der Erinnerung*. (*Jued. Literaturblatt* 1891.)
11. "Kritische Blaetter." (*Koenigsberger Jeschurun* 1892, Nr. 1.)
12. "Juedische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua." (Singer's *Kalender fuer Oesterreichische Israeliten*, Vienna 1893.)
13. Review of F. Consolo's *Libro dei canti d'Israele* (*Jued. Literaturblatt*, Nrs. 18, 19.)
14. Necrology on Louis Lewandowski. (*Jeschurun* 1894, Nr. 8.)
15. Necrology on Jaques Rosenhain. (*Jeschurun* 1894, Nr. 36.)
16. Michael Sachs' Responsum about the *hazan*. (*Jeschurun* 1895, Nr. 38.)
17. "Franz Schubert als Synagogenkomponist." (*Allgem. Zeitung des Judentums*, Nrs. 5, 6, 7.)
18. Review of A. Baer's *Baal Tefilla (Der praktische Vorbeter)* in (*Jued. Literaturblatt* 1898, Nrs. 24, 27.)
19. "Ueber den Ursprung der Traditionen in Synagogengesang." (*Jued. Literaturblatt* 1891, Nr. 9.)
20. "Ueber die liturgische und kantorale Vorbildung des Kultusbeamten." (*Israelitische Wochenschrift* 1899, Nr. 9.)
21. "Unsere erste Musikbeilage." (*Juedische Presse*, in supplement "Lehrer und Kantor," 1899, Nr. 3.)
22. *Liturgische Uebungen I*, (Verband der juedischen Lehrer im Deutschen Reich; in Commission bei M. Popelauer, Berlin 1900.)
23. "Ueber *Yehi Rotzon*" (*Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1902, Nr. 26.)
24. *Liturgische Uebungen II*. (Verband der juedische Lehrer im Deutschen Reich, Berlin 1902.)
25. "Ueber die Verdienste der Gaonen um die juedische Liturgie" etc. (*Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1903, Nr. 4.)
26. "Zum Gedächtnis Salomon Sulzers." (Biography of Sulzer on the occasion of his centennial. A series of ten articles in *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1904.)

27. "Polen und der polnische Ritus." (*Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Kantorenzeitung*, 1909.)
 28. "Wolf Bass aus Prossnitz." (*Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*, ?)
 29. "Ueber den Ursprung der Kol-Nidre-Melodie." (*Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 1909.)

APPENDIX II.

TEXT OF THE PIYYUTIM OF THE ITALIAN MANUSCRIPT
M 4 F 71, NOT CONTAINED IN DAVIDSOHN'S "OZAR"

Nr. 5.

חשיש חתן כמשוש איתן מה זה יום זה רב. שמחתך חתן תורה ו: מלא אורה:
 (twice) טובה באה זיווג בחר האל בחר האל היקמו לך אל תוך נחתן ראשית
 ו: עטרת שית ו: (twice) ביתך תודה לשמו ו: נגד עמו ו: תמן ו: נא פה, הוא הדרתך
 לקרוא תורה לבך עורה (כדבורה) דת תושיה, היא תובתך אורך
 ימים ושנות חיים יוסיף אל חי במעון שקתך ברוך אתה בבואך ו: וברוך אתה
 בצאתך ו:

Nr. 14.

שישו דודים הנחמדים יצליח אל את שמחתכם גילה רינה ו: ישמיעו נא ו: מכל
 פינה תודה לכם נבחרים הם ו: כל טוב בהם ו: טובים שוים הוא הדרתכם חתן
 נעים הוא נצמד עם תורה כלה נאה מה טובתכם, ברכת שדי נא לידידי ובני בנים
 יפרו מכם ו: תזכו לראות כל נראות
 עת יפליא ו: אל עת יפליא אל בישועתכם ו: עת יפליא ו:

Nr. 15.

(Vocalization is here omitted, since it is often misleading.)

גיל

אל חי תמים צוה אומים כל איש יחיד ישרים נפשו בחר האל עם ישראל נין תם
 חתם על לנשוא, גיל שואבה, שמחה רבה, ו: רומז טוב העולם הבא ו:

Above it, in different ink:

תזכו לראות כל נראות

(1)

תזכו לראות כל נהוראון (2)

Continuing the first text:

עת יפליא אל בישועתכם.

יזכו עם דין אל גן עדן ישוב תשוב. גיל

¹ The Italian Jews barely pronounce the ה. They are consequently inclined to omit it altogether or to replace it occasionally by an א. To them ה and א are easily interchangeable.

לִמְעוֹן שׁוֹרְשׁוֹ שְׁבַע חוּפּוֹת נְאוֹת יְפוֹת יֵה כֵּן תִּיָּקֵן בְּמִקּוֹם קִדְשׁוֹ. שְׁמַחָה נָאָה מִי
לֹא רָאָה מִה נּוֹרָאָה שְׁמַחַת תּוֹרָה. שׁוֹב לֹא יִרְאֶה מְשׁוֹשׁ נָאָה גַם כִּי יִחְיֶה מְכַל נְבִרָא.
גִּיל.

מְכַל מִיָּנִים שִׁיר נִיגוּנִים כִּינּוֹר נְבִל תּוֹף עִם זְמֶרָה שֶׁ סוּלָמוֹת נְרוֹת רִמּוֹת רִמּוֹ
וְדִמּוֹת עוֹלָם אֹרֶךְ. גִּיל

מִוֶּרֶה שְׁמֵן כִּי כְאוֹמֵן יֵשָׁא יוֹנֵק יֵשָׁאוּ שְׂרִים, אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל עֵת בֹּא גּוֹאֵל מַעֲלָה מַעֲלָה
כְּאִבְרִים. גִּיל

מַחֲוֹל סוֹבֵב אִישׁ יֵה חוֹבֵב עוֹשֶׂה לְרִמָּח אֵל יוֹם נּוֹרָה יוֹמִין עֵתִיק אֵל כָּל צְדִיק
יִרְאֶה תוֹכּוֹ זִיו תַּפְאָרָה. גִּיל

וְיִנְחִיל תְּמִים שִׁי עוֹלָמִים מוֹר וּבִשְׁמִים הִרְבָּה מְשָׁרָה. יֵשִׁשׁ אוֹתָן כְּמִשׁוֹשׁ חֲתָן דֵּן
לְיִתְּנָן לְסַעֲדוֹ בְּרָה. (א): "ritornello fine"

Nr. 17.

בוֹרָא עוֹלָם, יִחִיד נֶעְלָם, חֲתָם הַכֹּל עִם חוֹתָמוֹ.

סוּף אוֹתוֹתָיו, וּפְעוּלוֹתָיו, יִצַּר אָדָם בְּרִמּוֹת צִלְמוֹ||

דוֹדֵי זֶה בֹּא בִּרְיֹךְ הַבָּא עִם רוֹב חֶבֶד שְׁמַחָה רַבָּה

דוֹדֵנוּ בָּא עִם רוֹב חֵיבָה ||:שְׁמַחָה רַבָּה נְשִׁישׁ עִמּוֹ||

הַמְשִׁיל אוֹתוֹ, עַל כָּל בֵּיתוֹ, הַגְדִּיל לוֹ שֵׁם עַל עוֹלָמוֹ. (2)

אַרְמּוֹן שְׁבַחַתוֹ וּמְנוּחָתוֹ, תּוֹךְ גֵּן עֶדֶן שֶׁם הַקִּימוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ

בֵּין עֲלִיּוֹנִים. גַּם אוֹמְנִים, לְכַבּוֹד הָאֵל יוֹדָה לְשִׁמּוֹ. (3)

הַכִּין לוֹ זֶר אֱלִיּוֹ עֲזָרִי מַצְלֵעוֹתָיו וּבִשְׂרַע עֲצָמוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ

בֵּת זֶה נִבְנָה אֶצְלוֹ יִרְאֶה יִשְׁמַח עִמָּה גַם הִיא עִמּוֹ. (4)

יוֹדָה לְאֵל גָּא יִשְׁמַעְאֵלִי לְקִרְוֹא חוֹרָה יִתֵּן שְׁכָמוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ

חֲתָן רֵאשִׁית אֵל חֵי יִשִּׁית אֹת בְּרַכְתּוֹ לוֹ בְּמִקְוָמוֹ. (5)

בְּרַךְ חִילוֹ כָּל טוֹב רַב לוֹ צוֹר עוֹלָמִים יִטִּיב טַעְמוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ

יֵשָׁא דָּגְלוֹ זִיו נִדְּלוֹ יִצְיֵן פֶּרְחוֹ תוֹךְ אוֹלָמוֹ. (6)

זָרְעוּ יִקְשֶׁר תְּמִים יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעוֹלָם לֹא יִחְסֹר לְחִמּוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ

חַיִּים טוֹבִים שְׁנֵי רַבִּים יִרְאֶה כָּל טוֹב עִת בֹּא יוֹמֹ. (7)

אֲזִי יָרִים אֵל עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁלַח גּוֹאֵל יִקְרָה עִמּוֹ. דוֹדֵנוּ "ritornello"

² See *supra* the previous note!

³ Dr. Sonne presumes that *עזר* and *ישמאל* are respectively allusions to the names of the *חנן חור* and of the *חנן בראשית*. Perhaps they were uncle and nephew.

⁴ See the previous note. In general, this poem is full of hints and allusions. This, however, is not the place for analyzing the manifold quotations and the presumably personal references.

Nr. 20.

שירו נא שבחי יה אתם עם אמונים, הוא יהיה הוא היה צור שוכן מעונים, עת הוציא לרויה משעבוד גאונים, עמו מבית שביה מהון רב טעונים, ברורים נתן להם מחיר ׀ מן לחם ׀ הו(א)בירים, הביאם אל קְרִיָה, ׀: חמדת כל מחירים ׀, לשבוע מפירה ׀: צוף ודבש יערים, ׀: חמול נא ישעה יה, ישלך(ח) את אליה, עם נואל בחירים, חבנה בית אורה גם תוליד יְשָׁרִים, מְצִיָה אל צביה, על כנפי נשרים. הנחילם תושיה עם מצות, הִשְׁבִּיעַם פִּקְחֵי יְהוָה עם מְצוֹת.

THE OLD WEST SEMITIC SUN-GOD HAMMU

JULIUS LEWY, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

I. THE THEOPHORIC NAME ELEMENT HAMMU

VARIOUS scholars, especially Ungnad in a paper on "Amurapi"¹ and Theo Bauer in his monograph "Die Ostkanaanäer"², have noted that the name of the famous sixth ruler of the First or "Amorite Dynasty" (*palê Amurri*)³ of Babylon appears in the Old Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian sources in the following variant writings: 1) *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*, 2) *Ha-mu-ri-pi*⁴, 3) *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*, 4) *Ha-am-mu-um-ra-pi*⁵, 5) *Ha-am-mu-um-ra-pi*, 6) *Ha-am-mi-ra-am*⁶, 7) *Am-mu-ra-pi*⁷, 8) *Am-mu-ra-pi*⁸ and 9) *Am-mu-ra-pi*. In documents coming

¹ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXII, 1909, pp. 7 ff.

² Leipzig 1926.

³ Cf. Weidner, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXVI, 2, 1921, p. 40.

⁴ As was observed by Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, p. 8, this spelling represents merely a "defective" writing of the usual form *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*. But see also below, p. 436, note 52.

⁵ According to Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, New Haven 1919, p. 113(114), note 4, this spelling occurs in two (apparently unpublished) tablets of the Yale Babylonian Collection.

⁶ With Ungnad, *loc. cit.*, pp. 8 f., it may well be assumed that, owing to a scribal error, the second sign *am* stands here in the place of the similar sign *pi*.

⁷ This spelling is found in lines 8 and 10 of the Neo-Babylonian letter K.552, published by Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K. Collection of the British Museum*, III, Chicago 1896, No. 255. On the basis of a statement by Clay (*op. cit.*, p. 113, note 4) to the effect that the Old Babylonian tablet YBC 4362 offers a further variant *Am-mu-ra-pi*, it would appear that it goes back to an Old Babylonian source. This is all the more likely since the letter K.552 mentions an "old tablet which the king Am-mu-ra-pi made". (For a translation of the pertinent lines 7 ff. of K.552 see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, Heidelberg 1925, p. 334.)

⁸ See the preceding footnote.

from the lower Hâbûr region and mentioning a namesake who. a few generations after the great legislator of Babylonia, ruled over the country of Hana, the spellings No. 1⁹ and No. 9¹⁰ alternate with the variants 10) *Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ*¹¹ and 11) *Am-mi-ra-pi-iḫ*¹². Much like the author of the so-called Babylonian King List K.4426+Rm.617¹³ who, in translating the non-Babylonian names *Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi* and *Am-mi-ša-du-qá*¹⁴ by *Kim-ta-ra-pa-āš-tum* and *Kim-tum-kit-tum*, explained *ḥa-am-mu* in the same way as *am-mi*, we must therefore conclude that *ḥa-am-mu*, *ḥa-am-mi*, *am-mu* and *am-mi* are variant writings of one and the same name element. Since an initial *y* of West Semitic roots was sometimes rendered by *ḥ* but at other times disregarded when the Akkadian scribes transliterated or adapted West Semitic nouns and proper names such as עבר¹⁵, יעיר¹⁶, עמק¹⁷

⁹ Thus probably on the royal seal impressed upon the tablet YBC 6518; see Stephens, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1937, pp. 184 ff.

¹⁰ See Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Syria* V, 1924, pp. 275 f.; Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIII, 1936, p. 54.

¹¹ As was repeatedly noted (e. g., by Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, pp. 266 f.), this spelling occurs in line 31 of the contract published by C. H. W. Johns, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXIX, 1907, pp. 180 f. and plate opposite p. 184 and re-edited by Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, IV, New Haven 1923, pp. 51 f. and pl. 48, No. 52.

¹² This spelling appears in rev., line 14 of the afore-cited document YBC 6518.

¹³ V R 44; for a discussion of this list of royal names see particularly Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer*, Leipzig 1884, pp. 19 ff.

¹⁴ K.4426+Rm.617 writes *Am-mi-sá-dùq-qá*.

¹⁵ As was shown by Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 65, the Akkadian sources of the Hammu-rapi period render the Amorite equivalent of the biblical personal name עבריא¹⁵ as *Ḥa-ab-di-ùl* and *Ab-di-ùl*.

¹⁶ For the simultaneous use in the Ma'eri texts — i. e., at the time of Hammu-rapi of Babylon — of *ḥaiarum* and *aiarum* "young ass" (cf. Hebrew יעיר) see Dossin, *Syria* XIX, 1938, p. 108.

¹⁷ Whereas the Old West Semitic word for "valley" which corresponds to Hebrew פֶּתַח appears in the Ma'eri texts as *ḥamqum* (see Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 108 and *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXV, 1938, p. 183, note 1), it recurs as *amqu* in the geographic term *mât amqi* by which the Tell el-Amarna letters apparently designate the "valley" between Lebanon and Antilibanos (see Weber apud Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, II, Leipzig 1915, pp. 1112 and 1571).

and נַי¹⁸, and since, accordingly, the West Semitic term נַי "people" is likely to recur in the Akkadian sources as both ḥa-am-mu/i and am-mu/i, it is not surprising that, beginning with Pognon¹⁹, many Assyriologists²⁰ either endorsed the ancient philologist's translation by *kimtum* "family", "people" of ḥa-am-mu and am-mi or associated this name element with the South Arabic divine name נַי because its theophoric character is revealed by the afore-cited spellings ^dḤa-am-mu-ra-pī and ^dAm-mu-ra-pī as well as by other indications²¹.

A closer examination of the West Semitic proper names contained in the Akkadian sources reveals, however, the possibility of linking the name element ḥa-am-mu and its variants ḥa-am-mi, am-mu and am-mi not with a root primae ע but with a root primae ח. In the various inscriptions recording the victory of Sargon II of Assyria over Iau-bi'di, the then ruler of the modern

¹⁸ As was noted by various scholars (e. g., by Horn, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1922, p. 130), the island town of عانة — i. e. the cult center of the goddess נַי (see J. Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 48) — occurs in the cuneiform sources as Ḥa-na-at and A-na-at; in much the same way, the goddess נַי herself appears in the Amorite personal names of the Old Babylonian epoch as Ḥa-na-ta and A-na-ta; see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 73 and cf. J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, p. 43 and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 246 and 267.

¹⁹ *Journal Asiatique* VIII, II, 1888, pp. 543 ff.; cf. further Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 70, note 6 and p. 72.

²⁰ Cf., aside from the afore-quoted papers and books by Ungnad, Bauer and Clay, the discussions of Ḥammu-rapi's name by Albright, David, Hommel, Jensen, King, Luckenbill, Ranke, Sayce, Thureau-Dangin, Weber and Winckler which have been listed by Zimmern in Schrader's *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*³, Berlin 1903, pp. 480 f.; Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, p. 84, s. v. Ḥammu-rapi and Eilers, *Die Gesetzesstele Chammurabis*, Leipzig 1932, pp. 66 f., s. v. Chammurabi. See further Joseph Halévy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* III, 1888, pp. 332 ff. and others.

²¹ So, for instance, the analogous composition of the personal names ^dA-mu-um-e-šu-uḥ and Ī-lī-e-šu-uḥ (for the references see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 21, respectively) and the place names Dār-Am-mi^{KI} and Dār-^dŠamaš^{KI} (for the references see Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, pp. 241 and 249; see also below, p. 467, note 197). Cf. further the personal names Su-mu-Ḥa-am-mu and Su-mu-^dDa-gan quoted below, p. 434, note 39.

city of حمّة (i. e. the biblical רַחֲמָה²²), the latter prince is once defined as ^{amēl}Ḥa-ma-ta-a-a²³ and in another passage as ^{mât}A-ma-ta-a-a²⁴; similarly, his country is called not only ^{mât}Ḥa-am-ma-ti²⁵ but also ^{mât}A-ma-at-ti²⁶. It is true, Delitzsch²⁷, one of the few scholars who paid attention to this divergency, considered it impossible that ^{mât}Ḥa-am-ma-ti and ^{mât}A-ma-at-ti²⁸ are merely variants of one and the same geographic term²⁹. But when he published his pertinent remarks, he could not know

²² See below, pp. 444 f.

²³ See line 18 of the tablet K.1349 (published by Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II, Leipzig 1894, pl.1). A passage in the Annals of Sargon's father Tiglath-Pileser III, which deals with Iau-bi'di's predecessor Eni-ilu, has not ^{amēl}Ḥa-ma-ta-a-a but ^{âl}Ḥa-am-ma-ta-a-a; see III R 9, No. 3, l. 52.

²⁴ See line 33 of Sargon's so-called Display Inscription (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, Leipzig 1889, pl.31, No.65).

²⁵ Thus in line 62 of the right side of the Stela from Cyprus (latest edition by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, Leipzig 1907, No.71); line 8 of the so-called Nimrûd Inscription (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pl.48) and line C 6 of the "Stèle d'Asharné" (published by Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXX, 1933, pl.I and pp. 54 f.) have ^{mât}Ḥa-am-ma-te. The capital city on the Orontes after which the surrounding territory was called ^{mât}Ḥa-am-ma-ti/e figures in Tiglath-Pileser's Annals (see above, p. 432, note 23) as ^{âl}Ḥa-am-ma-at-ti (see III R 9, No. 3, l. 31). If this variant doubles the *t* of the feminine plural ending -ât (see below, p. 436) of the name حمّة, this gemination is an example of the phenomenon described by Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*², Berlin 1906, § 48. Cf. the frequent replacing, first observed by Landsberger, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXVII, 1924, col. 722 with note 5, of the ending -âtum by -uttum.

²⁶ Thus, for instance, in line 18 of the "Bull Inscription" (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pl.41) and in lines 33 and 36 of the "Display Inscription"; line 25 of the so-called Cylinder Inscription (Winckler, *op. cit.*, pl.43^a) and line B 10 of the afore-quoted "Stèle d'Asharné" write ^{mât}A-ma-at-te. Whether ^{âl}Am-mat, a town mentioned in the Neo-Babylonian cuneiform texts from Nêrab, is actually the modern حمّة (as taken for granted by Dhorme, *Syria* VIII, 1927, p. 214 and *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXV, 1928, pp. 54 and 68), is doubtful.

²⁷ *Wo lag das Paradies?* (Leipzig 1881), pp. 275 f.

²⁸ As for the gemination of the *t*, see above, note 25.

²⁹ That it is not superfluous to refute this exaggerated scepticism may be seen from the fact that as late as 1921 Zimmern *apud* Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*¹⁷, p. 243 s. v. רַחֲמָה regarded it as necessary to quote Delitzsch's opinion.

that an earlier king of the same city and country, Irḫulêni, the ally of Ahab of Israel and adversary of Shalmaneser III of Assyria, also appears in the Assyrian records as ^{ma}Ḥa-ma-ta-a-a³⁰ and ^{ma}A-ma-ta-a-a³¹. Moreover, Delitzsch was not acquainted with the significant fact that several West Semitic roots primae ח recur in Akkadian simultaneously as roots primae ח and ל. The well-known Arabic root حرم appears, as was first felt by Eilers³², with ח in the Old Assyrian term *ṭuppum ḥarmum* "enclosed tablet", "encased tablet"³³, but in *irmum*, the Old Babylonian word for "case-tablet"³⁴, we find a form beginning with ל. In exactly the same way, حدث is represented in Akkadian by eššu < *eššu "new" and ḥadašu "young man", ḥadašatu "bride"³⁵. A third example of this phenomenon is furnished by حابل "hunter"³⁶ and حبل "cord", "rope", two words which are to be associated with Akkadian ḥābīlu "hunter"³⁷ and naḥḫbalu "snare", "trap", on the one hand, and Akkadian eblu "cord", "rope", on the other. In the light of such evidence, it can hardly be denied that the Amorite name element here under discussion may well be derived from חם "to be hot".

³⁰ Thus twice in the inscriptions engraved upon the reliefs of band IX of the so-called Bronze Gates of Balawât.

³¹ So, for instance, in line 21 of one of the inscriptions at the Tigris tunnel (Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens*, Berlin 1907, pl.III).

³² *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXXIV, 1931, col. 929, note 4.

³³ See J. Lewy, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* XXIX, 1926, col. 752 and *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXIII, 1930, p. 270, note b.

³⁴ See Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Leipzig 1913, p. 458; for the verb arāmum "to cover", "to encase" see Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XVI, 1919, p. 156 and for the occurrence of *ṭuppu armu* instead of *ṭuppum ḥarmum* Meissner, *Archiv für Orientalforschung* VII, 1931-32, p. 268.

³⁵ For the details and references see J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV, 1939, pp. 128 f.

³⁶ Literally "he who catches with a cord".

³⁷ For Akkadian ḥābīlu see Jensen, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen* (Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek VI, 1), Berlin 1900, p. 426, Poebel, *Archiv für Orientalforschung* IX, 1933-34, p. 270 and particularly Meissner, *Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie*, III, Leipzig 1937, p. 32.

From the following data it will be seen that this derivation is by far superior to the etymology proposed by the aforementioned scholars. As is well known, the biblical vocabulary includes a feminine word חמה "sun" which belongs to חם "to be hot". It is further evident that a corresponding masculine noun is the first component of the biblical name יהוה³⁸ "The Sun is God"³⁹. On the other hand, it is significant that names containing the name element *ha-am-mu* or one of its variants occur frequently in the neighborhood of such centers of sun-worship as were, according to the Greek and Roman sources, Ἡλιοπόλις-بعلبك and Emesa-حمص. As may be seen from Dossin's preliminary communications on the archives of the Hammu-rapi period which were found at Ma'eri by Parrot, the royal throne of *Gu-ub-la* (Byblos) was then occupied by a *Ia-an-ti-in-Ha-mu*⁴⁰, that of *Ha-la-ab* (حلب) by a namesake of the Babylonian legislator⁴¹ and that of Karkemiš by a certain *Ia-tar-a-mi*⁴². Sub-

³⁸ 1 Chron. 4.26.

³⁹ Since Noth, the last scholar to examine the biblical onomastic material, found this name obscure (see his book *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 243), it might be well to mention that, from the linguistic point of view, יהוה belongs to the same class of names as Hebrew שמואל "The Name [i. e. the name par excellence; the holy name] is El" or, e. g., Amorite *Su-mu-da-gan* "The (holy) Name is Dagân" and *Su-mu-Ha-am-mu* "The (holy) Name is Hammu" (cf. the discussion of this class of names by Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XV, 1934, pp. 141 ff.; for the references see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 39). That the sun-god was designated by the masculine of the appellative noun חמה is not surprising since a theophoric name element *La-ba-an*, i. e. a masculine of לבנה "moon", is known from several Old Assyrian and Amorite personal names (see for the present J. Lewy in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, VI, 1926, p. 215; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 267 and *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 44 f. and cf. the remarks of Zimmern *apud* Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 363 and Dhorme, *L'évolution religieuse d'Israël*, I, Bruxelles 1937, p. 71) among which names we quote here as particularly instructive the Early Amorite name *Laban-ilâ* "The Moon is God". (See also below, notes 152 and 154 and pp. 455 f.)

⁴⁰ See Dossin, *Syria* XX, 1939, pp. 109 and 111.

⁴¹ For the details and references see Dossin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXVI, 1939, pp. 47 ff. and *Syria* XX, 1939, p. 176 with note 1.

⁴² See Dossin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXVI, 1939, p. 48 and *Syria* XX, 1939, p. 109.

sequently, in the so-called Amarna age, a prince of *Bêrûtâ* (بيروت) bore the suggestive name *Am-mu-ni-ra* (variant *Ḥa-mu-ni-ri*⁴³) "Ammu is the Light", while a *Ia-an-Ḥa-mu*⁴⁴ (a namesake of whom figures in a contract from Ugarit-Ras Shamra⁴⁵) held a high office in the more or less adjacent region of *Ia-ri-mu-ta*⁴⁶. Moreover, in the aforementioned name of Ḥammu-rapi's fourth successor *Am-mi-ša-du-qá* "Amm(i)"⁴⁷ is the Justice"⁴⁸, the god *Ḥa-am-mu/Am-mu* is praised as the personified right in precisely the same way as is the sun-god Šamaš in Akkadian hymns which invoke the latter as *kittum* "justice", "right"⁴⁹, whence it would appear that Akkadian *šamšu* and the foreign name element *ḥa-am-mu/am-mu/i* are synonyms. Finally, it is to be noted — and this observation is decisive — that the famous Amorite law-giver of Babylonia was a fervent sun-worshipper: *inter alia*, he gave his son and successor the unusual name *Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* "The Sun is Our God", and he glorified

⁴³ For the references see Weber *apud* Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1242 f. and 1557.

⁴⁴ Cf. Weber, *ibidem*, pp. 1169 ff. and 1562.

⁴⁵ See line 15 of the tablet RS.8.145 published by Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XVIII, 1937, pp. 246 and 249 f.

⁴⁶ For the location of *Iarimutâ* see Poebel, *Historical Texts*, Philadelphia 1914, pp. 225 f., Landsberger, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXV, 1924, p. 235, Smith *apud* Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, I, London 1928, p. 79, Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 262.

⁴⁷ Whereas in the personal names beginning with, or ending in, *Ḥa-am-mu* the *u* vowel of *ḥa-am-mu* is case ending (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XV, 1934, p. 142), the *i* vowel of the variants *Ḥa-am-mi* and *Am-mi*, as occurring, e. g., in *Am-mi-ra-pi-iḥ* and *Am-mi-ša-du-qá*, is merely an auxiliary vowel which served the purpose of maintaining the gemination of the preceding *m*.

⁴⁸ That the Old West Semitic name element *ša-du-qá* — i. e., the *status emphaticus* of a noun *ša-du-uq* (cf. Hebrew שָׁדוּק) — means "justice", is clearly stated in the tablet K.4426 + Rm.617; cf. above, p. 430. A passage in a letter sent by Abdi-Ḥepa of Jerusalem to the king of Egypt (Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, I, No. 287, l. 32) points in exactly the same direction. From the Amorite personal name *A-ḥi-ša-du-uq* (Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 12) it follows, on the other hand, that, like its Akkadian and Hebrew synonyms *kittum* and פָּדָשׁ, *ša-du-uq* was sometimes used as a theophoric name element.

⁴⁹ For references see Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsingforsiae 1938, p. 109 s. v. *kittu* and pp. 456 f.

Šamaš as "the king of the gods"⁵⁰. In other words, he not only made it clear that he worshipped the sun-god as the hereditary tutelary deity of his family, but, contrary to custom⁵¹, even did not refrain from placing him above Marduk, the highest god of the capital and country of Babylonia.

II. THE MEANING OF THE PLACE NAME ḤAMÂT

The fact that the Assyro-Babylonian scribes treated the initial \mathfrak{h} of the divine name Ḥammu in the same way as that of the place name which figures in the Arabic sources as حمات and in the Bible as חמא is not due to a mere coincidence. Its name, manifestly the feminine plural of *ham(u)*⁵², defines the town of Ḥamât as a place dedicated to the cult of Ḥammu, precisely as the feminine plurals רממות, רמולות and עשתרות characterize certain towns as centers of Ba'al, Râm⁵³ and 'Aštar

⁵⁰ See line 3 of the Sumerian inscription W-B.6 (Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, I, Oxford 1923, pl.18 and pp. 23 f.) and line 4 of the Akkadian text published by Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*, Philadelphia 1915, No. 133.

⁵¹ For an exception see my forthcoming paper "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus" (*Berytus* IX, 1, 1944).

⁵² Some of the Assyrian renderings quoted above, p. 432, still indicate that Ḥamât goes back to Ḥammât. If other transliterations, as well as the Arabic and Hebrew spellings of the name, show no trace of the original geminated *m*, this is obviously to be attributed to the fact that certain Aramaeans replaced double consonants by simple consonants; cf. the Assyrian spelling *A-tar* of the divine name 'Attar < 'Aštar which I discussed in note 102 of the paper cited above, note 51.

⁵³ Thanks to the cuneiform sources found at Ma'eri and Kaniš, the West Semitic god Râm (whose name consists in the adjective *râm* and, accordingly, means "high", "exalted", "the exalted one") can be traced back to the time of the Amorite dynasties of Babylonia and Assyria: The former tablets yield a personal name *Aḫ-Ra-am* (quoted by Jean, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1939, p. 64), obviously to be identified with the name of king אחרם of Byblos and, so far as the grammatical form of its first element is concerned, to be compared to the Old Assyrian personal name *Aḫ-Ša-lim* (for this — originally West Semitic — name see J. Lewy, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 172, note *in fine* and p. 184). The onomastic material of the texts from Kaniš includes a

worship. Nyberg, who seems to have been the first to make a serious attempt at explaining this class of biblical place names⁵⁴, was certainly right in comparing ראמות (var. רמות) and עשתרות to a number of town names which represent the singularic feminine forms of masculine divine names, as do, for instance, בעלה (Josh. 15.9 f.) and נעמה (Josh. 15.41). There is, in fact, evidence to the effect that the latter forms are more archaic than the corresponding plurals: The gentilic עשתרת'י (1 Chron. 11.44) is derived not from עשתרות, but from עשתרה⁵⁵, and this form is to be regarded as the older one because the letters from Tell el-Amarna mention the town of עשתרות as ^{al}Aštartī⁵⁶, and not as ^{al}Aštarāti⁵⁷. But Nyberg's unproved supposition that town names such as בעלה and נעמה are "alte Kollektive, die die Gemeinde des betreffenden Gottes ausdrücken" and the ensuing rendering of בעלה by "Siedelung von Ba'al-Verehrern" and of נעמה by "Siedelung von נעם-Verehrern" are less satisfactory. For on the basis of this interpretation of בעלה and נעמה he translates ראמות by "Siedelungen von רם-Verehrern" and עשתרות by "Siedelungen von Astarte-Verehrern", a translation which, in consideration of the relative frequency of such pluralic forms, obviously cannot be justified by the far-fetched assumption "dass mehrere Gruppen oder Kultverbände der Verehrer des betreffenden Gottes sich an einem und demselben Orte zusammengefounden hatten". In order really to understand the names here under discussion, it is, above all, necessary to take cognizance of the fact that the grammatical relation existing between

personal name Šū-Râmā in which the theophoric element Râm appears in the *status determinatus* (for references and analogous names see Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 58 f.; for a list of the Phoenician personal names containing the same divine name see Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, New Haven 1936, p. 145).

⁵⁴ See pp. 77 f. of his *Studien zum Hoseabuche*, Uppsala 1935.

⁵⁵ Nyberg, who notes this fact, also refers to the place name בעשתרה (Josh. 21.27).

⁵⁶ For the references see Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 1572.

⁵⁷ Even as late as the eighth century, the Assyrians used the singularic form ^{al}As-tar-tu; see Meissner, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XXXIX, 1916, pp. 261 f.

the names of the gods בעל and נעים⁵⁸, on the one hand, and the town names בעלה and נעמה, on the other, is identical with that obtaining between the Akkadian divine names Anum and Antum⁵⁹, Bâš and Bâštum⁶⁰, Bêl and Bêlti⁶¹, Wêr and Wêrtum⁶². Since these and analogous pairs of divine names denote — if not always, at least usually — deities whom the Akkadians and the Western Semites⁶³ regarded as married couples, we are evidently confronted with the question as to whether the god נעים and the town of נעמה were also thought to be husband and wife. Information on the basis of which this question is to be answered in the affirmative comes, in the first place, from Neo-Assyrian documents containing the names ⁶¹*Aššûr-šarrat* "The City of

⁵⁸ That the adjective נעים "pleasant", "gracious", "the gracious one" was used as a divine name denoting Tammûz-Adonis should not have been doubted by Noth, *op. cit.*, pp. 117 and 166. The biblical name אבינעים (Judg. 4.6 ff.), for instance, corresponds exactly to the personal name אבישלום (1 Ki. 15.2 ff.), the theophoric character of which is established by its Aramaic equivalent *Abî-Salâmu* (for the details and references see *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 62 f. and *Journal of Biblical Literature* LIX, 1940, p. 519). Similarly, the personal name נעמן (2 Ki. 5.1 f.; cf. Gen. 46.21 etc.) "Belonging to Na'am", "Dedicated to Na'am" is to be compared with the personal name *Salâmânû* (for the references see Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, pp. 190 f.) "Dedicated to Salâm" and its Hebrew equivalent שלמן < שלמה (cf. footnote 179 of the paper quoted above, p. 436, note 51 and see also below, pp. 455 f.).

⁵⁹ For Anum and Antum see Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1932, pp. 114 ff. and Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsingforsiae 1938, pp. 262 f.

⁶⁰ For Bâš and Bâštum see, for the time being, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 171, note and *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I, Paris 1939, p. 274 with note 4 and cf. further the Old Babylonian personal name *Ba-aš-ilî* "Bâš is my God" (Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schrift Denkmäler*, VII, Leipzig 1909, Nos. 49, l. 14 and 134, l. 40; Lutz, *Early Babylonian Letters from Larsa*, New Haven 1917, No. 107, l. 1).

⁶¹ For Bêl and Bêlti and for the replacing of Bêltum by Bêlti see especially Zimmern in *Paul Haupt Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 281 ff.

⁶² For Wêr and Wêrtum see especially Schlobies, *Mitteilungen der Alt-orientalischen Gesellschaft* I, 3, 1925, p. 8.

⁶³ Bâš and Wêr and their female counterparts were originally West Semitic deities.

Aššûr is Queen"⁶⁴, *Mannu-kî-^{al}Aššûr* "Who is like the City of Aššûr", *Etellet-^{al}Arba'il* "The City of Arba'il is Ruler", *Tukultî-^{al}Ḥarrân* "The City of Ḥarrân is my Help" and other Assyrian personal names⁶⁵ in which town names appear as feminine theophoric elements⁶⁶. Further evidence to the effect that major towns were regarded as deities may be gathered from coins of the Hellenistic age on which *Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ*⁶⁷, Tyre, Sidon and other Phoenician towns are represented by the heads of women wearing turreted crowns, i. e. as goddesses. We refer particularly to pieces identifying and characterizing the towns were the coins were issued by legends such as *ללאדכא אש בכנען* "(coin) of Laodicea, a mother in Canaan"⁶⁸, *לצר* "(coin)

⁶⁴ *Šarrat* being written phonetically (*šar-rat*), there is no doubt about the grammatical form and the meaning of the second element of this name. The same is true of the analogous name *Arba'il^{KI}-šarrat*.

⁶⁵ An almost complete list of this class of personal names has been compiled by Stamm, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XLIV, 1939, pp. 84 f.; as for the references, see Stamm, *ibidem* and Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, *passim*.

⁶⁶ Since, in contradistinction to its West Semitic synonyms, the Akkadian term *ālum* "town" is masculine, and since in Old Babylonian personal names such as *Ṭāb-Urum^{KI}* "The City of Ur is Good" and *DIL. BAT^{KI}-a-bi* "The City of DILBAT is my Father" the towns are treated as masculine theophoric elements, the Assyrian personal names just quoted obviously reflect the religious conceptions of certain West Semitic groups within the population of Assyria; as is well known, the Western Semites were numerous and influential in Assyria during the period marked by the occurrence of these names.

⁶⁷ *Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ* was situated north of *Ez-zīb* (אכויב) at, or near, *Umm-el-'awāmid*; see Eduard Meyer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XLIX, 1931, pp. 3 ff.

⁶⁸ See Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*, London 1910, p. 52, No. 5 and pl. VII, No. 3. Referring to Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, II, Paris 1898, pp. 80 ff. and Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, pp. 46 and 350, Hill, *op. cit.*, p. L, note 7 leaves it open whether the legend on this coin (which recurs on several other pieces) is really to be read *ללאדכא אש בכנען*, as was taken for certain by Babelon and "the earlier authorities". However, the reasons for which Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, Cooke, Roussel and, more recently, Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 59 rejected this reading in favor of *ללאדכא אש בכנען* "Laodicea which is in Canaan" are inconclusive. In consideration of biblical expressions such as *אש בישראל* (Judg.

of Tyre"⁶⁹, כה צר, "לצרנם אם כמב אסא" (coin) of (the city of) the Sidonians, the mother of Cambe, Hippo, Citium (and) Tyre"⁷⁰ and Σιδῶνος θεᾶς⁷¹ "(coin) of the goddess Sidon"⁷². As several of these brief inscriptions define those Phoenician towns as אם — a definition which, as was repeatedly noted⁷³, recalls the biblical expression עיר ואם בישראל⁷⁴ —, and as, on the other hand, the idea of parthenogenesis plays no rôle in the religious conceptions of the peoples and epochs here under discussion, it is to be assumed that goddesses such as Aššûr, Ḥarrân, צר, לארכא, צר and צדון were regarded as being married. Since, as a rule, Semitic goddesses were supposed to be the wives not of mortal men but of gods, and since the marital life of the deities was believed to correspond to that of human beings, it may further be concluded that the husbands of towns recognized as goddesses

עצור ועוזב בישראל, (Num. 1.3) יצא צבא בישראל, (Ezek. 39.7) קדוש בישראל, (1 Ki. 14.10; etc.) and analogous idioms, it is certainly not correct to assert that "the construction בכוֹן אם is objectionable" (Cooke) or "peu admissible" (Dussaud). Nor can we expect that the Phoenician legend on the coins from לארכא be the exact equivalent of Appian's (erroneous) reference to Λαοδικαία ἢ Φοινίκη, all the less so since, as may be seen, e. g., from pp. 164 ff. and 267 f. of Hill's *Catalogue*, even on bilingual coins the Greek and Phoenician legends frequently do not exactly correspond to each other. As for the arguments against the attribution to Bêrût of the coins from Laodicea, see Meyer, *loc. cit.*

⁶⁹ See, for instance, Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 255, Nos. 252 ff. and pl. XXXI, No. 8. For coins from Tyre bearing the significant legend "לצר אם צדנם (coin) of Tyre, the mother of the (city of the) Sidonians" see Babelon, *Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène (Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale)*, Paris 1890, p. CIX and p. 86, Nos. 674 ff.; on these pieces, the head of the goddess with the turreted crown is, however, replaced by a portrait of Antiochos IV.

⁷⁰ See Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 155, No. 87 and pl. XXI, No. 5.

⁷¹ The coins thus inscribed have not infrequently an additional legend in Phoenician which reads sometimes לצר and at other times לצרנם.

⁷² See especially the pieces described by Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 170, No. 168 and pl. XXIII, No. 1 and p. 171, No. 171 and pl. XXIII, No. 3.

⁷³ See Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*, p. 81.

⁷⁴ 2 Sam. 20.19. As observed in Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*²⁸, Leipzig 1909, p. 409, note 3, this idiom is in line not only with the fact that Hebrew and other West Semitic languages treat towns and their names as feminina but also with the biblical custom of designating villages in the neighborhood of a major town as the daughters of the latter.

were thought to be gods who lived together with their wives⁷⁵, whence it follows that, on principle, their temples lay within the towns whom they married. In other words, we may infer that, according to an ancient West Semitic doctrine, the god who chose a town as seat of his sanctuary made that town his divine wife. In the Bible, this idea is reflected, for instance, in Ezek. 16 and 23 where Jahweh tells the prophet, *inter alia*, how the city of Jerusalem became his wife with whom he begot sons and daughters⁷⁶. If the names of the Phoenician, Mesopotamian and Assyrian cities the divineness of which is directly attested by the afore-quoted coins and personal names are not provided with the feminine ending found in the names of the towns of Aš/starti/u⁷⁷, נעמה, בעלה, etc., this divergency cannot prevent us from concluding that the latter towns, too, were regarded as goddesses, married to the gods עשחר (<עֵהָר), בעל, נעם, etc. in the same way as the goddesses Antum and Bêlti⁷⁸ were thought to be the wives of the gods Anum and Bêl; for the grammatical difference just mentioned obviously results from the fact that when those towns were founded and named in honor of the gods supposed to own them and to dwell therein, the Western Semites made but very limited use of the so-called feminine

⁷⁵ So far as Šidôn is concerned, this is even implied in the name of the town; for since the affix *-ân>ôn* forms adjectives of appurtenance (see Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*², Leipzig 1894, pp. 340 f. and cf. *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVII, 1943, pp. 136 f.), Šidôn means "Belonging to Šid", "Property of (the God) Šid" (cf. below, pp. 452 f. and pp. 455 ff.). As I have noted in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 182, the name of this god occurs, as early as the Old Assyrian period, in Assyria and Elam in the personal name Ši-di-î-lî (var. Ši-dî-î-lî) "Šid is my God". For the Phoenician personal names עברצר, צדיחן, צדיחן etc. which contain the same theophoric element see now Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 139 f.

⁷⁶ Since the origins of Jerusalem go back to an epoch long before Jahweh became its divine lord and protector, his name and that of "the place which he chose to make his name dwell there" are, of course, not in the relation of ^dAššûr and ^dlAššûr or נעם and נעמה etc. But it is significant that, as I have shown in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 60 ff., שֶׁלם, the oldest historical name of the town, is identical with that of the god officially worshipped there as late as the time of David. Cf. also below, p. 454.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 437 with note 57.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 438, note 61.

ending *-at* or other affixes in order to indicate the inferior status or the dependency in which, according to Semitic conception, a town, as well as other property, finds itself in relation to its owner⁷⁹. If, on the other hand, each of the town names *Ḥamât* < *Ḥammât*⁸⁰, ראמות, בעלות, etc. consists not in the singular but in the pluralic feminine form of the name of a god, and if, similarly, the town name *Aš/starti/u* עשתרה was replaced by עשחרות⁸¹, this phenomenon confirms our conclusion that the towns of בעלה, נעמה, עשתרה and עשחרות were so named because they were regarded as goddesses and female counterparts of the gods whose sanctuaries they sheltered. For it is a matter of fact that the Western Semites were inclined to use besides, and instead of, singularic designations of deities the corresponding plurals. To be sure, the current grammars list as *plurales magnitudinis* referring to deities merely masculine forms such as the Hebrew terms אלהים and קדשים, the Phoenician אלם or the Aramaic עליון, but the expression בית עשחרות (1 Sam. 31.10), which the Septuagint — no doubt, correctly — renders by τὸ Ἀστυαρτεῖον, proves that one and the same rule applied to the designations of gods and goddesses⁸². In concluding this digression into biblical town names consisting in singulars or plurals of the feminine form of a name or epithet of a god, it might be well to note that the Israelites of the eighth pre-Christian century were aware of the connotation of place names of this category. This is learnt from the fact that in Hos. 10.5⁸³ the

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 463 ff. — As for the fact that the Semitic feminine endings express inferiority and dependency, see Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin 1908, pp. 418 ff.; Pedersen in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, XII, Berlin 1928, p. 16.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 436 with note 52.

⁸¹ The possibility that in this town the cult of עשתרה may, in course of time, have superseded that of her parhedros has no bearing upon the present discussion.

⁸² The fact that numerous commentators accepted the proposal to emend בית עשחרות to בית עשתרת or בית עשחרת shows once more to which extent it has become customary to overcome seeming difficulties by a gratuitous change of the received text.

⁸³ The interpretation of Hos. 10.5 was considerably promoted by Nyberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff., whose emendation of ענלות to ענלת now proves to be unnecessary.

town of ביתאֵל, known from 1 Ki. 12.28 f. as one of the seats of the cult of the "golden calf", i. e. the cult in which the moon-god used to be invoked as a young bull (עֵגֶל)⁸⁴, is ironically given the name of עֵגְלוֹת בֵּית אֵין⁸⁵.

III. ḤAMÂT-ŞÔBÂ AND ŞUBAT-ḤAMÂTU

From the preceding observations it follows that "City of the Sun-God" would be an adequate rendering of the place name Ḥamât < Ḥammât. This fact points to the possibility that the

⁸⁴ Ample evidence that, at least since the beginning of the third millennium, the moon-god was represented and invoked as a young bull, is found in the article quoted above, p. 436, note 51. Additional data, which will be discussed elsewhere, prove that he also was called a "wild bull", and that his wife used to be given the epithet of a "wild cow". Hence it is certain that, as was to be expected, the moon-god and his wife were thought to look alike. In view of this fact, and since Hebrew belongs to the languages in which the notion "young bull" is expressed by the word עֵגֶל, there can hardly be any doubt that עֵגֶל and the corresponding *pluralis magnitudinis* עֵגְלוֹת were the names by which the wife of the moon-god was known to the Israelites, and that, according to the doctrine discussed in the preceding lines, a town sheltering a sanctuary of the "young bull" could be given the name עֵגְלוֹת.

⁸⁵ In consideration of expressions such as בָּחוּלָה בַּת צִידוֹן (Isa. 23.12; cf. the analogous בָּחוּלָה בַּת צִיִּין [Isa. 37.22; Lam. 2.13], בָּחוּלָה בַּת מְצָרַיִם [Jer. 46.11], etc.), it is not surprising that the first element of the name עֵגְלוֹת בֵּית אֵין stands in the construct state. Precisely as בָּחוּלָה בַּת צִידוֹן means "the 'girl' denoted by the name 'daughter of Sidon'" (cf. the remarks of Philippi, *Wesen und Ursprung des Status constructus im Hebräischen*, Weimar 1871, p. 63 and Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, II², London 1875, p. 250) עֵגְלוֹת בֵּית אֵין defines the town for which the prophet introduces the name עֵגְלוֹת as "the town of עֵגְלוֹת known as אֵין בֵּית". Similarly, the place name עֶשְׁתָּרוֹת קְרָנִים (Gen. 14.5) should be rendered by "the town of עֶשְׁתָּרוֹת [cf. Deut. 1.4; Josh. 9.10, etc.] known by the name of קְרָנִים [cf. Amos 6.13]", an interpretation which is in line with the much-discussed evidence found in the Books of the Maccabees. 2 Macc. 12.26 mentions in connection with the fortified town of Karnion an Ἀστεργατεῖον which is obviously identical with the sanctuary formerly called עֶשְׁתָּרוֹת "Astarte", whereas 1 Macc. 5.43 f. refers to the same sacred district as a temple within the town of Karnain. This shows that קְרָנִים and עֶשְׁתָּרוֹת were known as a single town, although they actually seem to have been a twin town situated on the modern *šēḫ sa'd* and the neighboring *tell 'aštara* (for the topographical details and the reasons for the identification of קְרָנִים with *šēḫ sa'd* see Dalman, *Palästina-jahrbuch* IX, 1913, p. 60 and, more recently, Alt, *ibidem* XXIX, 1933, pp. 20 f.).

hitherto unknown pre-Greek name of the aforementioned city of Heliupolis-Ba'albek in the plain between Lebanon and Antilibanos coincided with that of the town on the Orontes which preserved its name Ḥammât > حمّاة up to the present day. The simultaneous existence of two ancient Syrian cities named Ḥammât > Ḥamât is, in fact, well attested. For if the prophet Amos (6.2) speaks of חמת רבה, this implies, as was noted by Jerome in his commentary on Amos⁸⁶, that one distinguished "Emath magna" from another, apparently smaller, place of the same name⁸⁷. According to Jerome⁸⁸, who virtually agrees with various postbiblical Jewish sources⁸⁹, חמת רבה was the pre-Greek name of the city of Antioch⁹⁰; as regards the other חמת, or *Emath minor*, it follows from his observations on Amos 6.12 ff., as well as from his remarks⁹¹ on the verses Josh. 13.5 and 2 Ki. 14.25 (which, like Amos 6.14, contain the well-known geographical term לבוא חמת), that he identified it with the modern حمّاة on the Orontes. These identifications are, however, untenable because it is precisely Ḥamât on the Orontes which played, in the earlier centuries of the first pre-Christian millennium, so important a rôle in the history of Syria as certainly to deserve the

⁸⁶ Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.*, XXV, p. 1059; cf. p. 91 of Klostermann's edition of Eusebius' *Onomastikon* and its Latin translation by Jerome (= *Eusebius' Werke*, III, 1, Leipzig 1904).

⁸⁷ In the same way, the use in Josh. 11.8 and 19.28 of the name גידון רבה evidently presupposes the existence of a "Sidon parva" (or *Sidon minor*) besides the "Sidon magna" (or *Sidon maior*); cf. Jerome's comment on Josh. 19.28: "*Cana usque ad Sidonem maiorem, est quippe et altera minor, ad cuius distinctionem maior haec dicitur*" (*Liber locorum*, ed. Klostermann, p. 117). Jerome's conclusion is borne out by the Assyrian sources; for Sennacherib's well-known report on his conquest of the Phoenician coast and parts of Judah actually mentions, besides ^{al}Šidunnu rabû "Great Sidon", ^{al}Šidunnu šîḫru, i. e. "Little Sidon".

⁸⁸ See his afore-cited commentary on Amos 6.2 ff.

⁸⁹ For these sources see S. Krauss, *Revue des Etudes Juives* XLV, 1902, p. 29, note 9.

⁹⁰ As for the considerations which led to this error, see Krauss, *loc. cit.*, p. 29.

⁹¹ See pp. 23 and 91 of Klostermann's afore-quoted edition of the *Liber locorum*.

name חמַת רבָּה. On the other hand, we learn from passages such as Num. 13.21, Josh. 13.5 and 2 Ki. 14.25 that the town referred to in the expression חמַת לבֹּוא⁹², i. e., to use Jerome's

⁹² Noth, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* LVIII, 1935, pp. 242 ff. (cf. also his commentary on *Das Buch Josua*, Tübingen 1938, pp. 49 ff.) recently advanced the theory that this term is a genuine place name consisting of the town name לבֹּוא and the epexegetic genitive חמַת. But the linguistic reasons for which he rejects its traditional interpretation are not conclusive. In the first place, he seems not to have noted that the idiom חמַת לבֹּוא חמַת "unto the approach (lit. "the going", i. e. "the entrance [see below]) to Ḥamât" has exact parallels in the expressions עַד לבֹּוא מִבְּרָה (1 Chron. 5.9) and עַד לבֹּוא מִצְרִים (2 Chron. 26.8); these parallels make it clear that חמַת לבֹּוא was not a town name, although it obviously denoted a certain locality whence travellers used to proceed into the territory of Ḥamât. Secondly, in declaring it impossible to prefix the preposition מִן to a term designating the direction toward Ḥamât and thus to make this direction "zum Ausgangspunkt einer gerade entgegengesetzt verlaufenden Linie", he failed to take cognizance of the fact that מִלְּבֹוא חמַת (Amos 6.14; 2 Ki. 14.25, etc.) is not the only expression indicating a direction toward a certain point the sense of which is changed into its contrary by the prefixing of מִן. For it is a matter of fact that the adverb למַעַל "upward", when preceded by מִן, came to mean "from above" (thus, e. g., in Josh. 3.13 ff.). Precisely as here — evidently owing to the secondary, but frequent, use of למַעַל in the sense of "above" — the original force of the preposition ל and the ending -â was no longer felt (cf. the obliteration of the sense of the preposition εἰς in the place name Istanbul), the indication of a direction that, no doubt, was originally contained in the term חמַת לבֹּוא (עַד) could, of course, be disregarded, once people associated with it the thought of a definite place. It is easy to understand that, as soon as this was the case, חמַת לבֹּוא was treated like a *nomen loci* meaning "entrance to Ḥamât" and hence, whenever this was convenient, provided with the preposition מִן. It might be well to mention in this connection that in Akkadian the infinitives of certain verbs denoting, like Hebrew בֹּוא, a motion have the function of *nomina loci*. The infinitive *alâku* "going" occurs as such in the expression *a-lak bi-ir-ti-šu* "the entrance of his fortress" (see l. 10 of the omina text VAT 6811 = Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, I, Leipzig 1919, No. 150 and cf. Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisch alâku 'gehen'*, Heidelberg 1920, p. 56). In Old Babylonian documents such as 88—5—12, 47 (published by Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Leipzig 1893, No. 42) *erêb Sippar*^{KI} "the entering of Sippar" denotes "the entrance to the city of Sippar". In ll. 23 ff. of the building inscription Ass.2708 (published by Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1911, No. 14), the words *i-na e-ra-bi*, refer to an "entrance" to be passed by those who proceeded from a certain

terminology, *Emath minor*, lay north of the northernmost part of Israel's territory, an information which permits us to look for a location in Coele-Syria. For this reason and since, as is recognized by most scholars⁹³, the kingdom of ארם צובה was located in Coele-Syria, it is not too daring to identify *Emath minor* with the town of חמת צובה mentioned in 2 Chron. 8.3⁹⁴. Once this is realized, it is easy to see that Heliupolis and חמת צובה may well have been one and the same city. While the wording of 2 Chron. 8.3 indicates that the Chronicler regarded חמת צובה as a place of importance, Heliupolis-Ba'albek was and is a natural center of several important roads⁹⁵ and so situated that it is likely to have been the capital of ארם צובה. For with Furrer⁹⁶, it is to be assumed that the towns of כון and ברתי which belonged to ארם צובה⁹⁷ are identical with the modern *Brêtân* (about ten kilometers south of Ba'albek on the road to *Rejâq* and Damascus) and the place of *Conna* known to us from the *Itinerarium Antonini* (199,8) as the first station on the road from Heliupolis to Hemesa and hence representing the modern *Râs Ba'albek* or one of the adjacent villages⁹⁸.

flight of steps to a courtyard of the Aššûr temple (cf. Schott, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XL, 1931, p. 17, who, however, errs in admitting that in this passage *erâbu* "to enter" might denote a religious procession). The Neo-Babylonian administrative note VAT 4398 (published by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, VI, Leipzig 1908, No. 221) may also be quoted in this connection since it uses *ši-a-ti* as a designation of the "exits" of a sanctuary (cf. Ungnad, *Glossar*, Leipzig 1937, p. 143).

⁹³ See, for instance, Nöldeke, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, I, 1899, col.280; Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 279; Furrer, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* VIII, 1885, p. 34; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II², 2, Stuttgart und Berlin 1931, p. 252; Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, p. 233.

⁹⁴ As a curiosity it may be mentioned that, in commenting on the place name חמת צובה, Kittel, *Die Bücher der Chronik*, Göttingen 1902, p. 120 made the following remark: "Hamath-Zoba ist ein unmöglicher Name, aus der Zusammenstellung zweier getrennter syrischer Reiche gebildet".

⁹⁵ Cf. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

⁹⁶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 34.

⁹⁷ See 2 Sam. 8.8 and 1 Chron. 18.8, respectively.

⁹⁸ Whereas Furrer's identification of כון with *Conna* is plausible, his

The inference that a pre-Greek name of the town of Heliopolis-Ba'albek is contained in the geographic term לבוא חמה and in the place name חמת צובה is by no means incompatible with the information to be gathered from the Bible and the Assyrian sources in regard to the country of ארם צובה and its capital city. The obvious parallelism between the terms ארם צובה and ארם דמשק leaves little doubt that צובה was the name of a major town after which the territory dominated by that town used to be called ארם צובה. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, after the Aramaean states of Syria had been annexed by the Assyrians, both Damascus and ⁹⁹Šubatu, i. e., as was observed by Schrader⁹⁹ and Delitzsch¹⁰⁰, צובה¹⁰¹, were the capital

proposal to place Conna south of Ba'albek is hardly correct. The same is to be said about his adherence to the theory that Conna is identical with the garrison town of Cunna mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum* (Oriens 32, No. 35); for Cunna seems to have been situated on the other side of the Antilibanus (cf. Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 271 and *Syria* X, 1929, p. 57). In contrast to Honigmann (in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, II, VIII, Stuttgart 1932, col. 1663), Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie*, Paris 1934, p. 49 is even inclined to look for it as far as 150 kilometers east of Ba'albek.

⁹⁹ *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, Giessen 1878, p. 122.

¹⁰⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 279 f.; cf. further Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 135 ff. and Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, Leipzig 1916, p. 66, note 2.

¹⁰¹ Since the afore-cited works of Delitzsch, Schiffer and Streck, and hence the current dictionaries and commentaries, give the erroneous impression that the Assyrian name of צובה was Šubit, Šubiti or Šubate, it might be well to state expressly that the Assyrians, who used to affix the Assyrian case endings to West Semitic proper names, knew the city of צובה, as was to be expected, as ⁹⁹Šubatu. In accordance with the rules governing the Assyrian vocalic harmony, they frequently replaced, however, the nominative ⁹⁹Šubatu and the genitive ⁹⁹Šubati/e by ⁹⁹Šubutu and ⁹⁹Šubiti/e, respectively. If, furthermore, the genitives ⁹⁹Šu-ba-te and ⁹⁹Šu-bi-te alternate with the genitive ⁹⁹Šu-pi-ti/e, this is due to a secondary development by which, evidently owing to the preceding *š*, *b* was replaced by *p*; in the same way, the well-known place name *N-šibîn* "Nisibis" appears in the so-called Annals of Adad-narârî II (VAT 8288, published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, Leipzig 1922, No. 84) not only as ⁹⁹Na-ši-bi-na (l. 63) but also as ⁹⁹Na-ši-pi-na (l. 41). The assumption of Elliger, *Palästina-jahrbuch* XXXII, 1936, p. 56, note 4 and Noth, *ibidem*, XXXIII, 1937, p. 46 that the tablet K.4384 (II R 53, No. 1) uses a construct state *Šubut* is erro-

cities of provinces the administration of which was entrusted to officers ranking high enough to become eponyms¹⁰². As regards the geographical position of *Šôbâ/Šubatu*, we learn from 2 Sam. 8.3 ff. and 1 Chron. 18.7 ff. that its territory included towns in the neighborhood of Ba'albek¹⁰³ and extended so far to the north as to constitute a menace to the kingdom of Ḥamât on the Orontes. The proposal of Joseph Halévy¹⁰⁴ to place it at *Χαλκίς ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ* — i. e. not in, or near, *al-Biqâ' al-Ba'labakkî*, but in *al-Biqâ' al-'Azîzî*¹⁰⁵ — is therefore unacceptable¹⁰⁶. A location east of the Antilibanos or to the north of the northern end of *al-Biqâ' al-Ba'labakkî* being equally improbable because these regions were administered by Assyrian district

neous and evidently due to the fact that Forrer, who published a somewhat inexact transliteration of K.4384 on pp. 52 f. of his study on *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig 1920), attributed to the cuneiform sign *bat* the non-existent value *but*; the partial transliterations of the same text by Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 122, who, in contradistinction to Forrer, indicates the lacunae in col. II, ll. x+4 ff., and by Schiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 f. give the correct reading ^{al}Šu-bat. Forrer's further statement (*op. cit.*, pp. 54 and 69) that the text K.276 (II R 53, No. 3) contains a variant ^{al}Šu-bu-te is equally misleading; the text reads, of course, ^{al}Šu-bu-tû.

¹⁰² For the references see Schiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 136, note 1 and Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 446.

¹⁰⁴ *Revue des Etudes Juives* XX, 1890, p. 219.

¹⁰⁵ For the administrative division of Coele-Syria into two districts which correspond to the natural conditions of the region, viz. *al-Biqâ' al-Ba'labakkî* in the north and *al-Biqâ' al-'Azîzî* in the south, see especially R. Hartmann in *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*, I, Leiden und Leipzig 1913, pp. 807 f. s. v. Buḳ'a.

¹⁰⁶ Honigmann, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XLVII, 1924, p. 16, No. 302 and *loc. cit.*, (see above, p. 446 [447], note 98), col. 1595 has recognized that the name of ^{al}Man-šu-a-te, a provincial capital mentioned in col. II, l. x+10 of the afore-cited Neo-Assyrian tablet K.4384 and in other texts (see Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Berlin und Leipzig 1938, p. 429 *sub* 796 and p. 447 *sub verbo* Danânu), is to be associated with ὁ Μασσώας, the name under which Greek writers, and especially Strabon, knew the plain of Coele-Syria. Since, on the other hand, Strabon (XVI, 2, 10, p. 753; cf. XVI, 2, 18; p. 755) and Josephus (*Ant.* XIV, VII, 4, § 126 and *De Bello Jud.* I, IX 2, § 185) clearly imply that Chalkis was the capital of the Massyas (cf. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, I, Leipzig 1920, pp. 710 ff. and Dussaud, *op. cit.*, p. 399), it would seem that Chalkis and ^{al}Manšûâte are to be identified.

worship was known by two names, viz. חמח and צובה, a conclusion which is all the more indicated since חמח צובה may well mean "the town of Hamât which is known by the name of Šôbâ"¹¹². That this is actually the sense of the geographical term חמח צובה follows from the circumstances under which the two place names *Hamât* and *Šôbâ* recur together in the aforementioned enumeration of administrative centers of the Neo-Assyrian empire, K.4384: in col.II, l. x+12 of this text, the construct state ¹¹³*Šu-bat* is followed by the *genitivus epexegeticus* ¹¹⁴*Ha-ma-a-tû*. In other words, our sources speak not only of חמח צובה but also of חמח, a fact which implies that the two town names *Hamât* and *Šôbâ* were interchangeable¹¹⁴. The ancient scholar who preferred the statement חמח צובה מלך חמח¹¹⁵ ויך דויד את הדדעזר בלכתו (1 Chron. 18.3) to the wording ויך דויד את הדדעזר בן רחב מלך צובה בלכתו (2 Sam. 8.3) was, to all appearances, aware of this interchangeability; for otherwise he would hardly have provided חמח צובה with the gloss חמח¹¹⁶.

(see above, footnote 107), "the pass of *Ia-ab-ru-du*" (i. e. the modern Iabrûd in the eastern foothills of the Antilibanos) and other regions on the western edge of the desert, but also imply that the province of Šubatu was exposed to inroads by the bedouins. Moreover, the letter Rm.77 (latest edition by Harper, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 414; for a transliteration and translation see especially Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven 1935, No. 90) shows that a royal officer stationed at Šubatu, *inter alia*, dealt with affairs concerning the Arabian subjects of Assyria (cf. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig 1897, p. 467).

¹¹² Cf. above, p. 443, note 85.

¹¹³ Cf. above, p. 447, note 101.

¹¹⁴ The two towns may have constituted a twin city comparable to Kiš-Hursagkalamma, Seleucia-Ctesiphon or 'Ašt-rôt-Qarnajim.

¹¹⁵ Thus according to the Septuagint which reads καὶ ἐπάταξεν Δαυεὶδ τὸν Ἀδραάζα βασιλέα Σουβά Ἡμάθ, πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, whereas the Masoretes replaced חמח by the *accusativus* חמח which makes little sense. Or should we assume that the Masoretic text represents the Aramaic form חמח? This possibility is to be taken into consideration because the Targûm Ierušalmî refers to חמח as חמח דלבנן (see Klein, *Hebrew Union College Annual* V, 1928, pp. 246 and 252 f.).

¹¹⁶ In consideration of the evidence presented above, it seems superfluous to discuss the hypothesis of Eissfeldt, *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, IV, 1939, pp. 31 ff., according to which the biblical חמח (Josh. 13.5) should be identified with Heliupolis-Ba'albek. As regards his contention that חמח (Amos 1.5) is another pre-Greek name of Helio-

Owing to translations from one language or dialect into another, two or more names of one and the same town have, as is well known, not infrequently the same meaning. The observation that the Israelites and the Assyrians knew the modern town of Ba'albek not only by the name *Ḥamât/Ḥamātu* but also as *Ṣôḥâ/Ṣubatu* raises therefore the question as to whether the latter name has the same sense as the former which, belonging to the root *ḥ-m-m* "to be hot" and the term *ḥammu* "sun", "sun-god", proved to convey the same idea as Ba'albek's Greek name Heliupolis¹¹⁷. A positive answer to this question is in fact possible because, with Halévy¹¹⁸, we may well regard צובה as a derivation from *ṣ-h-b*¹¹⁹, and because, upon closer examination, *ṣ-h-b* turns out to be a synonym of *ḥ-m-m*¹²⁰. If, then, the singularic feminine noun *ṣôḥâ* < **ṣhôḥâ* < **ṣihâbat* expressed the same notion as the pluralic noun *ḥamât* < *ḥammât* in which we recognized the *pluralis magnitudinis* of the feminine form of *ḥammu*, we must, of course, further infer that the inhabitants of Coele-Syria who gave the city of the sun-god the name *ṣôḥâ* designated the sun by a word **ṣôḥ* < **ṣhôḥ* < **ṣihâb*. Confirmation of the existence of this word and of its use as a divine name may be obtained from an analysis of the precious variant Σωβάλ which occurs twice in the Septuagint in passages where the Masoretic text has the usual צובה¹²¹. Since in Canaanite, as

polis, there is no cogent reason to assume that in using this term the prophet thought exclusively of the capital of the *Biqd' al-Ba'labakkê* and not of the valley between Lebanon and Antilibanos as a whole.

¹¹⁷ See above, pp. 436 ff.

¹¹⁸ See above, p. 448, note 104.

¹¹⁹ For the relations between roots mediae ו and roots mediae ה see especially Gesenius-Buhl, *op. cit.*¹⁵, pp. 169 f.

¹²⁰ It is easy to assume that a root meaning "to be hot" came to express the notions connected with *ṣ-h-b* in Aramaic and Hebrew, viz. "to shine", "to be red" or "reddish", "to be angry", "to quarrel", but it is hardly conceivable that a root which originally meant "to be reddish" furnished a word for "a hot day" and "intensity of heat". The existence of the Arabic term *ṣaiḥab* "a day intensely hot", "intensity of heat" disproves therefore the current opinion (shared by Halévy, *loc. cit.*) according to which the basic meaning of *ṣ-h-b* was "to be reddish".

¹²¹ See 1 Chron. 19.6, where ἐκ Συρίας Μεσποταμίας καὶ ἐκ Συρίας Μοσχὰ καὶ παρὰ Σωβάλ (varr. παρὰ Σωβά and ἐκ Σουβά) corresponds to the Hebrew מן ארם נהרים ומן ארם מעכה ומצובה and Ps. 60.2, where τῇ Μεσποταμίαν

well as in other Semitic dialects, final *n*, and especially the *n* of the affix *-ân* and its variants *-ôn* and *-ên*, tends to pass into *l*¹²², it is manifest that Σωβάλ goes back to an older form Šôbân¹²³. Since, furthermore, Šôbân is to Šôb as, for instance, Šîdôn < Šîdân and Ḥamân(u) < Ḥammân(um)¹²⁴ are to Šîd and Ḥamm(u), and since, finally, the proper names Šîdôn and Ḥamân(u) define

Συρίας (var. Συρίαν) καὶ τὴν Συρίαν Σωβάλ renders the Hebrew אֶת אֲרָם וְהָרִים וְאֶת אֲרָם צוֹבָה.

¹²² Of the comparatively numerous data which lead to this conclusion, we mention here the following: 1) The town of Ḥu-ub/p-šá-an^{KI} (II R 60, 7b; cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 239; for the variant Ḥu-ub/p-še-en see Scheil, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXIX, 1932, p. 75) appears occasionally as Ḥu-ub/p-šal (III R 66, rev.11^d). 2) The West Semitic theophoric element *Dagân* of the personal name *Nûr-Dagân* occurs in one copy of the *Šarru tamhari* Epic in the usual spelling ^d*Da-gan* (see VAT 10290=Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 138, ll. x+3 ff.) but in another in the spelling *Dag-gal* (see Schroeder, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, XII, Leipzig 1915, No. 193, rev. ll. x+3 ff.). 3) To all appearances, the Hebrew word צפון "north" recurs in Phoenician as צפ; cf. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nord-semilischen Epigraphik*, I, Weimar 1898, p. 359. 4) Various sources, among which Josephus and the P^sītât, replace the biblical name ראובן by Ρουβηλ or Ρουβιλ and similar variants ending in *-l*; cf. Gesenius-Buhl, *op. cit.*¹⁵, p. 730. 5) The tribal name נַפְתָּלִי/*Nep̄thalēi*, regarding which Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle 1906, p. 539) observed "Naphtali ist kein echter Stammesname, sondern ein Ethnikon von Naphtal, was vermutlich ein (freilich nicht weiter erklärbarer) Landesname für das Hügelland westlich vom oberen Jordan gewesen sein wird", turns out to mean "native of the hilly country", once it is realized that, before being provided with the so-called gentile affix *-î*, **naftân* "hilly country" (literally, "what belongs to the hill") had been changed to *naftâl* (as for the shortening of the first and the syncope of the second vowel owing to which *nâfat* "hill" + *ân/l + î* was pronounced *na|eftâlî*, cf. the Biblical-Aramaic נִפְתָּלִי [**aimat + ân + îl*] which occurs in Dan. 7.7 as a variant of נִפְתָּלִי).

¹²³ Since in the paraphrase of 1 Chron. 19.6, as found in Josephus, *Ant.* VII, VI, 1, § 121, παρὰ Σωβάλ (see above, note 121) is replaced by παρὰ Σουβάν (wherein Josephus seems to have seen a personal name), it is hardly too daring to assume that certain copies of the Septuagint actually contained variants of Σωβάλ in which the original final *n* was still preserved. The fact that in his paraphrase of 2 Sam. 8.3, as well as in his amplification of the enlarged Greek version of 1 Ki. 11.23, Josephus (*op. cit.*, VII, V, 1, § 99 and VIII, VII, 6, § 204) calls the king of Šôbâ τῆς Σωφηνῆς βασιλέα points in the same direction.

¹²⁴ For Ḥamân and Ḥammân see below, pp. 454 ff.

certain localities as the property of the gods *Šīd* and *Ḥamm(u)*¹²⁵, it is also obvious that the occurrence of the name *Šōbān* as a designation of the later town of Heliopolis proves the existence in that town of an ancient cult of the god *Šōb*¹²⁶.

It might be well to conclude this discussion of the divine name *Šōb* and its derivative *Šōbān* with a few words about the name *Βαισωβά* which occurs in the Septuagint in the place of the double name *חמה צובה*. As may be seen from the spellings in which the biblical place name *בית שאן* (Josh. 17.11, etc.) appears in the Greek sources¹²⁷, the *ח* of the word *בית* was sometimes assimilated to the initial sibilant of the second part of place names that consist of *בית* and another name element. Hence we may well assume that *Βαισωβά* stands for *בית צובה* or *בית צובא*¹²⁸, all the more so since *בית צובא* is to *צובא* as *בית רחוב* (2 Sam. 10.6) is to *רחוב* (2 Sam. 10.8)¹²⁹. However, the element *Šōbā* of the name *Bêt Šōbā* is not likely to be absolutely identical with the place name *Šōbā*. For to prefix *bêt* "sanctuary of" to this name would have been illogical, since the feminine form *šōbā* itself defines, as we have seen¹³⁰, the town so named as the seat of a sanctuary of the god *Šōb*¹³¹. There is, in fact, no need to admit

¹²⁵ See above, p. 441, note 75 and below, p. 455, respectively.

¹²⁶ As is learnt from the occurrence of the forms *Σωβά* and *Σουβά*, *Σωβάλ* and *Σουβάν* (see above, notes 121 and 123). *Šōb* was shifted to *Šāb* in the same way as in Phoenician the divine name *Môt* was shifted to *Māt* (*Μονθ*; cf. Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 25). This is not surprising since biblical and extra-biblical sources attest the presence of Phoenician elements in the plain between Lebanon and Antilibanos and the neighboring regions.

¹²⁷ Whereas LXX (e. g., Judg. 1.27 and 1 Macc. 5.52) write *Βαιθσάν*, Stephanus Byz. (*sub verbo* *Σκνθόπολις*) has *Βαίσων*; cf. the Arabic *Baisān*.

¹²⁸ The spelling *צובא* is found in 2 Sam. 10.6 and 8.

¹²⁹ The town of *רחוב* was probably named after a homonymous deity; this god is possibly identical with the god **Ri-ḥa-ab* whom col. I, l. 38 of the text K.2100 (published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XXV, London 1909; transliterated by Schlobies, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 f.), an Assyrian list of deities, identifies with the storm-god Adad.

¹³⁰ Cf. above, pp. 441 f.

¹³¹ This argument would not be valid if it could be supposed that at a given time the cult of *Šōb*'s parhedros *Šōbā* was so important as to overshadow that of her husband. This is, however, highly improbable since the Greeks named the town of *Šōbā* Heliopolis, and since subsequently its main temple was dedicated to "Iupiter Heliopolitanus".

such complete identity: as comparatively many proper names ending in *-ân* or *-ôn* lost their final *n* in course of time¹³², we are free to surmise that Βαισωβά/*Bêt Šôbâ* stands for an older *Bêt Šôbân* "Sanctuary of Šôbân". This inference, which presupposes that the divine name *Šôh* was replaced by *Šôbân*, is all the more indicated since we know that during the first half of the second millennium *Šulmân*, *Rušpân* and other names terminating in *-ân* came to be preferred to the original divine names *Šalim*, *Rašip*, etc.¹³³, and that at that time Jerusalem's oldest name, *Šalim*, was changed into *Bêt Šulmân*¹³⁴. Since it is also certain that those divine names ending in *-ân* are much younger than place names in *-ân* such as *Šidôn* < *Šidân*¹³⁵, we shall hardly err in concluding that the name Βαισωβά/*Bêt Šôbân* dates from a later period than does the afore-discussed place name Σωβάλ < *Šôbân*. Thus it appears that, before being referred to as חמַת צוֹבָה and חַמַת צוֹבַת חַמַת¹³⁶, the town of the sun-god *Šôh* was first called *Šôbân* "(The City) Belonging to Šôh", then *Bêt Šôbân* "Sanctuary of (the God) Šôbân" and finally *Šôbâ* "Heliupolis".

IV. THE MEANING OF THE MOUNTAIN NAME ḤAMÂN

As was shown above, pp. 429 ff., the West Semitic theophoric name element *hamm(u)* "sun", "sun-god" appears in Akkadian records either as *ha(-am)-mu/i* or as *a(m)-mu/i*. If, similarly, the mountain range known to the Greeks as Ἀμανὸν ὄρος or

¹³² See footnote 179 of the paper quoted above, p. 436, note 51.

¹³³ See *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* I, 1939, p. 274 and *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 56, note 1 and cf. below, p. 474, note 238.

¹³⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature* LIX, 1940, pp. 519 ff., where I ought to have noted that, to judge from Hos. 10.14 and the biblical form of the Assyrian theophoric name *Šulmānu-ašarid*, the Israelites may have pronounced *Bêt Šalmân*, and not *Bêt Šulmân*.

¹³⁵ In the cuneiform sources, *Ši-da-nu-um*^{K1}, i. e. the city of *Šidôn*, occurs as early as the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur; see Delaporte, *Revue d'Assyriologie* VIII, 1911, p. 183 and Ungnad, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* XX, 2, 1916, p. 94. The analogous geographical name *Ḥammānum* appears even several centuries earlier, namely at the time of *Narām-Sîn* of Akkad; see below, pp. 455 ff.

¹³⁶ See above, p. 450.

᾿Αμανός figures in Old Akkadian and Sumerian texts as “*A-ma-num*, the mountain of cedar”¹³⁷ and in Assyrian inscriptions as “^{ṣad}*Ḥa-ma-nu*”¹³⁸, the mountain of cedar”¹³⁹, it is possible that the initial consonant of this name of a mountain was the same as that of the divine name *Ḥamm(u)*. Since, furthermore, Mt. Amanus is not far from the regions in which an ancient cult of *Ḥamm(u)* is attested by comparatively many theophoric names dating from the beginning of the second millennium and the 15th and 14th pre-Christian centuries¹⁴⁰, there remains no doubt that *Amānum* and its later variant ^{ṣad}*Ḥamānu* actually represent a West Semitic name *Ḥammān*¹⁴¹, and that this name defines Mt. Amanus as a mountain “belonging to (the god) *Ḥamm(u)*”¹⁴², i. e. “holy to *Ḥamm(u)*”. This is all the more manifest since two other chains of mountains, likewise located in Syria, bear names of the same character. We are referring, in the first place, to ^{ṣad}*La-ab-na-nu* (<**Labanānu*¹⁴³) “Mt. Lebanon”, a name which is to *Laban*, the afore-mentioned designa-

¹³⁷ See col. I, ll. 22 ff. and col. II, ll. 25 ff. of the ancient copy of an inscription of Narām-Sin which was published by Smith *apud* Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations*, Texts, I, London 1928, No. 275 and cf. col. V, l. 28 of Gudea’s so-called Statue B.

¹³⁸ Var. ^{ṣad}*Ḥa-ma-a-nu*.

¹³⁹ For references see Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 ff. ¹⁴⁰ See above, pp. 434 f.

¹⁴¹ The fact that the Assyrian records write *Ḥa-ma-nu*, and not *Ḥa-am-ma-nu*, is evidently to be attributed to the aforementioned replacing of double consonants by simple consonants (see above, p. 436, note 52). If, on the other hand, in transliterating the West Semitic *Ḥammān(um)* by *A-ma-num*, the Old Akkadian scribes also failed to indicate the gemination of the *m*, this results, of course, from their custom of “defective” writing; cf. above p. 429, note 4. See also the next footnote.

¹⁴² It goes without saying that the biblical town name מִנְיָן (Josh. 19.28) has the same meaning. This is also true of the personal name *Ḥa-am-ma-nu-um*, which occurs in the Ma’eri texts (see Dossin, *Syria* XIX, 1938, p. 111) and which, like the synonymous מִנְיָן/Σαμψών and others, belongs in the same category of personal names as *Salāmānu*/שְׁלָמָה and נֶעְמָן (see above, p. 438, note 58). See also below, pp. 462 and 471 with note 218.

¹⁴³ For further examples of the syncope owing to which *Laban*+*ān(um)* became *Labnān(u)* see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 266 f., where I misunderstood the function of the affix *-ān* and failed to recognize the nature of the god *Laban*, an error which led me to the uncritical acceptance of the usual interpretation of the name *Labnānu*/לבנון as “the white one”.

tion of the moon-god¹⁴⁴, as ^{šad}Ham(m)ânu is to Hamm(u), and, secondly, to ^{šad}Am-ma-na-nu, the Babylonian name of the Antilibanos¹⁴⁵, which defines the latter mountain range as "belonging to (the god) 'Amân"¹⁴⁶, i. e. the planet Saturn¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. above, p. 434, note 39.

¹⁴⁵ See l. 11 of the so-called Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, B.M., No. 35382 (latest edition, transliteration and translation by S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London 1924, pl. XI ff. and pp. 110 ff.) and cf. the observations of Weidner, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* VI, 1922, p. 120. As for the variant ^{šad}Am-ma-na and the biblical אַמְנָן on the basis of which Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1892, p. 131 established the ancient name of the Antilibanos, see below, p. 458.

¹⁴⁶ The existence of a divine name 'Amân follows with certainty from the occurrence in various Old Babylonian documents of an Akkadianized Amorite personal name A-ma-na-nu-um (for the references see Th. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 f.); for 'Amânân(um) is to 'Amân as, for instance, Šalâmân(u) is to Šalâm (see above, p. 438, note 58 and cf. above, p. 455, note 142). From the personal name A-mi-na-nu-um which figures in another text of the same period (see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 43) it is further learnt that the Amorites also knew a god 'Amin. Once this is realized, it is obvious that 'Amin and 'Amân constitute a pair of divine names that is to be compared to the pairs Salim (var. Šalim) and Šalâm(u) and Rašip and Rasâp which I discussed in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I, pp. 274 f. The analogy between the divine names 'Amin/'Amân, on the one hand, and Salim/Šalâm and Rašip/Rasâp, on the other, is all the more striking since there occurs also an Amorite divine name Am-na-an (see *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 49 and cf. below, p. 471) <*'Aminân, which is to 'Amin as Šalmân (var. Šulmân; see above, p. 454 with note 134) and Rušpân are to Šalim and Rašip. — The doubling of the middle radical of 'Amân which characterizes the adjectival form ^{šad}Am-ma-na-nu is secondary, as may be seen, *inter alia*, from the fact that the theophoric element שְׁלֹם, i. e. the Hebrew equivalent of Šalâm (see above, p. 438, note 58), shows no gemination of its second radical. The absence of the second vowel of 'Amin by which the divine name 'Amnân is distinguished from the personal name 'Aminânnum corresponds, of course, to the loss of the second vowel of Laban that we noticed in the geographical name ^{šad}Lab-na-nu. — That the first radical of the three divine names and the mountain name here under discussion is א, follows from the biblical name of the Antilibanos (see below). From the biblical personal name אִמְנָן (1 Chron. 4.20; 2 Sam. 3.2; 13.1 ff.), finally, a name which is to the Amorite personal name 'Aminân(um) as שְׁלֹמֶן < שְׁלֹמָה is to Šalâmân(u), it is learnt that the worship of 'Amin/'Amân was not limited to the immediate neighborhood of the Antilibanos, but reached as far south as Judah. (For the place names ^{šad}Dûr-mAm-na-ni and Sippar^{K1} ^{šad}Am-na-nu see below pp. 470 f.)

¹⁴⁷ Of the data which make it manifest that the divine name 'Amân

Since the names which define Mt. Amanus as property of the sun-god and Mt. Lebanon as property of the moon-god are extremely old (as was intimated before, the former name is attested as early as the 24th century, whereas the latter appears in cuneiform documents of the 14th century¹⁴⁸), it might seem that they represent the oldest class of West Semitic mountain names. In point of fact, they were, however, preceded by names absolutely identical with the names of the gods regarded as the owners of those — and other — mountains. A first indication which points in this direction is furnished by the well-known Greek designation of Mt. Lebanon, *Λιβανός*, which consists merely of the divine name *Laban* > *Liban* and the Greek case ending *-os*. The conspicuous absence of the affix *-ân/ôn* which distinguishes the Greek name of the “mountain of the moon-god” from its Oriental designations is not coincidental, as may be seen from the various names under which the Antilibanos figures in the historical inscriptions of the Assyrian kings Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II and Sennacherib and in the Bible: ^{śad}*Am-ma-na-na*, the name by which it is mentioned in rev., l. x+26 of Tiglath-Pileser’s so-called Nimrûd Inscription,

denoted the planet Saturn, we note here the following: 1) As was intimated in the preceding footnote, *’Amân* as well as *’Amin* and *’Amnân* < *’Aminân* belong to the root *’-m-n*; these divine names are therefore to be rendered by “stable”, “the stable one”. 2) “The stable one” is the meaning of the Akkadian name of Saturn, *Ka-a-a-ma-nu*; see especially Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Strassburg 1890, pp. 111 f. and cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, Heidelberg 1925, p. 405 and *passim*. 3) *Kaiwân* and *Kêwân*, the Arabic and Syriac names of the planet Saturn, indicate that *Ka-a-a-ma-nu* was pronounced *Kaimânu* (for other cases in which the cuneiform sign *a-a* denotes the diphthong *ai* see Thureau-Dangin, *Le syllabaire accadien*, Paris 1926, p. 50, No. 277); since, furthermore, *kaimânu* is dissimilated from **kainânu* (cf. Landsberger, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXV, 1911, p. 384, note 2), and since, finally, **kainânu* is to be regarded as *ʾ* syncopated variant of **kainânû*, *Kaimânu* and *’Amnân* turn out to be not only synonyms but even nouns of the same characteristic *qatilan* > *qatlân* type.

¹⁴⁸ For the oldest cuneiform documents mentioning Mt. Lebanon see Gustavs, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XLII, 1924, pp. 154 f.; for the pertinent Assyrian and Babylonian records see Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin, 1905, p. 471.

No. 1¹⁴⁹ and in Sennacherib's records¹⁵⁰, is composed of the divine name 'Am(m)ân¹⁵¹, the affix -ân and the suffixed article -â¹⁵² and thus virtually identical with the aforementioned Akkadianized designation ^{3ad}Am-ma-na-nu, but ^{3ad}Am-ma-na, the name given it in l. 127 of Tiglath-Pileser's Annals, and the biblical אֲמָנָה¹⁵³ represent the same form without the affix -ân¹⁵⁴;

¹⁴⁹ First published in II R 67; latest edition in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III.*, Leipzig 1893, II, pl.22 ff. and I, pp. 54 ff.

¹⁵⁰ B.M., No. 103000 (*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XXVI, pl.1 ff.), col.VI, l. 56; "Bull Inscription, No. 1" (Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, London 1851, pl. 38 ff.), l. 45.

¹⁵¹ For the secondary gemination of the middle radical see above, p. 456, note 146.

¹⁵² Instances of indeclinable forms ending in -a which are to be regarded as Aramaic *status determinati* of West Semitic proper names are comparatively frequent in Neo-Assyrian texts. In l. 7 of the well-known fragment of the Annals of Shalmaneser III which was published in III R 5, No. 6 and in the parallel passage of the "Bull-Colossus Inscription" (Layard, *op. cit.*, pl.13, l. 17) there occurs the genitive ^{3ad}Lab-na-na; l. 127 of Tiglath-Pileser's Annals (Rost, *op. cit.*, II, pl.12 f.) has *ina* ^{3ad}Lab-na-na; cf. further *za-kut Bal-til^{KI} ñ ð¹Har-ra-na* in ll. 9 f. of Sargon's so-called Pavement Inscription, No. 5 (Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, Leipzig 1889, pl.40, *sub* V); *eli ð¹Har-ra-na* in l. 6 of the "Cylinder Inscription" of the same king (Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl.43), etc., etc. As for the occurrence in Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian sources of analogous cases in which, however, not only proper names and theophoric elements but also ordinary nouns are provided with the Amorite suffixed article -â, see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 243 ff. and 267, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, p. 171, note, and *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I, pp. 273 f.

¹⁵³ Cant. 4.8. Winckler's identification of the biblical 'Amânâ with the Antilibanos is certain because a place called *ad Amana*, which must have been situated to the south of Nebq at, or near, the modern Qastal, is mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as the third station on the road from Damascus to Nezala (al-Qarjataan) and Palmyra; cf. Honigmann, *loc. cit.* (see above, p. 446, note 98), col.1666 and the same author's remarks in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 96. Eissfeldt's recent statement (*op. cit.*, p. 34) "das Alte Testament hat keinen dem griechischen Antilibanon [*sic*] entsprechenden Namen, sondern gebraucht den Namen Hermon, der im engeren Sinne den südlichen Ausläufer des Antilibanon [*sic*] bezeichnet, auch für den ganzen Gebirgszug" is therefore untenable.

¹⁵⁴ Since אֲמָנָה is the name of a mountain and of a river (2 Ki. 5.12), and since the West Semitic languages treat the names of mountains and rivers

¹⁵⁴ *Am-mu-un*, finally, which denotes the same mountain range in l. 228¹⁵⁵ of Sargon's Annals¹⁵⁶, differs from the Old Amorite name of the planet Saturn only by the secondary, typically Hebrew or Phoenician, pronunciation of the second vowel as *ô* or even *û*. The conclusion to be drawn from these data, viz. that when naming mountains in honor of gods, the Western Semites, and especially the Amorites, originally made no use of adjectives of appurtenance obtained by affixing *-ân* to the names of their gods¹⁵⁷, is borne out by the occurrence, in the regions south and east of Syria, of the mountain names *הר נבו*¹⁵⁸ "Mountain (of the Planet) Mercury"¹⁵⁹ and *šad A-pî-iḫ*¹⁶⁰

as masculines, its final *û* is obviously not the feminine ending, but the article *-û* referred to in note 152.

¹⁵⁵ Thus according to the numbering in Lie's *Inscriptions of Sargon II*, Part I, Paris 1929, p. 36.

¹⁵⁶ Perhaps it should be mentioned that the identity of *šad Am-ma-na-na* and *šad Am-mu-un* is all the more certain since each of them is described as a source of supply of white marble.

¹⁵⁷ As may be seen from the name *הר סיני* "The Sinian Mountain", i. e. "the mountain belonging to the god Sîn", certain Aramaic speaking tribes derived adjectives of appurtenance from 'divine names by affixing the ending *-ai* instead of *-ân*; cf. note 172 of the paper quoted above, p. 436, note 51.

¹⁵⁸ Deut. 32.49; 34.1.

¹⁵⁹ This translation seems more adequate than "Mountain (of the God) Nêbô", because other mountains of the ancient country of the Amorites were, as we have seen, named after the sun, the moon and a planet. (As for the identification of the Akkadian god Nabû and the West Semitic Nêbô with the planet Mercury, see, for instance, Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 136 and *passim* and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*, Leipzig 1917, p. 61.) The usual rendering of *הר נבו* by "Mount Nebo", "Der Berg Nebo" and the like is, of course, out of the question unless one translates the corresponding *הר יהוה* (Num. 10.33; Isa. 2.3, etc.) by "Mount Jahweh".

¹⁶⁰ Lists of the records of Middle and Neo-Assyrian kings which refer to the modern *Gebel Hamrîn* and its foothills as *šad A-pî-iḫ* (variants *šad A-pé-eh*, *šad E-pî-iḫ* and *šad E-pé-eh*) were drawn up by Schwenzner and Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* IX, 1933-34, pp. 46 and 96, Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXI, 1934, p. 85 and Unger, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 1936, p. 264 f. As for Ilušumma's Old Assyrian inscription Z 21, which contains the so far earliest reference to *A-pî-iḫ* (thus, without determinative), see below, note 164.

“(Mountain of the God) *Apiḫ*”¹⁶¹, i. e. the storm-god “Blower”¹⁶², because in these cases the non-suffixed form remained in use

¹⁶¹ The god *A-pi-iḫ* (variants *A-pi-iḫ*, ^d*E-pi-iḫ* and ^d*E-pé-eh*; in ideographic spelling *En-ti* and ^d*En-ti*) is known from several cuneiform lists of gods and temples (see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 84 f.; Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 265) and from a number of personal names. Significantly enough, the oldest of them, *Apiḫ-il* “*Apiḫ* is God” figures — in the spelling *En-ti-il* — in an archaic inscription from Ma’eri dating from the first half of the third millennium (see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 143) and recurs — in the spelling *A-pi-ḫi-el* — in a document from the neighboring city of Tirqâ, viz. the text AO 4656 (published by Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l’époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*, Paris 1910, No. 238), which was written a few generations after the reign of Ḫammu-rapi of Babylon. (The interpretations of the name *A-pi-ḫi-el* which were proposed by Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and Nyberg, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXXV, 1938, p. 331 are untenable.) For references to a number of other personal names containing the divine name *A-pi-iḫ* (var. *A-pi-iḫ*), none of which is younger than the Old Assyrian period, see Gelb, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* LV, 1938, p. 67 f., whose linguistic and historic remarks are, however, obsolete. That *Apiḫ* was a West Semitic deity is beyond doubt, not only because his name appears as a theophoric name element in an Amorite region par excellence such as was the district of Ma’eri and Tirqâ, but also because the onomastic material published by Chiera, *Lists of Personal Names from the Temple School of Nippur* (UM XI, 2), Philadelphia 1916, pl. XXXVIII f. and pp. 118 ff. includes the typically Amorite names [*Su-mu*]-*A-pa-aḫ* “The (holy) Name is *A-pâḫ*” (cf. above, p. 434, note 39) and *I-ṣi-A-pa-aḫ* “*A-pâḫ* came forth” (for the name element *ṣi* see Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 252, note 2). For it is a matter of fact (see above, p. 456, note 146) that whenever divine names represent a *qatil* and a *qatâl* (< *qatal*) form of one and the same root, the gods in question were of West Semitic origin. See also the following footnote.

¹⁶² The considerations on which this interpretation of the divine name *Apiḫ* is based, are the following: 1) Since the Hebrew term ירח “moon” appears in Amorite proper names as both *A-ra-aḫ* and *E-ra-aḫ* (see Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 and 76), the abovementioned occurrence of the variant *Epiḫ* suggests that *Apiḫ* belongs to a root *ṣ; in other words, *Apiḫ* and *A-pâḫ* (see the preceding footnote) stand for *Iapiḫ* and *Iapâḫ*. 2) It would therefore seem that the first element of the personal name *Ia-pa-ḫa-dAdad* (quoted by Jean, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1937, p. 104 from an unpublished text from Ma’eri) represents an older variant of *A-pâḫ*, and that the whole name *Ia-pa-ḫa-dAdad* identifies the god *Iapâḫ* (> *A-pâḫ*) — and hence also *Apiḫ* — with the storm-god Adad. (For another Amorite personal name which states the identity of two deities, viz. *Ša-lim-Ha-lu-um*, see Nyberg, *loc. cit.*, p. 352.) 3) This inference is corroborated by the fact (noted by Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 84) that a list of gods (VAT 10173), known to go back to sources of the Old Babylonian period (see Weidner, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*

throughout the millennia¹⁶³. The latter instance is particularly instructive because as late as 2000 B.C. it was still more or less usual to denote Apiḥ's mountain not as "Mt. Apiḥ" (^{śad}A-pi-iḥ) or "Apiḥ, the mountain" but simply as Apiḥ, as is learnt from the Old Assyrian inscription Z 21¹⁶⁴, a passage of which (ll. 30 ff.) begins with the words 2 e-ni-en i-na A-pi-iḥ ^dA-šir¹⁶⁵

II, 1924-25, pp. 1 ff.), equates ^dEn-ti, i. e. Apiḥ and Epiḥ (see the preceding footnote), with Adad. 4) The ideogram en-ti which designates Apiḥ as the "Lord (en) of Life (ti)" points in the same direction, because it is a matter of fact that, especially in the earliest periods of ancient Oriental history, the wind-gods were frequently defined as "givers of life" and the like (see H. and J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVII, 1943, pp. 15 f., 29, 37 f.). 5) Since the character of a wind-god is adequately described by qatīl and qatāl forms of a root meaning "to blow" — but not by the corresponding forms of the root ʕš "to shine", with which I tentatively associated the name Apiḥ before the recent increase in the onomastic material (see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 272) —, there also remains no doubt that the divine names Apiḥ < *Iapiḥ (> Epiḥ) and Apāḥ < Iapāḥ belong to the same root as the Hebrew adjective ʕāḇ, for which Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin 1908, p. 355, note 3 is to be consulted.

¹⁶³ As was intimated before, the oldest Assyrian royal inscription mentioning Mt. Apiḥ was written during the reign of Iluṣumma, i. e., according to the usually accepted chronology, around 2030, and the latest at the time of Šamši-Adad V (824-811), whereas the theophoric names containing the element Apiḥ cover a period extending from at the latest 2700 to approximately 1800 B.C. As regards the mountain of the planet Mercury, it is, as is well known, still today called *Ġebel Nebā*.

¹⁶⁴ Published by Weidner, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XLIII, 1936, pp. 115 f. and pl. VII.

¹⁶⁵ In consideration of the evidence discussed in the preceding footnotes (see particularly notes 146 and 161), it is obviously no longer permissible to see in ^dA-šir merely a graphic variant of A-šur and Aš-šur, to be transliterated ^dA-šūr. For it now becomes manifest that Ašir belongs in the same group of West Semitic divine names as Šalim, Rašip, 'Amin and Iapiḥ > Apiḥ. If this is true, we must, of course, also infer that the variants A-šur and Aš-šur, the seeming qatūl and qattul forms of which have never been satisfactorily explained, correspond to the divine names Salām, Rasāp, 'Amān and Iapāḥ, an inference which presupposes that A-šur and Aš-šur (cf. the biblical form 'Aššūr!) stand for Ašār and Aššār. That this is actually so can hardly be doubted, in the first place because of the occurrence of a theophoric Amorite name element A-šar (see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 71), and secondly because the Kültepe texts contain some proper names and words in which ā, when followed by r, has been shifted to ū. The name of the god ^dMi-ša-ru (for references see, e. g., Tallqvist, *Der assyrische Gott*, Helsingforsiae 1932,

ip-ti-a(-ma) "Ašir¹⁶⁶ opened for me 2 springs on [literally, in] *Apiḥ*"¹⁶⁷.

As was intimated elsewhere¹⁶⁸, the Old West Semitic town and country names of Syria and Palestine, Mesopotamia and Assyria exhibit the same features as the mountain names. There is, on the one hand, a group of numerous place names such as the aforementioned *ḥmḥ*¹⁶⁹ and ^{āl}*Am-ma-na-nu*¹⁷⁰ which, being derived from divine names by means of the affix *-ân/ôn*, coincide with the mountain names *Ḥammân* > *Ḥamân(u)* and ^{šad}*Am-ma-na-nu*¹⁷¹. On the other hand, there occur, *inter alia*, the country names *Laban*¹⁷² and *Aššûr* and the town names *Dân*¹⁷³ < *Dann*¹⁷⁴, *N^ēḥô*¹⁷⁵, *'Âšêr*¹⁷⁶, *Ašir/Aššûr* and *Apiḥ/Epiḥ*¹⁷⁷

p. 68), for instance, — a name which, thanks to Philo Byblius' remarks on the Phoenician *Μισώρ*, is known to have contained an *â* — appears there as *Mišûr* in the theophoric name *Mi-šur-ra-bi*, the pronunciation of which follows from the variant *Mi-šu-rabi* (for the latter spelling see, e. g., Lewy, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XXXV, 3, 1935, No. 323, l. 10 and No. 324, ll. 3 ff. and for the former *Tablettes cappado-ciennes*, 3^{me} série, II, Paris 1936, No. 84, l. 8). Since *Ašir* is to *ḥṣ* as *Šalim* is to *ḥṣ*, the identity of the Assyrian national god with the biblical heros eponymos is now also evident.

¹⁶⁶ I. e. the god *Aššûr*, see the preceding footnote.

¹⁶⁷ Thus in four duplicates of the text; others replace *i-na A-pi-iḥ* by *i-na A-pi-iḥ ša-du-im* "in *Apiḥ*, the mountain".

¹⁶⁸ See *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, pp. 46 ff.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 455, note 142.

¹⁷⁰ For this city see Weidner, *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* VI, 1922, pp. 119 f. It may have been identical with the station *ad Amana* referred to above, p. 458, note 153.

¹⁷¹ See above, pp. 455 f.

¹⁷² For this country name which, in all probability, denoted the western slopes of Mt. Lebanon, see *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 44 with note 38.

¹⁷³ Josh. 19.47; Judg. 18.29, etc.

¹⁷⁴ That *Dân* goes back to an older **Dann*, may well be concluded from the place name *ḏn* (Josh. 15.49), which is to *ḏn* as *בעלה* and *נעמה* are to *בעל* and *נעם* (see above, pp. 437 ff. and cf. the remarks of Vollers, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XIV, 1899, p. 354, who seems to have been the first to recognize that the place name *ḏn* belongs to the root *d-n-n* "to be mighty"). See also below, note 179.

¹⁷⁵ Num. 32.3; Isa. 15.2, etc.

¹⁷⁶ Josh. 17.7.

¹⁷⁷ For this city see Thureau-Dangin, *loc. cit.*, p. 85; as for the pronunciation of its name, see above, pp. 459 f., notes 160 and 161.

each of which is identical with one of the divine names *Laban*¹⁷⁸, *Aššûr*, *Dan* < *Dann*¹⁷⁹, *Nêḫô*¹⁸⁰, *ʾĀšêr*¹⁸¹, *Ašîr*/*Aššûr*¹⁸² and *Apîḫ*/*Epîḫ*¹⁸³, as are the mountain names *Λιβavos* < *Laban* + *os* and *Apîḫ*/*Epîḫ*. Here, too, the second group includes names which can be traced back to the first half of the third millennium; for the town of *Apîḫ*/*Epîḫ* figures — significantly enough, in the ideographic spelling *En-ti^{ki}* — in geographical lists dealing with the oldest cities of Babylonia and the neighboring regions¹⁸⁴, and the city of *Ašîr* is now definitely known to have existed before the time of Sargon of Akkad¹⁸⁵. If thus towns and countries were frequently named according to the same principle as mountains, information gathered about the ideas which guided the ancient peoples of the Fertile Crescent in their choice of the former may obviously be utilized in explaining the origin of the mountain names here under discussion.

As regards the naming of small towns or villages, documents of the 15th pre-Christian century that have been found at Nuzi reveal that in an intricate legal case concerning claims on a landed estate which included a whole village, it was of the greatest importance to ascertain whether the contested property, and especially the village, bore the name of the claimant's

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 434, note 39 and cf. pp. 455 ff.

¹⁷⁹ That the Amorites used the adjective *dan* < *dann* < *dannu* "mighty", "the mighty one" as a divine name follows from the variants *Da-nu-î-lî*, *Da-num-AN* and *Da-nu-mî-ilî*, (for the references see Stephens, *Personal Names of Cappadocia*, New Haven 1928, p. 32) of the name *Dan-îlî* "Dan is my God", which occurs in the spellings *Dan-î-lî* (Lewy, *Tablettes cappadociennes*, 3^{me} série, I, Paris 1935, No. 26, l. 11) and *Da-an-AN* (Lutz, *op. cit.*, No. 139, l. 1); for the forms *Da-nu* and *Da-num*, which represent, of course, "defective" writings of *Dannu* and *Dannum*, exhibit the same linguistic characteristics as, e. g., the aforementioned variants *Ammu* and *Am(m)um* of the divine name *Ḥammu*.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. above, p. 459, note 159.

¹⁸¹ See above, p. 461 (462), note 165 *in fine*.

¹⁸² See above, p. 461, note 165.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 460, note 161.

¹⁸⁴ See particularly K.4248 (published in IV R², pl. 36 and transliterated by G. Smith in *Records of the Past*, V, London 1875, pp. 105 ff.; as for the interpretation of this list, see especially Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 292 ff.), where, as was recognized by Gelb, *loc. cit.*, p. 68, *En-ti^{ki}* is mentioned in l. x+1.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, III, Cambridge 1935, p. XI and J. Lewy, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVIII, 1938, p. 451.

ancestor or rather that of the defendant's father by whom it had been taken by force in connection with his immigration to the district of Nuzi in times of war¹⁸⁶. This fact evidently points to the recognition by the litigant parties and the judges of a principle according to which he who gave his name to a place or a territory acquired it for himself and his descendants. To be sure, the lawsuit recorded in those texts concerns Hurrians and not Western Semites, but biblical passages such as "and Nohah went and conquered the town of Q^enâṭ and the villages around it and called it Nohah after his (own) name"¹⁸⁷ permit the inference that the reasons for giving a locality the name of a person were everywhere the same¹⁸⁸. If, however, the naming of a village or a major town with the name of its conqueror entitled his descendants to its continued possession, it was evidently possible to secure the same title upon a place by giving it not the conqueror's name but that of his ancestor. That this was realized by the peoples of the ancient Near East is learnt from the well-known biblical narrative of the conquest of Lajiš by the "sons of Dân", which, after describing the capture of the town, adds the words "And they called the name of the town Dân after the name of their forefather Dân"¹⁸⁹. In cases where a region was occupied not by a single family but by a tribe or a nation, the use of the name of the real or supposed ancestor of the whole group of conquerors offered, of course, certain advantages: it made it feasible to observe the customs regulating the distribution of the inheritance left by the head of a household and hence to assign a share to each family which participated in the seizure of a territory or city; in addition, it gave the ethnical group in question a title even upon more

¹⁸⁶ For a detailed analysis as well as a transliteration and translation of those documents see Hildegard Lewy, *Orientalia* XI, 1942, pp. 326 ff. and 338 ff.

¹⁸⁷ See Num. 32.42: ויכבד הלך ויילכד את קנא ואת בנתיה ויקרא לה נחב בשמו.

¹⁸⁸ It might be well to recall in this connection that, *inter alia*, the laws by which the Hurrians at Nuzi were guided in their treatment of "foreign servants" were much the same as the pertinent biblical regulations; see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV, 1939, pp. 609 ff.; XV, 1940, pp. 47 ff.

¹⁸⁹ See Judg. 18.29: ויקראו הָעִיר דִּן בשם דִּן אֲבִיהֶם; cf. also Josh. 19.47.

ground than could actually be taken over and cultivated at once. Moreover, if the supposed common ancestor after whom the conquered land was named was, as in the case of the "sons of Dān", a god¹⁹⁰, the title upon the newly won country was particularly safe because it was a matter of course that the immortal divine ancestor would know how to protect the rights of his children¹⁹¹.

But even apart from such practical considerations, the principle of the interdependence between the ownership of a place or land and the name of its owner must automatically have led to the frequent use as geographical designations of the ancient divine names here under discussion because the gods had, of course, to be invoked in places which were owned by them, and which, accordingly, had to be named in such a way as to leave no doubt about their owners¹⁹². In the special case of the Syrian mountain ranges the earliest names of which turned out to have been identical with Amorite designations of the moon and the planet Saturn, whereas their subsequent names were derived from the same divine names, we possess even direct literary evidence to the effect that their names were chosen as a means of identifying them as the property of divine owners. For Philo Byblius mentions that the names of certain descendants of the primeval deities "were conferred upon the mountains power over which they had gained, so that the Kassion, the Libanos,

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 463 with note 179; Amorite *dannu* appears, of course, in Hebrew as *dān*; cf. below, p. 473.

¹⁹¹ These inferences are by no means incompatible with our previous observation (see above, pp. 440 f.) that towns were considered the divine wives of the gods worshipped within their walls. The latter conception is probably a consequence of the fact that the ending *-at*, which, as we have noted (see p. 442 with note 79), originally expressed dependency in relation to an owner and the like, and which, accordingly, had much the same function as the affix *-ān/ōn*, also served as an indicator of feminine qualities. To re-interpret the town names ending in *-at* as the names of female beings was, of course, all the more indicated since, in the idea of the Semites, a person's — and a god's — wife was a part of his property.

¹⁹² The widely accepted opinion that, for instance, the god Aššûr was named after the city or the country of the same name is therefore based on an erroneous supposition.

the Antilibanos and the Brathy were named after them"¹⁹³. Philo's remark (the fundamental correctness of which has been questioned by incompetent critics¹⁹⁴) is all the more interesting since it shows that the ideas which determined the early Semitic geographical nomenclature of Syria and the neighboring countries were not entirely forgotten when the traditions on which he had to rely were fixed.

V. THE ORIGIN OF THE HAMMU-RAPI DYNASTY

In the preceding pages it has been demonstrated that the ancient geographic nomenclature of Syria and Northern Palestine is comparatively rich in names derived from the Old West Semitic term *hammu* "sun", "sun-god", and that one of them, viz. the mountain name *Hamân* < *Hammân*, can be traced back to the first half of the third millennium. We have also seen that at the beginning of the second millennium and subsequently in the so-called Amarna-period personal names containing the word *hammu* as a theophoric name element occur in proportionately large numbers in the region to the north and west of the town of Hammât > Hamât-Heliopolis and east of Mount Hamân-

¹⁹³ See Philo Byblius-Sanchunjathon *apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* (ed. Gifford), I, pp. 46 f.: *Τίους δὲ ἐγέννησαν οὗτοι μεγέθει τε καὶ ὑπεροχῇ κρείσσονας ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐπετέθη ὧν ἐκράτησαν ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν κληθῆναι τὸ Κάσσιον, καὶ τὸν Λίβανον, καὶ τὸν Ἀντιλίβανον, καὶ τὸ Βραθύ.* Eissfeldt's latest interpretation of this passage (*op. cit.*, p. 64) is less acceptable than the paraphrase which he gave in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XXXI, 1934, p. 16 in connection with his proposal to emend *Βραθύ* to *Θαθύρ*.

¹⁹⁴ As, for instance, by Clemen, Philo's most recent commentator, who, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* XLII, 3, 1939, pp. 44 f., makes the following remark in regard to this passage: "Und in der Tat hiessen diese Götter oder Riesen natürlich nach den Bergen , nicht, wie Philo wollte, die Berge nach jenen." Clemen's contention is all the more unfounded since the possibility that the mountains of Nēḥd, and Apiḥ/Epilḥ were named after the homonymous gods had been contemplated by Delitzsch (*op. cit.*, p. 204) as early as 1881, and since the present writer had already called attention to the "habitude sémitique occidentale de nommer les villes, et également les montagnes, d'après les dieux qui y résidaient" (see *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 49).

Amanos¹⁹⁵. On the other hand, it is well known that geographical or personal names including the same name element *ḥammu* or one of its afore-discussed variants appear in Babylonia but after the coming into power of the Amorite Dynasty and even then only in minimal numbers. In fact, when, some forty years ago, Zimmern¹⁹⁶ listed the pertinent names of the Ḥammu-rapi age, the Old Babylonian sources yielded but the above-cited place name *Dûr-Ammi*¹⁹⁷ and the names of the three Amorite kings *Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi*, *Am-mi-di-ta-na* and *Am-mi-ša-du-qá*; two more names, *Zi-im-ri-Ḥa-am-mu* and *Ia-às-di-Ḥa-am-mu*¹⁹⁸, occurred in a letter¹⁹⁹ dealing with certain fugitives from Ma'eri on the Middle Euphrates and with political events that took place in the district of Suḫi, i. e. in the region southeast of Ma'eri around the island town of 'Anat²⁰⁰. In 1926, when Bauer re-examined the Amorite names of the Ḥammu-rapi period, the juridical documents and letters from Babylonia, by then much more numerous, furnished only the four additional names *Su-mu-Ḥa-am-mu*²⁰¹, *Ḥa-am-ma-ta-ar* (var. *Ḥa-am-mi-a-tar*), *Am-mi-iš-ta-ma[r]*²⁰² and *Bu-nu-Am-mi*, but in the few con-

¹⁹⁵ Cf. above, pp. 434 f. For the region north of the line Mt. Amanos-Kar-kemiš Hittite sources attest the occurrence of the name *Am-mi-ḥa-al-na*; see now Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, New Haven 1941, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ See above, p. 431, note 20.

¹⁹⁷ Perhaps it should be mentioned that Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 169 regards *Dûr-Am-mi*^{KI} as an abbreviation of *Dûr-Am-mi-di-ta-na*^{KI}.

¹⁹⁸ The first element of this name is possibly not *iasdi* "my foundation", "my support", as was taken for granted by Peiser, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* VI, 3, 1901, p. 53, but a verbal form *ias/šdi* or *ias/šdih*; cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁹⁹ Budge 88-5-12, 5, published by Pinches in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, IV, pl. 1 f.; latest transliteration and translation by Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie*, Leipzig 1914, pp. 204 ff., No. 238.

²⁰⁰ See Horn, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1922, pp. 129 ff.; Landsberger, *ibidem* XXXV, 1924, p. 234 and cf. above, p. 431, note 18.

²⁰¹ Cf. above, p. 434, note 39.

²⁰² Whereas Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 73 refrained from a restoration of

tracts from the lower Hâbûr region which were then known, there occurred no less than six pertinent names: *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ*²⁰³, *Šu-nu-uḫ-ra-Am-mu*²⁰⁴, *Am-mi-ba-il*²⁰⁵, *A-mu-um-e-Šu-uḫ*, *Ia-ku-un-Am-mu* and *Bi-na-Am-mi*. When comparing these data with those to be gathered from the most recent relevant publications, we see again that, so far as Babylonia is concerned, the onomastic material here under discussion shows no increase worth mentioning²⁰⁶, whereas the number of names from the Middle Euphrates and the Hâbûr district in which *ha-am-mu* or one of its variants appears as a theophoric element is continuously growing. Dossin's and Jean's preliminary reports on the Ma'eri texts, for instance, mention, aside from the three royal names quoted above, p. 434 and a king of Kurdâ named

the damaged sign at the end of this name, Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats*, p. 15, Schorr, *op. cit.*, p. 128, Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXV, 1924, p. 150, note 1 and von Soden, *ibidem* XLI, 1933, p. 104 read *Am-mi-iš-ta-ka[l]*. But in consideration of the hybrid Amorito-Akkadian name *Ha-am-mi-iš-ta-mar*, to be quoted below, the restoration proposed above in the text seems preferable.

²⁰³ See above, p. 430.

²⁰⁴ That this name belongs here follows, as was noted by Albright, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 78, 1940, p. 24, note 5, from the occurrence in the Ma'eri texts of a name *Šu-nu-uḫ-ra-Ha-lu-ú* (see Dossin, *Syria* XIX, 1938, p. 111; as regards the theophoric element *Ha-lu-ú*, see for the present Nyberg, *loc. cit.*, pp. 329 ff.).

²⁰⁵ This name, which means "The Sun-god is Ruling", is virtually identical with *Am-me-ba-'la* "The Sun-god is the Lord", a name borne almost a millennium later by a prince of *Bīt Zamâni* who figures in the records of Tukultî-Ninurta II and Aššûr-našir-apli II of Assyria. The variants of this latter name, which include the forms *Am-ma-ba-'li* "The Sun-god [*status determinatus*] is my Lord" and *Am-mi-pa-'li* "The Sun-god [*status indeterminatus*; cf. above, p. 435, note 47] is my Lord", have been listed by Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, pp. 21 f. — As for the chronology of *Ha-am-mu-ra-pi-iḫ*, *Šu-nu-uḫ-ra-Am-mu* and *Am-mi-ba-il*, all three of whom were kings of Hana, see Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIII, 1936, p. 53.

²⁰⁶ The personal names in which the name of the legislator Hammu-rapi takes the place of a theophoric component and the similar names listed by Feigin, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LV, 1935, pp. 285 ff. do, of course, not bear upon the present discussion.

Ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí²⁰⁷, a Ḫa-am-mi-iš-ta-mar²⁰⁸, a Ḫa-am-mi-ša-gi-iš²⁰⁹, a Ḫa-am-ma-nu-um²¹⁰ and a Za-ki-ra-Ḫa-am-mu²¹¹. Similarly, Gadd, in his communication on "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Brak, 1937-38"²¹², lists, *inter alia*, the names ¹Ḫa-mu-e-pu-uḫ, ¹Ḫa-mu-sa-ar, ¹Ḫa-mu-sa-mar, ¹Su-mu-Ḫa-mu, Zi-im-ri-Ḫa-mu, Zi-im-ra-Ḫa-mu and Ia-ar-ši-Ḫa-mu. Since, furthermore, almost no names of this type occur in the tablets from the Dijâlâ district²¹³, there remains no reasonable doubt that the Western Semites who gave Babylonia its "Amorite Dynasty" immigrated from the west, and not from the Trans-tigridic countries north of Babylonia which Bauer, in agreement with Landsberger, regarded as the region from where they proceeded to Babylon, Kiš and Sippar²¹⁴.

There is even evidence to the effect that Ḫammu-rapi's dynasty may well have originated as far west of Babylonia as Coele-Syria or the neighboring districts. As was shown above, pp. 443 ff., its ancient name Ḫammât > Ḫamât defined the most important town of the valley between Lebanon and Antilibanus as a center of worship of the sun-god Ḫammu. We also observed

²⁰⁷ Cf. Jean, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXV, 1938, pp. 107 f.; Dossin, *Syria* XX, 1939, p. 109.

²⁰⁸ Quoted by Jean, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1937, p. 111 and Dossin, *Syria* XIX, 1938, p. 111.

²⁰⁹ This name, quoted by Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 111, does not mean "Mein Oheim ist gemordet", as was asserted by Stamm, *op. cit.*, p. 58, note 1, but refers to the destructive heat of the sun; as for šagšu "destroyer", see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 687 *sub verbo* šakšu and Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers*, Oxford and London 1934, p. 318 *sub verbo* šakīšu. It goes without saying that this rare name is to be compared with the more common name Ḫammu-rapi "The Sun-god is Healer".

²¹⁰ For this name see above, p. 455, note 142.

²¹¹ Quoted by Jean, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXV, 1938, p. 107 and *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 130 (as against Dossin, *loc. cit.*, p. 111).

²¹² *Iraq* VII, 1940, pp. 22 ff.

²¹³ Cf. especially the name index in Lutz, *Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjâly*, Berkeley 1931, pp. 53 ff.

²¹⁴ For other arguments against Bauer's hypothesis see Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 243 ff. (where several details are now to be modified) and Jacobsen, *Oriental Institute Communications*, No. 13, Chicago 1932, p. 28, note 1.

that the mountain range rising immediately east of that town was regarded as the property of the planet Saturn, who was called 'Amân and subsequently 'Amnân, whereas the chain of mountains west of the town was supposedly owned by the moon-god Laban. In other words, we realized that the early West Semitic inhabitants of Coele-Syria adhered to the cult of the sun, the moon and the planets, and that the names under which they invoked the sun and the planet Saturn were not the common Semitic designations but were of a more or less local character. We may therefore conclude that whenever the divine names Ḥammu and 'Amân or their derivatives are found together in the eastern parts of the ancient Semitic countries, their reappearance there reflects a migration of people who formerly lived in, or near, Coele-Syria²¹⁵. This is true of the Semitic population of the Elamite border land which the Assyrian kings used to invade when fighting the rulers of Elam; for Ashurbanipal's Annals²¹⁶ enumerate among the major places of that territory two towns named ^{dl}Dûr-^mAm-na-ni²¹⁷, followed by

²¹⁵ An ethnic movement in the opposite direction is out of the question, in the first place because the typically West Semitic proper names ending in the affix -ân appear in the western part of the Fertile Crescent at an earlier time than in the east (see *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, pp. 259 and 265 ff. and cf. above, p. 455), and secondly because our sources confirm in at least one case — that of the Dynasty of Isin — that the Amorite masters of Babylonia immigrated from the West (see Poebel, *Historical Texts*, Philadelphia 1914, pp. 136 f. and cf. Langdon, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XX, 1923, pp. 49 ff.).

²¹⁶ V R, pl.1 ff.; for the context of the passage here to be quoted (col.V, ll. 43 ff.) see Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 46 f.

²¹⁷ See l. 45: ^{dl}Dûr-^mAm-na-ni ^{dl}Dûr-^mAm-na-ni-ma. The -ma at the end of the second ^{dl}Dûr-^mAm-na-ni is the Akkadian enclitic particle -ma (here used in the sense of "likewise", "once more"), and not a part of the town name, as was assumed, e. g., by Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 46 f. and König, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 242. In other words, -ma is here added in order to make it clear that the scribe, far from committing a mistake in writing twice the same name, listed two homonymous towns; cf. the Old Assyrian custom of attaching -ma to the name of the second of two namesakes addressed conjointly in the introductory formulas of letters such as B.M. No. 113471 (published by Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, III, London 1925, pl.42^b). Conversely, the variant ^{dl}Dûr-^mAm-ni-na-ma, referred to by Streck, *op. cit.*, III, p. 781, is, of course, to be regarded

²¹⁸ *Ḥa-ma-nu*²¹⁸. The same applies to the "Amorite Dynasty" of Babylonia, whose strong adherence to Ḥammu is beyond doubt²¹⁹; for if, since the time of Ḥammu-rapi's father Sin-muballit, a quarter of Sippar, Northern Babylonia's most famous center of the sun-cult, was called *Sippar*^{KI} *Am-na-nu(-um)*²²⁰ "Sippar of the God 'Amnānu(m)"²²¹, this shows that the then rulers of Babylonia considered it important to worship 'Amnān in the same town as the sun-god himself²²². Besides, the very fact that during the reigns of Sin-muballit and his successors the city of Sippar was divided into quarters named after deities²²³ is to be regarded as a further proof of the Syrian origin

as a scribal error. The question, finally, as to whether Ashurbanipal's scribes should have written ^d*Dûr-dAm-na-ni*, and not ^d*Dûr-mAm-na-ni*, does not bear upon the present discussion, since it makes little difference whether these towns were named after the god 'Amnān(u) himself or after a man whom his own name 'Amnān(u) characterized as a worshipper of 'Amin.

²¹⁸ It is hardly necessary to state that this name has the same meaning as the biblical חַמּוֹן referred to above, p. 455, note 142.

²¹⁹ See above, pp. 435 f.

²²⁰ For the references and the various spellings see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²²¹ Thus according to the geographical list VAT 10260 (published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1920, No. 183), l. 21 of which expressly states that *Sippar Am-na-nu*^{KI} means the same as *Sip-par šá dA[m]-na-nu*; in consideration of this passage and of col. IV, ll. x+29 f. of Nabonidus' stela from Hillah (latest edition in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Messerschmidt, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, I, 1, 1896, pp. 73 ff. and 24 ff.), it is hard to see why Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 71 doubted that 'Amnānu is a divine name.

²²² That they also paid homage to the moon, follows, *inter alia*, from Sin-muballit's name, in which the moon-god's West Semitic name *Laban* is replaced by *Sin*; cf. the use of *Samsu*, instead of *Ḥammu*, in the name of Ḥammu-rapi's son Samsu-iluna.

²²³ That there existed, at the same time as Sippar 'Amnānum, another quarter of Sippar which also bore the name of a deity is learnt from the Nabonidus inscription B.M. No. 104738 (published by King in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, XXXIV, pl. 26 ff.; transliterated and translated by Langdon, *American Journal of Semitic Languages* XXXII, 1915-16, pp. 103 ff.); for this text relates in col. III, ll. 26 ff. that the Annunitum temple of *Sippar*^{KI} *dA-nu-ni-tum* "Sippar of the Goddess Annunitum" had been built at the time of Sin-muballit's grandfather Šabūm. *Sippar*^{KI} *EDIN.NA*, a quarter of Sippar mentioned in a letter of Ḥammu-rapi's son Samsu-iluna (B.M. No. 92679, published by King, *The Letters and Inscriptions*

of the First Dynasty of Babylon, because line 3 of the Bod'aštar Inscription A²²⁴, a line consisting in the words בצדן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם, indicates that the Sidonians followed the same principle when giving quarters of their city the names "Šidôn of (the God) ים"²²⁵, "(Šidôn of the God) Šâmêm rûmêm"²²⁶ and "Quarter²²⁷ of Rešef"²²⁸.

These deductions as to the original home of the Ḥammu-rapi Dynasty agree well with the conclusions to be drawn from the examination of certain other characteristics common to the inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, on the one hand, and Babylonia, on the other. Not to speak of the well-known general

of *Ḥammurabi*, II, London 1900, pl.153, No. 81; latest transliteration and translation by Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 54 f., No. 59), may also have been named after a deity, since ^dEDIN.NA occurs as a divine name (see Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, II, 2, Roma 1930, p. 395, No. 168, 12); unfortunately, it remains uncertain whether or not *Sippar*^{KI} EDIN.NA was identical with *Sippar*^{KI} Ia-aḥ-ru-rum, a quarter frequently mentioned at the time of the Amorite Dynasty (for the references see Bauer, *op. cit.*, p. 26).

²²⁴ Published in facsimile by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, II, Giessen 1908, p. 50; cf. the same author's *Allsemitische Texte*, I, Giessen 1907, p. 19, No. 8.

²²⁵ For this god see Hans Bauer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* LI, 1933, p. 92, who may be right in assuming that ים "day" means here "sun", "sun-god", but also J. Lewy, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, pp. 55 ff. Eissfeldt's rendering of ים בצדן by "Sidon am Meer" (*op. cit.*, p. 110), in which he follows Lidzbarski and Torrey, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XXIII, 1902, pp. 162 ff.; LVII, 1937, pp. 406 f., makes as little sense as the translation "Sidon Land am Meer" which he proposes for the variant ים ארץ בצדן occurring in ll. 16 and 18 of the so-called Ešmun'azar Inscription (Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff., No. 7). There can hardly be any doubt that ארץ has here the same meaning as has its Akkadian equivalent *iršitu* in Neo-Babylonian expressions such as *iršitum abul* ^dIštar "(City-)Quarter of the Ištar Gate" and *iršitum abul* ^dUraš "Quarter of the Uraš Gate", for which Ungnad, *Glossar*, Leipzig 1937, p. 29 and Unger, *Archiv Orientalní* III, 1931, p. 31, § 25 may be consulted.

²²⁶ For this divine name see Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, Halle 1869, pp. 131 f. and Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 20, note.

²²⁷ See above, note 225 *in fine*.

²²⁸ In consideration of אלם "god" (see Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 77 and cf. above, p. 442), we regard רשפם as *pluralis magnitudinis*; for another possibility see Eduard Meyer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XLIX, 1931, p. 14. (For the location of this quarter of Šidôn see Eissfeldt, *op. cit.*, p. 111.)

linguistic affinities between the Canaanite dialects and the Amorite onomastic material from Babylonia, we refer especially to the fact that the oldest calendar traceable in the Bible as well as among the Amorites of Assyria and Babylonia — a calendar dividing the year into seven pentecontads of days and an additional so-called *šapattum* period — originated in the western part of the Fertile Crescent and not in Babylonia²²⁹. In other words, it becomes increasingly clear that wherever we meet with correspondences between Israelite and Old Babylonian practices, Israel is, as a rule, more likely to have inherited them from Palestine's earlier population than to have borrowed them from Babylonia.

VI. ḤAMMU AND ḤÂM

As was shown before ²³⁰, the divine name Ḥammu is contained in the biblical place names *Ḥammôn* and *Ḥamât* < *Ḥammât* as well as in the personal name *Ḥammu-ʾêl* "Ḥammu is God" (1 Chron. 4.26). Since it is also known that, in connection with the loss of the case ending *-u*, which occurred in Hebrew in an early epoch, the double consonants of nouns belonging to roots mediae geminatae were reduced to simple consonants (whence the Amorite term *ḥammu* should appear in Hebrew as *ḥâm*²³¹), we are, of course, confronted with the question as to whether the biblical ׀, Noah's second son, and the Old West Semitic sun-god Ḥammu are to be regarded as identical. This question is obviously to be answered in the affirmative, in the first place because, with Noah's name occurring as a theophoric element in Amorite personal names of the Old Babylonian period²³², Ḥâm is a priori likely to have also belonged to the Old West Semitic pantheon; and secondly because the biblical tradition according

²²⁹ See H. and J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVII, 1943; pp. 77 ff., 96 ff., 145 f. and *passim*.

²³⁰ See above, pp. 436 ff. and p. 455, note 142.

²³¹ Pertinent remarks on nouns of this type are found in Bauer und Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache*, Halle 1922, p. 453.

²³² For the details see *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I, pp. 273 f.

to which Hām was the father of Canaan (Gen. 9.18) is in striking harmony with the fact that the Hāmmu cult played a particularly prominent rôle in the region between Antilibanos and the Phoenician coast²³³, i. e. precisely within the lands which the Bible rightly defines as Canaanite territory.

If the Phoenicians worshipped a god Hāmmôn²³⁴ and brought, as has often been noted, his cult to their various colonies²³⁵, this confirms the conclusion that Hām was originally not the human being, as which he figures in the patriarchal narratives, but a god. For in consideration of the fact that Hāmmôn < Hāmmân is to Hām < Hāmm(u) as, for instance, 'Amnân is to 'Amin²³⁶, and that adjectival divine names in -ân/ôn replaced, in course of time, the names from which they were derived²³⁷, it is manifest that the designation Hāmmôn supplanted an older name Hāmmu > Hām²³⁸, and that the god bearing this latter

²³³ See above, pp. 434 f.

²³⁴ Cf. the theophoric personal name עברחמן which occurs in an inscription published by Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III, Giessen 1915, p. 126. See also Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, p. 333.

²³⁵ Cf. especially Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1888, pp. 25 ff. who calls attention to the fact that in some inscriptions from Carthage חמן stands for the usual בעל חמן. This interchangeability of חמן and בעל חמן "The Lord Hāmmôn" (literally "The Lord who belongs to the Sun"; see below, note 238) is to be compared with the simultaneous use of the Akkadian divine names ^dMe-er and ^dI-lu-me-er and the Aramaic divine names Tammeš and ^dIl-tam-meš, which I discussed in footnote 133 of the paper quoted above, p. 436, note 51.

²³⁶ See above, p. 456, note 146 and *passim*.

²³⁷ Cf. above, p. 454.

²³⁸ This use of divine names consisting in adjectives of appurtenance ending in -ân/ôn is neither as unparalleled nor as strange as it might seem at first sight. Analysing, *inter alia*, the names ^dIl-lêrî "The God belonging to the Moon", i. e. "the god who manifests himself in the moon", שמשאל "The Sun-natured God", i. e. "the god who acts in the sun", שריאל "The Moon-natured God", ארקיאל "The Earthly God", ברקיאל "The Lightning-natured God", i. e. "the god who acts through the lightning", ירחבל-Ιαριβαλ "The Lord who belongs to the Well (*iarḫ*)", i. e. "the lord who manifests himself in the well", I have shown in the footnotes 134 and 139 of the article cited above, p. 436, note 51 that the names of many gods of the West Semitic pantheon consist in *adjectiva relativa* in -î which are either preceded or followed by the substantives אל "god" or בעל "lord", and that the use of such

name is identical with the god whose name occurs in the above-mentioned personal name *Ia-an-ti-in-Ḥa-mu* borne by an early king of Byblos²³⁹. Moreover, for the following reasons it is to be assumed that the cult of that old god Ḥammu/Ḥām continued to be practised when the coastal region of Syria had become a Phoenician country. As was observed by Zimmern²⁴⁰, the Phoenician personal name עברחמן just mentioned²⁴¹ recurs in a Late Assyrian document as *Ab-di-Ḥi-mu-nu*; since, furthermore, the town name Ḥamât < Ḥammât appears in the Septuagint as Ἐμάθ²⁴² and Ἐμμάθ²⁴³, it is obvious that the *a* vowel of the appellative noun and divine name *hamm(u)* and its derivatives was shifted to *i* or *e*. This being so, it is clear that the Phoenician town names ^{al}*In-I/Em-me*, ^{al}*Qar-ti-I/Em-me* and ^{al}*Da-la-I/Em-me*, which occur in an Assyrian source of the 7th century, viz. Esarhaddon's description of the Sidonian territory he annexed in 677 B.C.²⁴⁴, are theophoric and contain a late variant of the divine name Ḥamm(u), the initial ח of which was disregarded by the Assyrian scribes²⁴⁵. In other words, the three

names offered the advantage of avoiding the ambiguity caused by the fact that, in the spoken language, appellative nouns such as שמש "sun" and שֶׁהַר "moon" coincided with divine names. Whether one used in this connection *adjectiva relativa* terminating in -î such as שְׁמֵשׁ and שְׁהַר (or its variant *têrî* < שְׁהַר) or rather adjectives of appurtenance ending in -ân/ôn such as חֲמַן and שְׁלֹמֶן made, of course, no difference and depended on the local dialect. It is also easy to see that the latter adjectives could be used as substantives, i. e. without the preceding or following אֵל or בְּעַל; cf. the occurrence in the Bible of both אֵל עֲלִיִּן and אֵל שְׁרֵי and אֵל שְׁרֵי (for adjectives of appurtenance in -ai such as שְׁרֵי and שְׁרֵי see for the present footnotes 138 and 172 of my afore-quoted paper "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its Culmination at the Time of Nabonidus").

²³⁹ See above, p. 434.

²⁴⁰ *Loc. cit.* (see above, note 20), p. 472, note 3.

²⁴¹ See above, note 234.

²⁴² See, e. g., Num. 34.8; Josh. 13.5; Amos 6.2.

²⁴³ Thus 2 Ki. 14.28.

²⁴⁴ See col. III, ll. 1 ff. of the prism TH.1929-10-12, 1, published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbānīpāl*, London 1931, pl. 1 ff. and pp. 9 ff. As for the restoration of the lacunae of the passage here quoted, see Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XX, 1933, p. 126 and *Iraq* VII, 1940, p. 95.

²⁴⁵ Cf. the analogous cases discussed above, pp. 431 ff. and 454 f.

place names mean "Spring of the Sun-God"²⁴⁶, "Town of the Sun-God"²⁴⁷ and "The Sun-God has saved"²⁴⁸. It may be added that this interpretation of the Phoenician name element *i/em-me* is compatible with its occurrence in West Semitic personal names such as *Šulmānu*^{ma-nu}-*i/em-me* and *Si-'i/em-me*, which appear in Late Assyrian texts²⁴⁹, and which, with Zimmern²⁵⁰, obviously are to be associated with the name *^dNabû-i/em-me-e* and its variants *^dNabû-am-me-e* and *^dNabû-ḥa-am-me-e*²⁵¹. For judging from the fact that in the personal names *Sa-am-si-E-ra-aḥ*²⁵² "My God is the Moon" and *Sa-am-si-^dAdad*²⁵³ "My God is Adad" a synonym of the Amorito-Phoenician term *ḥamm(u)/i/emm(u)*, namely the Amorite word *samsu*, means not "sun" but "god"²⁵⁴, and that the Syriac verb *šammeš* came to mean "to worship", it is likely that those names of the seventh and sixth centuries are to be translated by "Šulmānu is God"²⁵⁵, "Si(n) is God" and "Nabû is my God".

²⁴⁶ Cf. the synonymous biblical place name עֵין שֶׁן (Josh. 15.7; 18.17).

²⁴⁷ Cf. the synonymous biblical town name עֵיר שֶׁן (Josh. 19.41).

²⁴⁸ Cf. the biblical personal name דָּלַיָהוּ (1 Chron. 24.18; Jer. 36.12; 25).

Needless to say that the Phoenician village of *Dalā-I/Emme* was named after a man (cf. above, p. 464). As for the final *e* of the three place names here under discussion, see below, note 255.

²⁴⁹ For references see Zimmern, *loc. cit.*, p. 481.

²⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 481.

²⁵¹ For references see Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsingfors 1905, p. 121.

²⁵² This name occurs in the texts of the Ḥammu-rapi period which were found at Ma'eri; see Dossin, *Syria* XX, 1939, pp. 106 f.

²⁵³ For this name of a contemporary of Ḥammu-rapi of Babylon see Lewy, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XXXVIII, 1929, p. 250; Thureau-Dangin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXXIV, 1937, p. 137.

²⁵⁴ Cf. *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 58, note 6, where I compared the Amorite name *Samsī-Adad* with the Old Assyrian personal name *A-šur-šamsī*^{šī} "Aššūr is my God".

²⁵⁵ Thus, and not "Šulmānu is my God"; for the final *e* vowel of the element *i/em-me* serves but the purpose of maintaining the gemination of the preceding *m*. Cf. above, p. 435, note 47, and note that the name of the prince of *Bīl Zamāni* referred to above, p. 468, note 205 is sometimes written *Am-me-ba-'lī* and at other times *Am-mi-pa-'lī*.

VII. THE MEANING OF THE TOWN NAMES AMEDI AND EMESA

We have seen that in the first half of the ninth pre-Christian century a prince named *Am-me-ba-'li* "The Sun-god is my Lord" ruled over the country of *Bīt Zamāni*²⁵⁶. Formerly a part of the Hurrian empire of Mitanni, that country included, in addition to other major towns, the capital city²⁵⁷ *ḏiA-me-di* (variant *ḏiA-mi-di*), i. e. the city of Amida of the Greek and Roman sources (the modern Kara Amid or Dijâr Bekr), and *ḏiTi-i-di* (older variant *ḏiTa-i-di*), a place to be sought near the modern town of Mardin²⁵⁸. As was first pointed out by Albright²⁵⁹, the text K.252, a Neo-Assyrian list of deities²⁶⁰, indicates that the town of *Ta-i-di* was a center of the cult of the Old West Semitic god Šulmân, whom the local Hurrian population called not *ḏiŠulmânu*, as did the Assyrians, but *ḏiŠulmânu^{ma-nu}-ḫa*, thus using an adjectival form derived from Šulmânu by means of the Hurrian suffix *-ḫa/ḫi*²⁶¹. In other words, there is evidence to the effect that the people of *Bīt Zamāni* embraced the cult of West Semitic deities even before the Aramaeans settled in North Western Mesopotamia in large numbers and became the leading element of its population. For

²⁵⁶ Cf. above, p. 468, note 205 and p. 476, note 255.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Streck, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* XIII, 1898, pp. 71 ff.; Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 136; Unger, *ibidem*, I, p. 94.

²⁵⁸ Cf. Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* X, 1935-1936, p. 21.

²⁵⁹ *Archiv für Orientforschung* VII, 1931-32, p. 167; cf. Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX, 1934, p. 63, note 86.

²⁶⁰ Published in III R, pl.66; the passage here to be quoted is found in col.VIII, ll. x+37 ff.

²⁶¹ As was noted by Albright, *loc. cit.*, p. 165, a letter found at Ugarit-Ras Shamra and published by Vroilleaud, *Syria* X, 1929, pl.LXXVI, No. 2 shows that elsewhere the Hurrians pronounced *Šulmânuḫi*. As for the suffix *-ḫa* and its variants, see especially Lewy, *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, pp. 49 ff. and *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1938, p. 411 and, more recently, Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian*, New Haven 1941, pp. 114 f.

this reason, and since, as was mentioned before²⁶², a Hittite text (i. e. a text written before the Aramaeans immigrated into the formerly Mitannian territories) speaks of a priest *Am-mi-ḥa-at-na* who lived in the more or less adjacent Hurrian country of *Ki-iz-zu-wa-ad-na*²⁶³, we may well assume that the cult of the sun-god Ḥammu/Ammi, to which, to judge from Amme-ba'li's name, if not all at least part of the inhabitants of *Bît Zamâni* were devoted, came to that region as early as, or even before, the time of the Mitannian empire. In these circumstances, it is hardly coincidental that *Amidi/a*, the name of Amme-bali's capital city, may be decomposed into the divine name *Ami* < *Ammi* and the Hurrian suffix *-di/da*, a decomposition which is strongly supported by the fact that the name of the town of *Ta-i-di* clearly consists of a basic element *Tai*²⁶⁴ and the Hurrian suffix of appurtenance *-di/da*²⁶⁵. It goes without saying that, once this is realized, the hitherto unexplained place name *Amidi/a* turns out to mean "Belonging to Ammi/Ḥammu"²⁶⁶ and, consequently to be a synonym of the afore-discussed biblical town name חַמְטָן, but it is worthwhile emphasizing that the geographic onomastic material from the regions populated by both Hurrians and Western Semites includes another name which consists of a divine name and the Hurrian suffix *-di*. We

²⁶² See p. 467, note 195.

²⁶³ For Kizzuwadna's Hurrian affinities see Goetze, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. and *passim*.

²⁶⁴ As for this element, see for the present my remarks in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1938, p. 410 and *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 54, note 5.

²⁶⁵ For this suffix and its variants see *ibidem*, p. 411 and p. 54, respectively. As for its "directive" function, see Speiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.

²⁶⁶ According to Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 and 109 and Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, pp. 446 and 454, the spelling ^{dl}*Ḥa-me-di* alternates with ^{dl}*A-me-di*; it is therefore tempting to compare the two variants with the afore-discussed spellings *Ḥa(-am)-mu*, *Ḥa-ma-ta-a-a*, *Ḥa-ma-a-nu*, on the one hand, and *A(m)-mi*, *A-ma-ta-a-a* and *A-ma-num*, on the other. So far as I can see, Forrer's and Ungnad's statement is, however, as unproved as is Unger's assertion to the contrary (*loc. cit.*, p. 95).

are referring to the country name *mât Ia-u-di*²⁶⁷ (יִאֲדִי²⁶⁸), the theophoric element of which is identical with the variant יְהוּ of the biblical divine name יְהוָה²⁶⁹. The identical structure of the names *Amidi/a* and *Iaudi* is all the more striking since, precisely as the Semitic name of the afore-cited ruler of *Bit Zamāni* contains the same divine name as does the hybrid Semito-Ḥurrian name of his capital city, the Semitic name of king *Ez-ri-Ia-u* (i. e. "My help is Iâ(h)û") of *mât Ia-u-di*²⁷⁰ and the name of his country include the same theophoric element²⁷¹.

²⁶⁷ See l. x+4 of the fragment of the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III which was published in III R 9, No. 2 (= Rost, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XX, l. x+5 and I, p. 18, l. 105); the spelling *mât Ia-û-di* occurs in l. 2 of the document Bu.89-4-26, 14 (published by Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, I, Cambridge 1898, No. 148; latest transliteration and translation by Ungnad in Kohler und Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig 1913, No. 325). As for the history of this North Syrian country, see Winckler, *Allorientalische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig 1893, pp. 1 ff.; Schiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.; E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II², 2, Stuttgart und Berlin 1931, pp. 427 ff.

²⁶⁸ Thus in the inscriptions from Sincirli; for the references see Schiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 93, note 3.

²⁶⁹ Cf. *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 54 with note 5, where I remarked that the country name *Iau-di* is virtually identical with the biblical country name יְהוּדָה, and that the latter means "celui qui appartient à יהוה". It may be added that Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 427 f. also admits that the name *mât Ia-u-di* is to be associated with יְהוּדָה.

²⁷⁰ For the different spellings of the name *Ez-ri-Ia-u* (thus in the passage quoted above, note 267) see Zimmern, *op. cit.*, (see above, p. 431, note 20), p. 465. If Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 433 with note 1 remarks "Personen, deren Name mit Jahu gebildet ist, können nur israelitischen Ursprungs sein" and, accordingly, supposes that 'Ezrî-Iâ(h)û "ein israelitischer Abenteurer gewesen ist, der hier im Norden Kriegsdienst genommen hat und sich dann in derselben Weise der Herrschaft bemächtigt hat, wie ein Jahrzehnt später Iaubi'di in Ḥamât", he not only fails to account for the Aramaic element in the latter's name, but also contradicts himself; for while linking the biblical country name יְהוּדָה with the North Syrian geographic name *mât Ia-u-di* (see the preceding footnote), he does not assume that the people who gave their country this name were fresh immigrants from Judah. There is no valid reason for denying the possibility that the religion of Jahweh was practised in, as well as outside of, Palestine and continued to flourish in certain non-Palestinian places long before the Israelites migrated to their historic settlements and finally became a nation dedicated to it.

²⁷¹ This fact is of particular significance because, owing to the scarcity of

Amidi/a is, however, not the only place name of the regions here under discussion which may be defined as a Hurrian derivative of the Amorite divine name Ḥammu. As I have shown in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1938, pp. 407 f. — in part on the basis of a comparison of the divine name *Hulla* with the town name ^{URU}*Hu-ul-la-aš-ša*²⁷² —, the Hurrians used a suffix *-ša/ši > sa/si* in much the same way and for the same purpose as the suffix *-da/di*. On the other hand, we have seen that on Phoenician territory the pronunciation of the old name Ḥammu shifted to I/Emme and the like as early as the first half of the first pre-Christian millennium²⁷³. For these reasons, and since the town of Emesa²⁷⁴ (the modern حمص) not only lies between the two old cities of Ḥamât but also was a famous center of sun-worship, we do not hesitate to suggest that its name means "Belonging to the Sun", and that it was so named because it was dedicated to the cult of Ḥammu/Emme.

As is well known, the marriage of the emperor Septimius Severus (193–211) with Julia Domna²⁷⁵ had the consequence that three descendants of a priestly family of Emesa — viz. Caracalla, Elagabal and Severus Alexander — occupied the imperial throne of Rome from 211 to 235. As Elagabal, who assumed the title *sacerdos amplissimus dei invicti Solis Elagabali*²⁷⁶, made the cult of his home city the official religion of the empire²⁷⁷, the sun-god of Coele-Syria was then as prominent as at the time of Ḥammu-rapi by whom he was invoked as "the

the sources, we know aside from Ammi-ba'li of Amidi and 'Ezrî-Iâ(h)û of Ia(h)ûdi only very few princes of the two countries.

²⁷² For references see *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques* 1938, p. 55, note 1.

²⁷³ Cf. above, p. 475.

²⁷⁴ Variants Hemisa, "Ἡμισσα etc.; cf. Benzinger in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, V, 1905, col. 2496.

²⁷⁵ Domna is probably a translation of the Aramaic personal name מרתא; see Nöldeke *apud* von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier 1895, p. 121.

²⁷⁶ Cf. von Domaszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

²⁷⁷ For the details see von Domaszewski, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XI, 1908, pp. 226 ff; Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, V, 1905, col. 2221.

king of the gods"²⁷⁸. Despite the changes which Ḫammu-rapi's religion is likely to have undergone during the more than two thousand years that separate the greatest ruler of the Amorite Dynasty of Babylonia from the "Dynasty of Emesa" of the Roman empire, it is therefore no exaggeration to say that the Old West Semitic cult of Ḫammu attained twice the importance of a world religion.

²⁷⁸ See above, p. 436.

INDEX OF WORDS AND PROPER NAMES

With proper names and their derivatives the following abbreviations
are used:

- c. name of a country
- d. name of a deity
- g. gentilic or adjectival formation
- m. name of a mountain
- p. personal name
- t. name of a town

n. footnote

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נעשים טובנים לנו. הוצאת ראייה זו מכלל הראיות מביאה טובה להאחרות, שלא יאמרו ■■■ שאין בראיה זו ממש. כך אין ■■■ גם באחרות.

באחרונה הגני מרשה לי להביא עוד ראייה סגנונית חזקה שהספרים לא יצאו מתחת יד מחבר אחד, מסוג אותן הראיות שהביא ריניו בספרו הנ"ל (עמ' 74 ואילך). כבר ראינו למעלה שריא"מ חותם על שער הספר הא': נעצב וצעיר, וכן על שער הספר הב'. הרכבה זו היא מין בשאינו מינו: 'נעצב' מציין מצב נפשי זמני (בדרך אנוכ בחנ'ך נמצא רק העבר, בצירוף 'אל') ו'צעיר' הוא תואר של הקטנה ועניויות, וממילא תמיד. הביטוי הוא מיוחד רק לריא"מ המרכה להשתמש בו (בכתביו מהד' בלוי בס' ס"ג, קע"ג, קפ"א, קפ"ה, קצ"ב, קצ"ד, קצ"ה, וקצ"ט, גם בדיואן שלו מהד' ברנשטיין ס' מ'; עיין גם בבחינת הקבלה עמ' XIII, ועוד במקומות אחרים). בן דורו הצעיר ר' יום טוב ואלואזון חותם את קינתו הנ"ל (עמ' ב'): נעצב ונדאב . . . הצעיר יטו. כמובן ■■■ כאן מקום לבעל דין לחלוק ולומר, שהמזייף סיגל לעצמו את דרכי סגנונו של ריא"מ, אבל זוהי סברה רחוקה.

נספחים

לעמ' יז, שיר ליב, ש. (5) 4

על דבר טעות כזו: חמה, במקום רומה, עיין וילנסקי בהשקפה האנגלית, כרך ל"ה, עמ' 120, הערה 6.

שיר ק"ס

אל תתהלל, בחור, אל יום מחר,
אם לך שוחקת השעה היום

ש. 81-82

צ"ל: תתחלחל, במקום תתהלל, כמו אצל מורטרה, (עיין בהערות המו"ל. את נוסח כה"י שלנו: תתחל, לא רשמתי בש"נ לפי שאין לו משמעות), ר"ל, אל תירא מיום מחר ■■■ וכו', מלשון: ותתחלחל המלכה (אסתר ד', ד'); וזהו עצת היצר הרע בניגוד להוהרת היצר הטוב: אל תתהלל, הולל, אל יום מחר וכו' בש. 86.

II.

על דבר הספר בחינת הקבלה לר' יהודה אריה ממודינה

הנני חושב לדבר בעתו ובמקומו להביא כאן מהקובץ ס' 480 תיקון טעות אחת בשיר שאינו לר' עמנואל אלא לאחיו ר' יעקב, 'יחדתי תיקון זה לפי שהסיקו ועוד מסיקים מסקנות ידועות מהנוסח המוטעה, מעשה שהיה כך היה.

בשנת 1882 הוציא י. ש. רייניו ספר תחת השם בחינת הקבלה, המכיל ספר כפול: א) קול סכל, ב) שאנת אריה, בצירוף הוספות מרובות משלו. הוצאה זו לא הייתה ככל הוצאות אחרות של ספר קדמון שאין בהן עסק אלא לחוקרים בלבד. הספר הראשון יש בו טענות חריפות כנגד תורה שבע"פ וגם בו שכתב הוא מורה בתורה מן השמים רק ביחס לחמשה חומשי תורה בלבד. הס. השני אמנם מכיל תשובות על הטענות, אבל הן דקות וצנומות; הס. הא' מכיל מ"ז פרקים בב' מאמריו הראשונים וגם מאמר ג' שלא נחלק לפרקים, והתשובות הן רק לב' הפרקים הראשונים של המאמר הא'. על שער הס. הא' כתוב: ... השנה ותשובה מאתי הנעצב וצעיר יהודה אריה ממודינה על ספר כתב ... רבי אמת' בר ידעיה' ה' רז שנת ה'ר"ס. קשה להאמין שזהו מקרה בעלמא שג' שמות הכתובים זה אחר זה וגם התאריך הבא אחריהם ניתנו להידרש. הרושם הראשון הוא, שלא התשובות כאן העיקר אלא השאלות, והתשובות הן רק בבחינת כסות עינים. הימים היו ימי מלחמת הריפורמה בגרמניה, ימי אספות ברונשוויק, פרנקפורט וברסלוי, ונראה כאילו היה זה נס מן השמים, שמחבר מן המאה ה'ט"ז או ה'ט"ז קם לעזרת המתקנים. גם קשה היה להאמין שרב בישראל יכתוב דברים כאלו, וביחוד שזמן קצר קודם לזה יצא במאמרו, מן וצינה' כנגד אוריאל אקוסטא על שחלק על תורה שבע"פ (דבר שנודע רק בימינו אלו). מטעמים אלו, מיום שיצא הס. בחינת הקבלה לאור לא פסק הערעור על שני הספרים שאינם לריא"מ, אלא שמחברם תלה עצמו באילן גדול. אנו אין לנו כאן עסק עם המשא והמתן בעצמנו, אלא עם אחת מן ההוכחות שהביאו החוקרים שהס. הוא לריא"מ.

ג. ש. ליבאוויטש כותב בספרו: ריא' מודינא (הוצאה שניה, ניוירוק, תרס"א, עמ' 46): וכבר יצא מנושין בעולם מהשאנת אריה כנראה מקינת פראנסיש בספר שירים הגדפס כעת מחדש מוסב שם מחק שפתים.

אי. שאנת אריה וקול שחל ואיך / רמו ושני הכופר נתעו'

(מחק שפתים, קראקא, תרנ"ב עמוד 97).

הטורים האלה המה ממש מה שכתוב על שער השאנת אריה נגד הקול סכל, וכבר היה ידוע כל כך זה השאנת אריה עד כי רק בו חתר פראנסיש והרימו על הנס'. ב. קלאר במאמרו: שאנת אריה על קול סכל (תרביץ, שנה י"ג, עמ' 136) מביא ראיה זו בחור שלישית ומוסיף: ואין ספק שרמו לספר שלפניו שבשערו רשום, שאנת אריה על קול סכל ושני כופרים נטעו (ציל [נתעו?]) ידיו' (והוא על פי איוב ד', י') בשם שהוכיח בדבריו על ר' עזריה פינו את ספרו, גידולו; תרומה'. אנו רואים בדרך אגב ש. הטורים האלה אינם, ממש מה שכתוב על שער השאנת אריה; הצד השווה שבהם הוא רק ששניהם אינם מובנים לנו (ואולי, כופרים' הוא רמו על: כפריים עם נרדים, ולפיכך, נטעו?). מר קלאר עוד הרחיק ללכת ורואה בדברי הקינה הנ"ל גם ראיה שלפני המקומן היה הס. שאנת אריה בשלימות (שם, עמ' 139).

כל הוכחה זו נוסדה על קו תהוה. בכ"י הנ"ל, שם נמצא השיר, הנוסח הוא:

... ואיך / דמו ושני הכפיר נתעו.

דמו' פירושו: נשתתקו מלשון: ולא דמו (תהלים ל"ה, ט"ו), ואיך' (הוא) – לשם המשקל? מוסב על מה שלפניה ועל מה שלאחריה: המשוור אומר: איך נשתתקו שאנת אריה וכו' ואיך נתעו שני הכפיר; שחל וכפיר הם שמות נרדפים לאריה, שמו של ריא"מ. אמנם נוסח זה יש בו חסרון, לפי שעל פיו דברי השיר אינם מוכיחים מאומה, אבל בו גם מעלה – שדברים אלו

שם, ש. 12 מלמטה, ידוע לנו ששני האחים (פראנסיש) היו תלמידים ותיקים לר' יוסף פירמו. דר. ברנשטיין מביא ש' עדים על זה, את נירוודי בתנ"י, עמ' 146 ואת בראדי במ"ש עמ' 78. במקור הראשון נאמר רק שר' עמנואל ור' יוסף נחתו זה עם זה בהלכה. בראדי אומר כך ביחס לר'ע (לא ביחס לאחיו), אבל בלא ש' צל של ראייה. אדרבה הוא מביא ראייה לסתור, שרק כרע וכאח התהלך אחו (את ר'ע) ר"י.

עמ' XXIV ש. 6, יש לנו עדותו של הרב ר' שמשון מורפורנו בספרו עץ הדעת—צ"ל ר' אבי עד שר שלום בספרו: אמונת חכמים, עיין להלן הערה לעמ' XXV, ש. 13 מלמטה.

שם, הערה 2, ... ועי' ביחוד (בלוי, כתבי הרב יהודה אריה ממדינה, חלק א') הפרק ע"ד הרב ר' אבינדר ציוידא ל'—צ"ל: הרב ר' שמחה לוצאטו (עמ' 123). עמ' XXV, ש. 5, (וריאן סימן ס"ה)—ס"ה' טה"ד במקום ה'.

שם, ש. 13 מלמטה, על מחבר השיר (עקב פראנסיש) שפי דברי המו"ל מורפורנו, היה סוחר אחד אשר לא הוכתר מעולם לא בכתר הרבנות וכו'. ציטאטה זו (היה סוחר ...) מאמונת חכמים (דפוס מנטובה, דף ל"א, א', לא, דפוס פאדובה ... דף ל"ו ע"ב, כאשר נאמר באותו עמ' הערה 1) היא למחברו של הספר, באוילה, לא למורפורנו שכיהן אותו בעץ הדעת שלו (ל"ה, ע"ב): הרב פראנסיש, ודווקא נוד דבריו אלו מכוונת הציטאטה הנוכרת (בס. המצוטט צריך לקרוא: אומר כי ... היה סוחר וכו', לא' אומר).

עמ' XXVI, ש. 13, "חל"ד במקום, חר"ד".

עמ' XXVIII, ש. 2, ב"מ י נ ע ו ר י ו (בשנת 1640) הוא (ר' עמנואל מ. ו.) נשאר יתום מאביו. באמת מת אביו בשנת 1651, עיין בכתובת שעל נבי שיר ס"ו, והמפורר היה אז כבר בן ל"ב. שם, ש. 5, בשנת ת"י הוא (הג"ל מ. ו.) ... נושא לו לאשה את מרים בת ר' מרדכי ויזינו—שתי טה"ד: ת"י' במקום, ת"י', ומרדכי' במקום, דוד', עיין בכתובות של השירים ע"ד וב'.

עמ' XXIX, דר. ברנשטיין מסער שמשוררו התחיל את פעולתו הספרותית כשהיה בן כ"ה שנה, אבל לא נילה לנו את טעמו ונימוקו. בכלל משוררים מתחילים לשורר בגיל של כ' או גם פחות. ר"ש בן גבירול חיבר שיר כשהיה בן ט"ז (שירי ...) אכן גבירול, מהד' ביאליק-רבניצקי, כך א', שיר א'). פעולתו הספרותית האחרונה היא בוודאי קינתו על מות ר' שמואל דא קושטא (ס' ע"ה) שחיבר בהיותו בן פ"ד (לא פ"ה, כמו שאומר דר. ברנשטיין בעמ' XXVIII). איזה שיר היה שירו הראשון ומתי שורר אותו, אינו ידוע לנו. שיריו הם עפ"י רוב בלא האריכים. כמדומה לי שהתאריך היותר מוקדם שנמצא הוא של טופס המצבה על קבר ר"ש אוובי (ס' ע"ו). זה מת בשנת ת"ח בתחילתה, והמצבה הוקמה בוודאי למלאות שנה לפטירתו, כלומר בתחילת שנת ת"ט. קרוב מאוד שהשירים ששורר בשבב אשתו הראשונה כשהיתה כלתו (עיין ס' ע"ו) נ"א וס' קס"ח) שמחה ב"ח ח"ד והשאירה לו שני בנים הוא מוסן יותר קדום. אבל רוב שיריו מאותם שהם בלא תאריך אי אפשר להגביל כלל את זמנם, ואפשר שהוא כתבם כשהיה בן י"ח. רק לפעמים אפשר למצוא איזו הנבלה, למשל שיריו שהוא מביא בספרו מתק שפתים, נחברו קודם לשנת תל"ז, זמן כתיבת הספר; שירים שחיבר ביחד עם ר' יעקב אחיו (ס' מ"ה, מ"ו ומ"ח) – קודם לשנת תכ"ז, שנת פטירת אחיו. הנוכח רכב ובענה, שנוכר במ"ש ושבו מוכר אחיו בברכת המחים, נחבר בין תכ"ז ותל"ז, וכן הלאה.

על הידיעות הביוגרפיות על אודותיו אפשר להוסיף רק מעט מאוד. לו היו ג' אחים: יעקב יהודה ושלמה, עיין בהערות לשיר ס"ז. יש לשער שהיו גר בפירינצי לפחות משנת תכ"ג ואילך עד הזמן ש' לאליר (שנת תל"ו או תל"ז). מפי המשורר עצמו יודעים שהיה שם בשבט של ... תכ"ז ושבו הקטן מה שם באב, תכ"ד (עיין בהערות הראשונה של המו"ל לסי' ע"ד); בשנת תכ"ז מת שם אחיו יעקב, ויש לשער שגם הוא היה שם, לפי שכנראה היה קשור עמו בעסקי פרנסה (עיין בכבוד לריאן, עמ' XXIV). בשנת ח"ל כתב שם שיר (ס' קס"ח). בשנת חל"ד, כתב ... תשובה בעניין הלכה (ש"ת מים רבים לר' רפאל מילרולא, ח"ד, ס' מ"א). ואנחנו בתאריך נאמר: בפרט ובסדר יהיה קד"ש, ובראדי מתקשה בזה (מ"ש, עמ' 7), אבל הדבר נחשב שיש לנו כאן עסק עם טה"ד וצ"ל: יהיה קד"ש.

קיצר ברשימתו, ונתן רק את חוכנו של ב' התעודות באנגלית (אמנם בקטלוג נאמר שהנוסח הראשון הוא משנת 1670=ח"ל, אבל כמובן זהו טה"ד), וגם שלמרות המספר המועט של השירים בכ"י בר"מ, רושם המ"ל ו' שירים הנמצאים רק בו ובכ"י אוכספורד.

שם, 12, שבפעם הראשונה ערך... המסור את פרי רוחו בשנת 1679= טה"ד במקום 1677.

שם, 7 מלמטה, תוכן הענינים של כה"י שבמחיאום הבריטי. חסרים 11 הסימנים ק"ג (לפי דברי מרגליות ברשימתו, סי' 1077, השיר הראשון לאחר הס. מתק שפחים) וסי' ק"ד, עיין בהערות המ"ל לאותו שיר.

שם ה. 2, כרבעון האנגלי (סדר חדש) – טה"ד במקום: (סדר ישן).

עמ' XIII, ש. 12 מלמטה, והנה הח' מרגליות... מביע את דעתו, שכה"י של המוויאום הבריטי היה... פרי העריכה והסדור האחרונים שנעשו ע"י המחבר בעצמו, ומעלה הוא ע"י כך את ערכו של כה"י הזה על ערך כתב־היד של ברלין ואוקספורד (המלה האחרונה טעונה מחיקה, מרגליות לא יכול להעלות את ערכו של כ"י בר"מ על זה של אוכספורד, שלא ראהו כלל, ועפ"י סברה אינו יכול להיות נכדל בהרבה מהראשון, שהרי שניהם הם מהמהדורה בתרא של המחבר). המ"ל חולק על מרגליות לפי שבכ"י בר"מ נמצאים שירים פחות הרבה מבכ"י ברלין, ולא יתכן לחשוב שהמסורר דן לעניה את הרוב הגדול של פרי רוחו. גם אם נסכים להנחתו זו של המ"ל, אין להסיק פמנה את מסקנתו ש, בתור אוסף עיקרי ליצירותיו של ר' עמנואל צריך איפוא לחשוב לא את כתב היד של המחיאום הבריטי כי אם את שאר כתבי היד, שהרי לא נאמר על, שער' כה"י של בר"מ שהקובץ מחזיק כל שיריו של ר' עמנואל, ואפשר שאלו היו מכילים ב' קובצים ויותר אלא שלא נשתמר לנו רק זה. 11 צריך גיטא מודה המ"ל בעצמו שבהרבה מקומות הנוסח של הבר"מ הוא יותר נוח להחקבל.

עמ' XVI, הערה 1, ר' יעקב פראנשים נולד במנטובה... ו 10 מ ש ש. פליטת הקולמוס! הוא מת בפירינצי, עיין בשיר ס"ח.

עמ' XVIII, הערה 2, ... ר' מרדכי דאטו, תלמידו של ר' משה קורדובירו... הוא מת אחרי שנת 1686 (בספרו: משירי ישראל באיטליה, עמ' XXXII, הערה 2, דר. ברנשטיין כותב שמת בשנת 1686). מה שנוגע ליחסו אל רמ"ק, אמנם כותב רמ"ע מפאנו בהקדמתו לספרו: עסיס רמונים (מנטובה, 1623): החכם... הה"ר מרדכי דאטו שהיה מתלמידי המחבר (רמ"ק) הס. עסיס רמונים הוא קיצורו של הס. פרדס רמונים לרמ"ק, אבל קרוב לוודאי שכניה את דאטו כך על שם שלמד תורה מספריו של רמ"ק (עיין וילנסקי, אנואל XIV, עמ' 471, הערה 28). כיוצא בזה כותב ר' אבי עד שר שלום באוילה בספרו: אמונת חכמים (מנטובה, 1730, דף כ"ה ע"א): הש אונך ושמע דברי הרמ"ע פאנו תלמיד שניהם (של רמ"ק והאר"י), וידוע שרמ"ע למד קבלת האר"י מפי ר"י סרוק כשהיה זה באיטליה, ורמ"ק שלח לו את ספריו. אנו מוצאים ביטוי כזה גם אצל מחבר בן המאה ה"ב, ר' שלמה פרחון, הכותב בהקדמתו לס. מחברת הערוך: והיה בדורו (של ר"י בן ג'נאח) אדם גדול בישראל שמו רבינו שמואל הנגיד ז"ל חרה אפו על שתפס את רבו (חינו'), אבל אין אנו מוצאים שום רמז במקום אחר לא לזה שרש הנגיד היה תלמידו של חינו', ואפילו לא לזה שחינו' היו לו בכלל חלמידים (עיין וילנסקי, אנציקל' יודאיקא בערך חינו').

מה שנוגע לזמן פטירתו של דאטו, קאסוטו בערך דאטו באנציקל' הנ"ל קובע אותו בין השנים 1591–1601, את הזמן המוקדם קבע על יסוד רשימה בכתב ידו של דאטו משנת 1591 שנמצאת בכ"י, עיין בקטלוג מרגליות סי' 380. לעומת זה אינו ברור לי טעמו בקביעת הזמן המאוחר. אמנם הדברים הנ"ל שכתב רמ"ע עליו, שהוא מזכיר אותו שם בברכת המתים, מוסבים על ספר שנקרא נ"כ עסיס רמונים (שמחברו היה ר' שמואל גאליקו ובעל ההגהות – ר' מרדכי דאטו) שנדפס בשנת 1601, אבל אין שום ראיה שהם נכתבו באותה שנה. אפשר לכאורה להביא נ"ש רק ראיה, שדאטו נפטר קודם לשנת 1620, שנה פטירתו של רמ"ע.

עמ' XXII, ש. 6, רשימת ר' עמנואל ע"ד זמן הולדתו נמצאת גם בכ"י אוכספורד, עיין למעלה בהערתי לעמ' XII, ש. 5.

ט', יב), והמול-מלשון שרים בשרים, לפי שבעלי כת שבתי צבי היו רגילים בשירות חמירות. ולי נראה ששרים הוא כאן לשון רבים מן שר' י- ש רשעים ירקב, שם לווי לש'צ, והמשורר מכנה כך את שלוחיו ותלמידיו. את הביטוי, עלה לערים' מפרש המול: אוי לשרים שירים... ועל ידי כך מצאו סבה (עלה) לרמות את מאמיניהם. לא אמנה את כל הדוחקים שבפירוש זה, די להגיד שלפי' חסר כאן הנשוא (מצאר וכדומה). בכ"י הניקוד הוא: עֶלָה, לפיכך הייתי מציע להגיח: עֶלָו עָרִים (חדוד על תהלים ק"ד, ח'), כלומר: סבבו בערים לשלול שלל וכו'. עלוי במקום. סבבו' וכן השטת הבית השימושית הוא בשביל המשקל.

שיר קנ"ז

ש. 47 חפץ (בעוננים) [בעוננים] ומשחשע,
לפי' צריך לנקד הנון הראשונה של. בעוננים' בצירי. הפסקה היא הקבלה הפכית להפסוק:
ב ח ק ת יך אשתעשע (תהלים ק"ט, ט"ז).

שיר ק"ם

ש. 40 וְשָׁמְעָה, צִיל: וְשָׁמְעָה.

שיר קס"א

ש. 2 בהם הייתם (הלא) [כלא]
לפי גוסס כה' הפירוש הוא: אין אחם מבינים בהם כלום, עדה'ב: הן אחם מ'א ין ישעיה
מ'א, כ"ד).

שיר קע"ט

ש. 2 תנובת (תבונתי) [תבונתי].
תבונתי' זהו תיקונו של רבניצקי: בב' כה' שלנו ושברלין (שם בתור הגנה, עיין במ'ש, עמ' 43, הערה 4) הנוסח הוא: תבונתי. באמת אין כאן כל צורך לתיקון, לפי ש.תבונה' יש לה ג'כ לפעמים המשמעות, תבונה', לפי דעת מחברים קדמונים (עיין וילנסקי, מונטסשריפט, 1926, עמ' 16 בסוף).

שיר קפ"ג

ש. 4 כל מאמין בו בשאול טובע, על כן לדינר יקראו מטבע.
טובע – מטבע, לנע'ל, גם דינר רמו לנהר דינור. ציל: בשאול.

באחרונה הנני חוזר על אי אלו, פחים' קטנים הנמצאים במבוא ונס הנני מעיר על אי אלו פרטים שבהם דעתי שונה מדעת הדר. ברנשטיין.

עמ' XI, ש. 4, שני כתבי היד האדה (של הלברשטס, שהוא עכשוו בבית הספרים של ביה"מ לרבנים בניוירוק, ושל המוזיאון הבריטי) נקראים בשם, מחק שפחים'. לכותב טורים אלו נראה שם זה מוסר רק על הספר הראשון שבכ"י, ושהקובץ בכללו אין לו שם כלל, ותדע שהרי בכ"י בניוירוק (וכן גם בכ"י שלנו) נמצאים ספרים קטנים אחרים של ר' עמנואל עם שמות מיוחדים, כגון: וכוח רכב ובענה, וכוח אימיאל ואוכל.

שם, הערה 1 No. 27097 – טה"ד וצ"ל No. 27095.

עמ' XII, ש. 5, המסקנה היא שכתב-היד בניוירוק, ברלין ואוקספורד כמעט חוכן אחד להם וכנראה שמסקור אחד יהלכו, ורק כתב-היד של המוזיאון הבריטי הוא אוסף מיוחד בסדור מיוחד. לי נראה ששני כה' האחרונים, אוקספורד ובר'מ, הם קרובים זה לזה, לפי ששתי הרשימות של ר' עמנואל: ע"ד שני הנוסחאות של הס. מ'ש וכן רשימתו על דבר מקום הולדתו חמנה, שהמול מביא אותם בשם כה' האחרון (עמ' XII ועמ' XXII), נמצאים גם בכ"י אוקספורד, אלא שניבוואיר

עמ' 142

7 מלמטה לבם (פתוח) כפתחו של אולם,
 כך גם בעירובין נ"ג, א' (לבן של ראשונים כפתחו וכו').
 ש. מלמטה וחשבו עצמם ראשי שחלים (=אריות), ולא הגיעו להיות זנבות שועלים,
 חידוד על המאמר: היו זנב לאריות ואל תהי ראש לשועלים (אבות ד', ט"ו).

שיר קל"ב

ש. 1-2 חזיר מיער, / (כנף) [כנת] זמיר אחי באף כרסמת?
 כנת' סמיכות מן: כנה (תהלים פ', ט"ו), השוה גם פסוק י"ד שם. ב, כנת' משתמש המשורר
 בספור מעשה שבתי צבי וכו' (קבץ על יד, הוצ. מקיצי נרדמים, תרמ"ה, עמ' 136), וגם משוררי
 ספרד: ר"י הלוי ור"מ בן עזרא, משתמשים בה.
 ש. לא עוד (יחשב) [יחשה] כאשר (וממת) [זמת],
 "יחשה" נגד המשקל, אבל מתאמת יותר להענין: הוא לא יקבל עוד חרופיך בשתיקה כאשר
 חשבת. לפי דעת ר"י בן ג'נאת, ראב"ע בפירושו הרניל ורד"ק נמצא שרש יום במקרא: כל אשר
 יזמו לעשות (בראשית י"א, ו').

שיר קל"ו

ש. ממציא לכל נמצא
 גם עמנואל אומר במחברותיו: אדון לכל נמצא אשר המציא (בראדרי, עמ' קל"ו).
 ש. מקום לכל מקום הלא אתה
 המשורר מכוון להמאמר: הקב"ה מקום עולמו ואין עולמו מקומו (בר', פ. ס"ה, פרק י"א).
 ש. מצד היותך תהי נסתר ואם נכר תהי מצד פעולותיך.
 ר"ל, ואם אתה נכר זהו רק מצד וכו', כלומר בשאר הנמצאים או מרנישים בחושינו, בראיה,
 בשמיעה וכו' משא"כ השם שאין לנו בו תפיסה בחושינו, רק בפעולותיו בלבד. אותו רעיון בעצמו
 מביע המשורר גם להלן בשיר קמ"ד ש. 69-72. אנו מוצאים רעיון זה אצל ר"י קמחי בהקדמתו
 לספר הגלילי: נכיר יחודו ונדע מציאותו מדרך מעשיו, הוא אומר ■ ג"כ: כלם סכלים בראיית
 כבודו, השווה ש. פ, וגם אצל עמנואל: כי תארים תמצא יתואר בם הם תארים מורים על פעולתו
 (במקום הגל', עמ' קל"ה).
 ש. 10 אמנם ברב חסדך תצמצם קדשך לראות נדלתך בענותך.
 על אודות ה, צמצום' מדובר הרבה בספרי המקובלים, אבל גם בפסיקתא נמצא: מה
 הקב"ה עושה מניח... ויורד ומצמצם שכינתו ביניהם למטה (עה"פ בחדש השביעי, קנ"ב, א').
 לראות וכו' - עפ"י המאמר: כל מקום שאחז מוצא גבורתו (בדקדוקי סופרים: גדולתו) של הקב"ה
 אתה מוצא ענוותנותו (מגילה ל"א, א').
 ש. 18 גלו בחטאתם לבבל ואדום גם נלחה עמם שכינתך.
 עפ"י המאמר: בכל מקום שגלו שכינה עמהן... גלו לבבל שכינה עמהן (מגילה כ"ט, א').

שיר קמ"א

ש. 4 מלך אוילי
 אוילי' נמצאת פעם אחת בוכריה י"א, ט"ו.

שיר קנ"ב

ש. אוי לשרים עלה לערים לשלול שלל לבו בזה.
 מורטרה מפרש. שרים' - רואים, מלשון: אשורנו, רבניצקי-מלשון: בשורי מהם (הושע

כותב: לי נראה שזהו רעיון המשורר: הוא כבר בין הבחורות (=היום) והוקנה (=לילה) מאת אומרת בין השמשות. כמדומה שהמשורר התכוון להמאמר הידוע באבות: היום קצר וכו' והפועלים עצלים, והמשורר אומר ש כאן קוצר הלב (הפועלים עצלים) וקוצר הזמן (היום קצר), וכדי להטעים את קוצר הזמן הוא אומר: והנו בין השמשות, אבל בעיקר הוא תולה את הקלקלה בעצמו ואומר בחרו הסמוך שאפי' אם מעוות הזמן יתוקן ויחזירו אותו לימי השחרות לא יועיל, לפי שדעות שכלו קלושות.

ש. 12 כי כל (שנתי) [שנתי] תדר שנתי לשכב בספרי אל המארושות.
המ'ל מבאר: אל=אלו, המארושות - דיני קידושין. ר'ל גינצבורג במקום הג'ל מביא זה בקשר עם הדרש הידוע אל תיקרי מורשה אלא מאורשה, ולכן קורא המשורר לספרים הקדושים 'מארושות' למרות זה שספרים הם לשון זכר. אולי יש כאן רמז של חידוד להמאמר: הבא על נערה מאורסה (בחלום) יצפה לתורה שנאמר תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה קהלת יעקב, אל תקרא וכו' (ברכות נ"ז, א'), וקנדידט זה לסמיכה, שלא היה למדן גדול, היה בוודאי מצפה לתורה.

ש. 14 מחיל גלושות.
קבוצות וצבורות ביחד, עיין במלון בן יהודה ערך, גלש' הג'.
ש. 32 הוד רב כשעור של ש ע ר שות.
כמו שנתקן בהערות. הוד רב הוא רמז להוד מלכות בדניאל י"א, כ"א, והמשורר אומר שהיה עליו על קנדידט זה הוד רבנות גדול כשיעור וכו'. אולי בחר המשורר במספר שלש, לפי שהמשנה אומרת: כעדשה שאמרו לא גדולה ולא קטנה אלא בינונית זו מצרית (כלים י"ז, ח'), וא"כ ישנם שלשה מינים בעדשה.

עמ' 135
ש. 10 אשר יקראו[הו]ן. מקטני אמנה'.
קטני אמנה, מבטא תלמודי בסוטה מ"ח, ב'.
ש. 6 מלמטה ובאמת אמרו כל רואיו: ברוך שחלק מכבודו ליריאי'.
בתלמוד נאמר: הרואה חכמי ישראל אומר ברוך שחלק מחמתו ליריאי... הרואה מלכי ישראל אומר ברוך וכו' (ברכות נ"ח, א'), ולפי' צ"ל כאן: מחמתו, ובוודאי הוא ט"ס.
ש. 8 מלמטה נמיר וסביר
תואר של כבוד מצוי, מיוסד על המאמר: מאי קמ'ל דיגמר אינש והדר ליסבר (שבת ס"ה, א').

שיר ק"ל

אלאה נשוא עולם,

ש. 11 צריך לנקד עולם.

ש. 12-14 אל תהי עוד ארך - אף, שבטך הרם.
בכ"י: את' במקום אף' (עיין בש"נ); לפי' צריך לומר שהמשורר כתב ארך במקום: ארך אפי' ו, את' מוסבת על מה שלאחריה, וצריך למחוק את המירבא.

שיר קל"א

ש. 7 אהיה לחנין אח, ליען רע,
המ'ל מפרש: יען לשון יחיד מיענים. לי נראה שהוא לשון זכר מיענה' עדה"כ: אח הייתי לחנים ורע לבנות יענה (איוב ל', כ"ט).
ש. 78 אשים לים מק'ים גבול ובריה
ר'ל אשים לים המרי שלהם, וזהו חידוד על השם הפרטי מרים, עיין גם בנחמיה ט', י"ז.
ש. 93 [צמאים] ירוה בין
כנראה זהו קיצור, לצרך המשקל, מן צמאים, או שהמשורר מפרש כך את המלה: צמים (איוב ה', ה').

מיכאל וילנסקי

[ג]

8 ■ מלמטה
ועשה אינך כאפרסתך
חַמֵּם תלמודי בחולין פ"ט, א'.

9 ■ מלמטה
גדל זקנך שניע לכרכים.

עיין בהערת המיל; הוא אומר בצדק שבמאה ה"ח היו רבני איטליה מגולחי זקן. ויש להוסיף לדבריו עוד ראיה מדברי בעל שו"ת חתם סופר (אורח, קנ"ט): אבל איך יָשָׁם פניו נגד מגולחי הזקן לא ידעתי מה הרעש הזה ... הותרה הרצועה לגמרי בכל ארץ אטלי' שכל חכמיה מגולחי זקן.

עמ' 131

10 ■ יש דורש טוב לעמו,

עיין למעלה ההערה לשיר ע"ו, ש. 4.

11 ■ והדרשנים יעשו מהם דרושים לכל חפציהם.

חידוד על הכתוב בתהלים קיא, ב', אלא ששם. דרושים' פעול, וכאן שם.

12 ■ מלמטה
בשבתך (על הכסא) [לכסא]

בכלל: ישב על כסא, אבל נמצא גם: ישבת לכסא שופט צדק (תהלים ט', ה').

13 ■ מלמטה
(וואולם) [והאלקים]

לשון שבועה, מצוי בתלמוד.

14 ■ מלמטה
שיקראוני אכזר (קבל עם) [מבלעם]

נוסח כ"י הוא הנכון, לפי שהסיפה היא: אזעום מה שהוא לא זעם.

עמ' 132

15 ■ מפי הרב הגדול ר' חירא עדולם,

המפורר מכנה אותו חירא בשביל. עדולם' (השוה בראשית ל"ח, א') ול. עדולם' הוא צריך כשביל החרוז (לפיכך לא. עדולמי'), ולפי שכתוב באלף, מפרש אותו ר"ל גינצבורג במקום הגיל (עמ' י"ב): לשון צואה.

16 ■ מכבשנו של עולם

חגיגה י"ג, א'.

17 ■ אחיו (מאחיו) [מאמו] של יפתח הנלעדי.

ר"ל גינצבורג חיקן כך מדעתו במקום הגיל.

18 ■ מלמטה
אם תוכל מה הסתר ואם לא תוכל להתעלם החרש התאפק,

ר"ל. אם תוכל באיזה אופן שהוא השטט מהם, ואם לא החרש; לא ... להתעלם, חידוד

על הפסוק בדברים כ"ב, ג'.

19 ■ מלמטה
היות אביו ורבא,

בסוכה (כ"ח, א') דבר קטן היות דאביו וכו', ובתור דבר גדול: היות דרב ושמאל

קא חוינא הכא (תענית כ"ד, ב'), אבל אנו תופסים היות דאביו וכו' לדבר גדול.

שיר קכ"ז

המיל מעיר ששיר זה נמצא רק בכ"י ניריורק וברלין והוא מיוחס לעמנואל, וכן גם אצל היידון באוצר השירה והפיוט שלו. אבל בכ"י ניריורק רשום בצידו: זה שיר מהחריף' ז"ל. בבעלותו של השיר להחריף' (ר' יעקב) אין שום ספק, לפי שאחיו ר' עמנואל אומר במ"ש (עמ' 44): כמ"ש החריף' ז"ל ששם איש טפש רודף אחרי הרבנות הביאו אלינועם אחיו בויכות רכב ובענה. רוחי גבוהה'. גם הסגנון הקשה של השיר מורה שהוא שלו.

1 ■ אל הסמיכה קמוך אשישות

עיין בהערות המיל וגם השוה את מאמר התלמוד: אני היום סמכוני באשישות רפדוני בתפוחים (ביצה כ"א, א'), ורש"י מפרש: יו"ט הוא ודרשתו לרבים וחליתי מטורח הדרשה וקורא אני עלי סמכוני באשישות הביאו לי סעודה ואסעוד.

2 ■ (דחק) [דחק] וקצר לבי וקצר היום והנו בין השמשות,

המיל מבאר ... ר"ל כבר עבר הזמן ואחרתי את המועד. ר"ל גינצבורג במקום הגיל

מעין המאמר: הסייף והספר ירדו כרוכים ביחד (ספרי במדבר מ'). ולי נראה שהמשורר מכוון פשוט להפסוק בבראשית נ', יז.

ש. 4 ותיכף השחיטה לסמיכה

המול מעיר: כדין עולה, ברכות מ"ד. טה"ד, וצ"ל: מ"ב, א'.

ש. 12 ושוש איש בשלוחה (לציון) [כציון] (בני) קבוץ בני עמה בתוכה. המול שהיה לפניו נוסח מוטעה מתקשה ליטב אותו כך: ר"ל אשמה כשישלחו את גויחה לקבורה לארץ ישראל להקבר שם יחד עם בני עמה, אולי רמז לקרוביה. הפירוש האמיתי הוא: אשמה כשאנרש אותה (בשלוחה מלשון ושלחה מביתו, דברים כ"ד, א', הפך ממה שנאמר בישעיה ס"א, י': שוש איש ... כחתן ... וככלה), ושמתתי תהיה גדולה כשמתח ציון ביום קיבוץ גלויות.

ש. 14-15 ואולי אם בגורל נפלה לי, תהי בכל שמורה וערוכה.

אשר ארפא שטות לבה בשוטים, ואולי תעלה אז לה ארוכה.

המול אומר: המשורר משנה כאן את דעתו ואומר שאפשר שלו נפלה בגורל לו להנשא אליו ■ היתה זהירה במעשיה מפני שהוא היה מיסר אותה בשוטים (מ"א י"ב, י"א). לי נראה שהפירוש הוא שנוח היה לו להפטר ממנה ע"י גירושין או ע"י מיתתה, אבל אם כבר נזר עליו שיחיה עמה, תוכל להיות בטוחה שידע איך להתנהג עמה. יש כאן עוד רמז לש"ב כ"ג, ה'.

עמ' 123

ש. ■ בבית אחיה ואמה

נ"ל להניח: אביה ואמה.

שיר קכ"ב

ראוי לחמול עליו חמלה

ש. 6

נמצא בפיוט. לכה דודי: והוא יחמול עליך וכו'; משוררנו מזכיר את הפיוט במ"ש (עמ' 39) אם שלא לשבח.

ש. 34 (יצא) ניבא] הנס מכל מקום

מאמר התלמוד במעילה י"ז, ב'.

שיר קכ"ג

הלל במקום ני

ש. 10

ר"ל במקום נהי, עיין למעלה שיר ע"ז ש. ג.

ש. 14 כמשוש חתן יחד עם הכלה?

השוה ישעיה ס"ב, ה', וג"כ ■ ס"ו י' (אח).

ש. 33 נשכב תחת 'עילה' [כילה]

ר"ל, כילת חתנים (שבת קל"ח, ב').

שיר קכ"ה

ש. 7-8 יד כי צביה תך ובה תנע/ תואר בפי כל חי ותקצץ.

המול מעיר: המשורר התכוון כאן למבטא הכתוב. וקצת[ה] את כפה' או לכתוב. ויקצצו את בהונות ידיו (שופ' א', ו' ועוד). כמדומה שהמשורר התכוון להמאמר: יד לעין תקצץ וכו' (שבת ק"ח, ב').

עמ' 130

ש. 3 איך נבהלו רעיוניך

לשון חימה, כמו: איך נפלו גבורים (ש"ב א', י"ט).

ש. 11 מלמטה ולמרהב לחקופת השנה

ר"ל, ולכל היותר בעוד שנה. שמוש זה של 'למרהב' הוא כנראה חידושו של

המשורר.

שיר ק"ג

המזל אינו מראה בהערותיו על מקורו של שיר זה. הוא אינו נמצא לא בכ"י שלנו וגם לא בכ"י ברלין, לפי רשימת בראדי במ"ש. בכ"י בריטיש מחיאום ובכ"י בודלי הוא נמצא חתוף לאחר הספר מתק שפתים, ולפי זה קרוב לומר שהוא מעין חתימה למהד' השניה של הספר מתק שפתים, ובאמת אומר המשורר בו (ש. ד') עדי קמתי בספרי זה.

ש. 1 חלודה עלתה בשיר ונתקל

ע"ד: מחט שהעלתה חלודה (כלים פי"ג, ה'); ונתקל, ר"ל, המשורר, בעל השיר, נחלל; נחלל הוא ביטוי תלמודי, ע"ן למשל בכ"ק פי"ג, משנה א'.

ש. 2 ויצא

צ"ל: ויצא, לפי שכל המכתם הוא בלשון עבר.

שיר ק"ה

ש. 1 מן החכמות חיצוניות

המשורר מכוון לחכמת הפילוסופיה, שהרי הוא אומר עליה: מה ארס יוציא מזור.

שיר קי"ד

המזל מעיר: בכ"י שלנו 'וכן שלנו. מ. ו.) רשום כאן: חתימת אלינועם לשיריו, אבל השיר נמצא באמצע השירים ולא בסוף. תלונתו היא לא על הסופר אלא על המשורר האומר בסוף השיר: זאת היא חתימה לחונן שירנו.

עמ' 117

ש. 6 מלמטה כל כי האי ריתחא לירחא וכו'

מאמר התלמוד בסנהדרין ק"ה, א', ונעשה לפתגם השנור בפי הבריות.

שיר קי"ח

ש. 7 לפתח אשתך שחר

ע"ן בש"ן; הניקוד של שחר אינו מוכרע, לפי שנמצא שוחר בקל, אבל הצורות האחרות נמצאות רק בפועל.

עמ' 120

ש. 10 מלמטה ואלו היו שמים ניר וימים דיו,

על דרך המאמר: אם יהיו כל הימים דיו ואנשים קולמוסין... אין מספיקין לכתוב דברי חזרה שלמדתי (שה"ש רבה עה"פ לריח שמניך).

ש. 8 מלמטה כי היא צייתנית... קולנית דברנית וסקרנית,

השזה המאמר: לא נברא אותה... ולא מן העין שלא תהא סוקרנית ולא מן האון שלא תהא צייתנית (ר"ל משתדלת לשמוע מה שאחרים מדברים בינם לבין עצמם) (ב"ר פי"ח על הפסוק בבראשית ב', כ"ב).

שיר ק"כ

ש. 2 ביד לודים תהי מהר בפארו

רמו למאמר התלמוד: שעה ראשונה מאכל לודים (פסחים י"ב, ב'), ורש"י מפרש: לודים ולסטים רעבתנים הן, והמשורר אומר שהלשון המדברת סרה ראויה שתכרת ושתמסר ביד לודים ואלו יבטלוה ויאכלוה תומ"י.

ש. 3 כי קללה

המזל מעיר: כרוכה - (ביחד) הקללה ופיה (דבורה) ירדו מן השמים כרוכים ביחד,

שיר ע"ד

ש. 19 ממעניות עיני דמעות אשאה,
ר"ל, ההפך ממה שנאמר: ושאתם מים בששון ממעני הישועה (ישעיה י"ב, ג').

שיר ע"ה

ש. 1 וממרת' (אחריה) [אמריה]
וממרת' לנע"ל, אמריה.
ש. 2 נסתלק הבאר
כמו שנאמר שבמיתת מרים נסתלק הבאר (תענית ט', א); כאן הכוונה לבאר החכמה.
ש. 10 לפום צערא אנרא
אבות סוף פרק ה'.
ש. 18 נתקעה ממקום חבורה,
על דרך המאמר: מי גרם לבלשצאר שתתקע על ביצתו מן העולם (אסתר רבה א', ז').

שיר ע"ו

רק כאן ובס' קמ"ג, קמ"ו וקס' נאמר שהמשורר חיברם לבקשת מי שהוא. ר' שלמה אובי, שעל מצבתו נחקקה קינה זו, היה זמן רב רב בליורנו וזמן קצר לפני פטירתו רב בפירנצי. המו"ל כותב בהערותיו: גירונדי ב, תולדות גדולי ישראל באיטליה' רושם על ר' שלמה אובי (Solomo Ezobi) ע' 318: מהר"ר שלמה אובי חכם ונבון הרביץ חורה בישראל כאשר העיד עליו הרב בית נאמן דף (ו) [ג] ע"א. אבל הס. בית נאמן נדפס בשנת שפ"א ור"ש נזכר שם בברכת המטים, וזה שלנו נפטר בחשוון בשנת ת"ח (=1647, לא 1648, כאשר כותב המו"ל בהערותיו). לפי דעת י' דוקאס (השקפה צרפתית, כרך 11, עמ' 113 ועמ' 265) היה ר"ש זה אביו וקנו של ר"ש שלנו. השאלה מתעוררת, מדוע לא זכר גירונדי גם את ר"ש שלנו. התשובה היא ששום ביבליוגרף יהודי לא הזכיר אותו עד קרוב לדרורו בעת שנמצאו דרושים שלו בכ"י ששה כרכים בשם, אגודת אובי, ושם נרשמו עפ"י רוב גם המקומות שבהם דרש אותם. הראשון שהזכיר אותו הוא בן דורו החוקר הנוצרי נְסֶנְדִי בספרו: Viri illustris . . . de Peiresc . . . vita (1655) על שום ידיעותיו של ר"ש בחכמת התכונה.

מצוין הוא הדבר שהחוקרים לא שמו לב לשיר זה שנדפס כבר במ"ש (בשנת תרנ"ב), ובעלי המאמרים על אודותיו בדשוואיש אנציקל' ובאנציקל' יודאיקא קבעו את שנת מותו רק עפ"י אומדנא. אפשר להוסיף כאן עוד פרט קטן לתולדותיו, היינו שבשנת שט"ח כבר היה בקרפינטראץ לפחות בדרך עראי. בכ"י אחד קנין בית הספרים של 'היבריו יוניאן קולידרשו' (ס' 766) נמצאת העתקה מתקנה שנכתבה בקארפינטראץ בכ"י באדר שט"ח ונאמר שם: הסכימו כן בחברת התלמידי חכמים המצויים היום ה"ה החכם ר' שאול כספי יצ"ו והחכם ר' שלמה אובי יצ"ו. עד הנה נחשבה שנת ש"פ לזמן ביאתו שמה.

ש. 4 לאיש חכם בכל מדע
רמז לידיעותיו בחכמת התכונה, עיין בהערה הקודמת.
שם ודורש טוב לעמו
ר"ל, דרשן טוב, חידוד על הפסוק באסתר. כמו שראינו למעלה הניח באמת ר"ש אחריו הרבה דרשות בכ"י.

שיר ק"ב

ש. 6 על קו שאלתו ומאיו
ר"ל, לפי חפצו ורצונו in the line of, ונראה שכעין זה הוא השימוש ב,קר' בצירוף:
קו הבריאות (on line).

מו

מיכאל וילנסקי

[מו]

יודעים שהיה להמשורר עוד אח: יהודה, אלא שיש כאן קושי אחר, לפי שעפ"י האמת היה לו אח שלישי: שלמה, ראה המכתב של המשורר לאָחיו ע"ד הרפסת הס. צבי מורח בקובץ על יד (הוצ' מקיצי נדרמים, תרמ"ה, עמ' 135), ואולי היה זה עוד קטן או ולפיכך לא מנה אותו, או שבמקרה לא היה במעמד בעת מיחת האב.

שיר ס"ח

המזל מעיר: והוא (השיר) כתוב בדרך החרוזים השלישיים (terza rima). כדאי להוסיף שהמשורר עצמו מביא שיר זה לדוגמה לטרסטי. שאנו קוראים. חוט השולש... מקביל החרוז האמצעי עם החרוזים הבאים אחריו: (מ"ש, עמ' 52 בסופו), ר"ל שהבית השני שבכל חרוזה חורז עם הבית הראשון שבחרוזה הסמוכה, ומכיוון שהבית הראשון שבכל חרוזה חורז עם הבית הנ" שבה, נמצא שבכלל כל חרוז נשנה ג' פעמים.

שיר ס"ט

3-4 וולא כליחי) וופי כלאחין) מספרם כלם
ר"ל, מנעתי פי ולא ספרתי כולם, עדה"כ בתהלים מ', י', השוה שיר ע"ד ש. 31, ומכתם צ"ו, ש. 1.

שיר ע'

17 ש. לו יוכלון לשוב ימי מבול, הלא מימי בכיתי היקום אספון.
לכאורה מוטב היה לומר: לא יוכלון וכו' לפי שלא היה להמבול מה להשחית יותר, מכיוון שהיקום אספון.

ךחפו

18 וזמנ הפעל רהף מעט עפ"י רוב רק בפיעל, אבל מכיוון שהחרוז הוא כאן לעולם פו, וגם נמצא פעם אחת: ךחפו כל עצמותי (ירמיה כ"ג, ט'), שיש לה ג"כ משמעות זו בקירוב, מוטב היה לנקד: ךחפו.

19 ש. או הזמן הא' ד"ד כמו דורך בנת
ר"ל, הזמן, מלאך המות, קורא הידרד כמו דורך וכו', השוה ישעיה ט"ז וס' ב'; הרמו בכתיבת: הא דד, ובניקודן מלמעלה הוא לדרד האשה, לפי שבש. הקודמת אומר המשורר: חמה במיץ הלב, אהה לי ינק. עמנואל חורז במחברותיו (בראדי, עמ' קצ"ז) הידרד עם הא דד.

שיר ע"א

23 ש. צורך ובית דינו
על דרך המאמר: כל מקום שנאמר ה' - הוא ובית דינו (בראשית רבה, פ. נ"א).
25 ש. גם זו לטוב!
פתגם ידוע, עיין בחענית כ"א, א'; שם: לטובה, אבל המשקל דורש, לטוב.

שיר ע"ב

3 ש. ובמות חנה (אשתי) [נפשי]
נפשי כנוי לאשתי, עיין בש. הסמוכה: עם נפש נפשי (ר"ל, אשתי).

שיר ע"ג

1 ש. וני
ר"ל, ונהי, ונמצא: ונשאו אליך בגיהם קינה (יחזקאל כ"ז, ל"ב), עיין גם להלן שיר ע"ט, ש. 4.

שיר נ"ה

- ש. 10-9 הה, כי כמו ברזל בברזל יחד, חשק בחשק חדרו כפלים, עיין למעלה שיר 1 ש. 32.
 ש. 13 או לי (שני) [שתי] לבות הני גם יחד, המשורר כנראה השתמש ב'שתי' במקום 'שני' כדי לרמוז להפסוק: ותלבב לעינו שתי לביבות במעשה אמנון ותמר (ש"ב יג, ו').

שיר נ"ו

- ש. 1 איכה בחולה, תלכי קדרת?
 השוה: כי על כן בחולה קדרה פניה (קניה) זו בחטאינו חרב מקדש).
 ש. 4 וירחקו ממך כן ממזרה.
 המו"ל מפרש עפ"י הנוסח המוטעה שהיה לפניו: כמזרת – כמו ממזרת, אבל הפירוש הוא שצבא הרקיע מרחיקים את עצמם ממך (ממול בחולה) כמו ממזרת.

שיר נ"ז

- ש. 1 אע"פ על שכמי נָבִי ישרע, לכאורה היה צ"ל: אע"פ על גבי שכמי ישרע, וגם שרוע פירושו שאבר אחד גדול מחברו וכאן יהיה שכם אחד גבוה מחבירו.
 ש. 9 ובאיש מבאיש עבד מביש תרצה לה מפרעה חפרע.
 לפירוש המו"ל בהערותיו צריך להוסיף שדברי המשורר כאן הם על דרך המאמר: רוצה אשה בקב וחפלות מט' קבין ופרישות (סוטה כ', א').

שיר ס"ב

- ש. 32 הזמן עובר ומתעבר, אצל עמנואל במחברותיו נמצא הביטוי: עם כלעבר או מתעבר (בראדי, עמ' ז').
 ש. 71 תחת לבונה – מעלה עשן, המו"ל מפרש מעלה עשן – מל'. עלה עשן באפ"י (ישעיה ס"ה, ה'); יש כאן טה"ד לפי שבפסוק הניסמן נאמר: אלה עשן באפ"י, וצ"ל: ש"ב כ"ב, ט' (או תהלים י"ח, ט'). ולי נראה שהמשורר מכוון לסממני הקטורת אע"פ נמנו לבונה (דבר חשוב) ומעלה עשן (דבר זול), עיין בכריתות ו' א'.

שיר ס"ג

- ש. 27 בְּקֶדֶד נחור, כמדומה לי שמוטב לנקד בְּקֶדֶד, והשוא הוא לצורך המשקל, השוה ישעיה י', ט"ז ותהלים ק"ב, ד'.

שיר ס"ד

- המו"ל מתפלא בהערותיו ש. שטיינשניידר המוכיר (בקאט. בודל. סי' 1212) כמה קינות לר' יעקב פראנסיש שנדפסו על גליונות מיוחדים, אינו מוכיר את הקינה הזאת (שבכ"י של המו"ל נאמר עליה שנדפסה), וכנראה שאברהם. ונראה ששכח לרנע שקינה זו מחברה הוא ר' עמנואל לא ר' יעקב.
 ש. 29 תלתא כחדא הוינא, המו"ל מפרש: (האב ושני בניו), ואיני יודע מי הכניסו לדוחק זה, מכיוון שמשיר ע"ז אנו

בוודאי ב. הכנסות' שונות, וע"כ היה מצבם ברע. המשורר אומר (ש. 2-5): וכל עמל בדת
ברעב מן והחומל/ (כלומר, ואם נמצא כבר איש החומל עליהם) יאמר: מחלק יש ויש קופה
ר'ל, לכו אליהם). מובן שמצב כזה לא היה עלול להרים **ב** את כבודם בעיני אנשי קהילתם.
ש. 14 טוב לו מלאכת נושאי סָבֵל!

אע"פ שנמצא: נשא סָבֵל (מ'א ה', כ"ט) אבל מכיוון שזה זרות, וגם נמצא: והנשאים בסָבֵל
(נחמיה ד', י"א) שהוא כרין, היה לו להמיל לנקד: סָבֵל, ולפתוח להעיר על זה.

שיר מ"ב

עמ' 241 ■ 20, הערות המו"ל ער מתי תקום משנתך.

המלה. ער' טעונה מחיקה, אע"פ שנמצאת גם בכ"י שלנו (ראה משלי ו', ט').

עמ' 241 ש. 22 (ואח) [ואתה] עם עני חושיע,

הנוסח הא' הוא בש"ב כ"ב, כ"ח, והב' – בתהלים י"ח, כ"ח.

ש. 1 מי שמך נוטר לכרמי שיר לעז, אשר תצור כמו אישן?

ל', לכרמי' הוא בשביל המשקל; בכלל, נוטר' במשמעות, שומר' הוא עם פעול, ראה שה"ש

א' ו' ועוד. תצור וכו' – ערה"כ בדברים ל"ב, י'; המשורר השתמש ב. אישן' בלבד בלא הוספת, עין'
או. בת, עין', לדוחק המשקל.

ש. 10 האם שלומית כאחות נחשון?

ר'ל, שלמית בת דברי (ויקרא כ"ד, י"א); אחות נחשון היא אלישבע אשת אהרן הכהן (שמות
ו', כ"ג).

שיר מ"ג

ש. 7

למאהבי, מה'ד, וצ"ל הלמד בפתח, כמו בפסוק שמביא המו"ל (גם שם מה'ד וצ"ל: איכה
א', י"ט).

ש. 14 לא יאמרו לי, זאת ועוד אחרת!

ראיה חזקה לפירוש ר'ל גינצבורג (במקום הנ"ל, עמ' י"א) יש בזה שהמשורר בחלק הפרושי
שנמצא קודם לשיר זה ושהמו"ל השמיט אותו בפעם זו מאיזה טעם, נמצא הפתגם, זאת ועוד אחרת',
במקום שאינו מדבר על אחיו יעקב, וממילא אי אפשר לפרש את הפתגם כפירוש המו"ל.

שיר (מ"ז) מ"ה

ש. 1

קלסתר חמה בלחך,

בכלל משתמשים ב. קלסתר פנים' אבל לפעמים **ם** בקלסתר בלבד.

שיר (נ') מ"ח

ש. 17

ממאסר תבל ומַעֲמָסוּ

צריך לנקד: ומַעֲמָסוּ, שם, מקביל למאסר; המשורר השמיט לצורך המשקל את מם
השימוש, כמו שעשה בשיר ל"ב ש. (12) 11 בנוגע ללמד השימוש.

שיר (נ"ו) נ"ד

ש. ■

ואש קודר

אש' הוא לשון נקבה, אלא כתב, קודר' בשביל החרוז עם, נוצח', גם עיין בתהלים ק"ד, ד'.

ש. 7-8

מי זה כפור ראה ואש מתחת? קרח ונחלים ואין נוצח!

רמז להמאסר: תני רשבי' לפי שהרקיע של מים והככבים של **אש** והן דרים זה עם זה
אינן מויקין זה את זה לפיכך עושה שלום בברומיו (איוב כ"ה, ב') 'ירושלמי ר"ה, פ"ב, ה"ד).

שיר ל"ג

ש. 1 חכמה ומוסר, [דוד], (ה)אווילים בון, מכיוון שבכתובת נאמר שכתב את השיר לעמיתו (ע"ן בריואן, עמ' 143 בסופו), הקריאה רוד' היא מתאמת.

שיר ל"ד

ש. 9 אך לא לזאת א ל' תכס צלמות, נראה ל' שהמלה, א ל' היא טה'ד או ט'ס, לפי שלא הייתה כל סיבה למשורר לנטות מדרך הכתוב: ותכס ע ל'ינו בצלמות (תהלים מ"ד, כ'); השמטת ה'בית היא בשביל המשקל, אבל אין טעם לכתיבת א ל' במקום ע ל'.

שיר ל"ה

ש. 14 שתן, רשעים, טעמו ורע'! חידוד על הכתוב: טעמו וראו (תהלים ל"ד, ט').

שיר ל"ו

קרוב לוודאי שהשיר ערוך כנגד אותו האיש שכנגדם ערוכים השירים י"ט וכ' (כ' הוא רק אופן אחר של י"ט) בשניהם המשורר מציין את מתנגדו כזקן (בימים) ומכנהו: סכל. כנראה היה מתנגדו זה חכם בחכמת התלמוד ובחכמות אחרות, וגם איש חשוב בקהילתו. המשורר אומר עליו (בשיר י"ט, ש. 4): כאלו... והוא שלם בכל חכמה וכולל; בשיר זה (ש. 7) הוא אומר: מה לך ואל עמך הלכות, ובש. 9: חמור יושב בראש השער, רמו לבראשית ל"ד, כ' (בראש' לדוחק המשקל). אולי הוא אחד עם מתנגדו של אחיו, ר' יעקב, שר' אביעד שר שלום באוילה כותב עליו בס. אמונת חכמים (מנטובה 1730 דף ל"א, א'): 'ויודע אני נגד מי ועל מה נעשה השיר ההוא (שירו המפורסם של ר"י נגד הקבלה: אשרי הגוי (או: העם)) ובעל ריבו היה משכיל אחד מבני עירנו זקן ומלומדי הישיבה וחדושי בחכמת האמת נדפסו בפירוש פרקי שירה להר"ר מונצילסי הנקרא מספרים תהלות ה' ושפתי רגנות נדפס בעיר מנטובה... ועוד כחוב ריבך ריב את רעך וסוד אחר אל תגל'.

ש. 4 ולשט אמרי ג בך הכינה. בפסוקים שבמשלי שהמשורר רומז עליהם נאמר: גו י', יג: י"ט, כ"ט וכ"ז, ג'; שוט' במקום. שבט' שבפסוקים אלו הוא לצורך המשקל, ואולי חיקה המשורר צה עצמו: תן ג בך, שוטה, לשוט שיר זה ותן גו וכו' (קנ"ז, ש. 7), ושם הוצרך להשתמש פעם אחת בגב', לפי שהוא משתמש באותה ש. גם בגו'.

ש. 10 מכשל... היית כותב טורים אלו מציע להשלים את החסר כך: לכל עמך כבר, ואם ימצא מי שהוא הצעה טובה מזו, יודה לו על זה.

ש. 11 כבנו בעור הנך בלי מגרעת.

ע"ן למעלה בהערה לשיר ב' ש. 20.

ש. 12 ומרותיו כך נמצאו, ר"ל, של בלעם הנזכר קודם, ע"ן באבות פ"ה, י"ט.

שיר ל"ז

המ'ל מביא בהערותיו שיר זה בקשר עם התנועה שנתפשטה צה לפי דבריו בין העשירים החפשים בדעותיהם לבזות את הרבנים. לכותב טורים אלו נראה שהמשורר מתאונן כאן בעיקר על מצבם החמרי של הרבנים שכידוע לא קבלו באיטליה משכורת קצובה והיו תלויים

את דברות קדשך,

ש. 10

נמצא בתפילת מוסף לר"ה באחה נגלית.

שיר כ"ז

כותרת

שיצא שמש מקול, קול (עיין בש"נ) אשר ידפנו רוח.
לפי הענין נראה שהמסורר ר"ל, שהאנשים זכו לפרסום שלא היו ראויים לו. השמוש ב.מקול'
במשמעות פרסום אינה ידועה לכותב טורים אלו ממקום אחר, ואולי הוא רמז להפסוק: מ ק ל
זנוחה וכו' ירמיה נ', ט')?

אל טח אלי (טפל) [תפל]

ש. ■

המיל מעיר: טח... טפל - עדה'כ יחו' כ"ב, כ"ח ועוד, אבל הרי כתוב: תפל.

שיר כ"ט

ש. 2

אלך לבל (טעמך) [שמעך] עדי אדרעי,
ר"ל, אני מוכן לברוח לקצוי ארץ, ובלבר שלא אצטרך לשמוע את שיריך המאוסים
עלי.

שיר ל"ב

כותרת

בשבח חבור קטן שחבר כמה'ר י"ט וואלאוין וקרא אותו הד הרים והוא מודפס
המיל מעיר: הד הרים - טעות הדפוס וצ"ל, הד אורים' נדפס בויניציאה בשנת 1622.
אבל אותה טה'ד נמצאת גם בכ"י שלנו וכנראה גם בכ"י ברלין (עיין בס"ש, עמ' 49), וביותר יפלא
שהיא נמצאת גם ביחזקאל ז', ז' (ואולי עובדה זו נרמזה לטעות סופר שלאותו כה"י, ששימש מקור
משותף לכל ג' כה"י). אמנם יש כאן טה'ד ברשימת שנת הדפוס: החבור נדפס לא בשנת 1622,
אלא בשנת 1661, עיין בספרי הביבליאוגרפים. מסיבה בלתי מובנת לא ציין המיל, הזהיר בכלל
לציין משקל כל שיר ושיר, דוקא כאן את משקל השיר, אע"פ שהמסורר בעצמו הודיע שהוא בן
י"א תנועות לשיטה (עיין מ"ש במקום הנ"ל). השמטה זו נרמזה שניקודן של שתי מלים הוא מוטעה,
עיין להלן ובש"נ.

ש. 2

י'צרת, צ"ל: י'צרת, מכיוון שאין כאן יחידות

ש. (5) 4

חן מכל מן מחוק לנו הורדת?

המיל מעיר: חן - שם (בכ"י) מן. אבל גם התיקון, חן' אינו מוצא כאן חן: איזה חן יכול
להוריד מסורר? לכאורה גם בכ"י שלנו כתוב, מן, מלה שאין לה כאן כל משמעות. אין כל ספק
שצריך לקרוא, רון', מלה שהמסורר משתמש בה גם במקומות אחרים, למשל בשיר מ"ב ש. 9
וקי"ב ש. 4 (ואולי כתוב כך גם בכ"י שלנו, אלא שנתדבקו הרי"ש והו"ו והן נראות כמם).
ש. (7, 6) 6, 8 האם לפני הימן, דודי, עמדת או כלכל או הדרע היו מוריד?
הימן, כלכל ודררע נזכרים כחכמים במ"א ה', י"א, ומכיוון שכן צריך לנקד: כלכל,
בחולם.

ש. (12) 11

ו(תעל) נותעט שם (לשלל) (לשלל) הדר (וצבי) (נושבי).

המיל מעיר: וצבי - כך תקנית, ובכ"י, ושב"י, מלבד שהמלה, ושב"י היא כאן בלא מובן,
היא נשגוה) ית] גם להלן שורה (16) " [14]. מה שנוגע לטענתו האחרונה, הוא בעצמו מציין כמה
מקומות שמהל חחרת ונשנית בשיר אחר באותה משמעות עצמה, למשל בשיר ע' ש. 2-1 (המיל
אומר שם: וגם להלן הוא עושה כך כמה פעמים) וכן בשיר (נ) מ"ח, מלי', ש. 1 ו.ש. 3, ומה
שנוגע למשמעותה, יש לה משמעות אם הנקוד הוא: לשלל (השוה ש"א מ"ו, י"ט) ... ולשב"י,
והשמיט הלמד לדחוק המשקל, עיין גם להלן בהערות לשיר (נ) מ"ח, ש. 17.

ש. 11 (32) עם שיר (פנינים) לענה רצוף
 שיר של פנעים נקראים בתלמוד (שבועות ט"ו, ב') ט' הפסוקים הראשונים של פרק צ"א בתהלים, לפי שפנינים מפני המויקין, אבל קשה להניח שהמשורר יכנה כך את שירו. פנינים' שבכ"י אינו יודע לה שום משמעות, וע"כ הנהתי. פנינים'. שירים דומים לפנינים בזה שחורזים את שניהם (ע"ין למשל בשמות רבה פרשה כ': משל לאחד שמצא צרור של מרגליות . . . ישב וחרז הנהדרות לעצמן והקטנות לעצמן), והמשורר אומר: לענה רצוף, הפוך לרצוף אהבה (שה"ש ג', י').

שיר כ"א

ש. 11 ויש בנייה והמות
 אולי ט"ס במקום להמות, אמנם בכלל משמיטים את ההא ואומרים: למות, אבל כאן ההא דרושה לצורך המשקל.
 ש. 22 אשר עולים במספרם עדי ע"ד.
 המר"ל מעיר: ר' עמנואל נולד בשנת 1615 והשיר נכתב איפא בשנת 1689. פליטת הקולמוס! ר"ע נולד בשנת 1618, והשיר נכתב בשנת 1692; ע"ין למעלה בהערותי לשיר ח'.

שיר כ"ד

ש. 1 אוצר ימי ילדות וגם ה'לם,
 לי נראה שצריך לנקד וגם: המשורר מתאונן שלא היה לו נחת רוח בחייו, ואפילו ימי הילדות שלו לא השאירו לו זכרונות טובות, ומכש"כ ימי הבחורות והזקנה שעליהם הוא מדבר בשורות הבאות.
 ש. 10-11 עת התמותה אותך יגלם, אז, באמת, את חליך יחלים.
 כוונת המשורר היא שרק המות יפדה אותו מצרותיו, לפי שבחיים אין לו שום תקוה. המו"ל תופס. עת' לנושא (עת' באה לפעמים בלשון זכר). אבל אינו מובן, למה לא השתמש המשורר ב'יום' התמותה, כמו למשל בסי' ט"ו, וגם איזה הכרח היה לו לכתוב 'יגלם', במקום 'תגלם'? לי נראה ש, עת' פירושה כאן הוא, בע"ח, בשעה, ומכיוון ש, תמותה' משמשת כאן במקום 'מות' (בכלל משתמשים רק בבטוי: בני תמותה, תהלים ע"ט, י"א וק"ב, כ"א) תפס אותה המשורר לשון זכר. הביטוי: חליך יחלים' אינו מצוי, לפי שמחלימין את החולה: ותחלימני ישעיה ל"ח, ט"ו), לא את החולי, המשורר בעצמו משתמש כך במלה זו בסי' נ"ה) נ"ג ש. 12 וקליה ש. 12, אמנם בכ"י: 'חליך', במקום 'חליך', אבל מלה זו היא נגד המשקל, הדרוש יחד, וגם אין לה כאן שום משמעות.
 ש. 12 תקותך חשים באל עילום,
 נראה לי שכוונת המשורר היתה להמאמר: זה שמי לעולם (שמות ג', ט"ו) לעלם כתיב (קדושין ע"א, א').

שיר כ"ה

ש. 2 ואמרת: מתי (ע"ין בש"נ) תפת מצאום
 ר"ל, המציאום. גם מכאן ראייה ששחוק הקלפים היה נפוץ ביותר בזמנו של המשורר באיטליה.

שיר כ"ו

ש. 1 בהשמים
 צורה נמצאת בתהלים ל"ו, ו', לפיכך השתמש בה המחבר, ע"ין למעלה בהערות לשיר כ"א ש. 2.

שיר ט"ז

המיל מודיע שהשיר שנדפס בספר, שבלים בודדות' לדיינרד, יש עליו כחובת: שיר אשר
חבר כמזהר מעב'ר לשורר שיר (הוא למנחם פראנשיס) ומביא בשם דוידזון (ואוצר השירה
וכו' אות א' סי' 8252) שצריך לקרוא מעב'ר במקום מעב'ר, ר"ל מנחם עמנואל פראנשיס. לי
נראה שיש לנו כאן עסק עם שניאה קלה של קריאה או של דפוס וצריך לקרוא: מעב'ד=מנחם
עמנואל בן דוד, לפי ששם אבי משוררנו היה דוד.

ש. 16 וכל זרות מאד הרחק

המיל מעיר: כלומר הרחק כל בטוי ספרותי זר והשפעת לשון זרה (כמו ברברזיס), וזהו
בטוי רגיל בספרותנו העתיקה. כמובן, מותר להשתמש בורות גם במשמעות ברברזיס, אבל למעשה
השתמש בו ר"י אבן תבון. ביחוד בספר הרקמה לר"י אבן ג'נאח, לציון בו מלה שאינה עפ"י כללי
הדקדוק, או בלתי נהוגה, למשל בהקדמת הספר הנזכר: והנהוג והזר (מהד' וילנסקי, עמ' ט'),
מכמו הזרות הזה (שם, עמ' כ'), וכן במקומות אחרים; שער ל"א של הספר מוקדש כולו
למיני הזרות השונים. זרות הוא תרגומו של שדוד הערבי, שפירושו: יוצא מן הכלל, מיוחד במינו.
עמ' 32, ש. 9 נכיות בפושרים ולא תירא מאש המסים
ר"ל גינצבורג במאמרו הנ"ל (עמ' י') מעיר: לפי ברכות ט"ז, ב'. צריך להוסיף שהסיפה
היא עדה'כ בישעיה ס"ד, א'.

ש. 11 והצר השהו כי אין (עיין בש"נ) לו שוה

המשורר מביא כאן דברי אחיו ר' יעקב שאמר עליו, עיין במ"ש, עמ' 105.

שיר י"ט

ש. 3 בנו (עיין בש"נ) סלוא

ר"ל זמרי בן סלוא

ש. 16 אשר חשב וזול יהיה וזול לו

עיין בהערות המיל; המשורר מכנה סתגורו בש. הקודמת אויל נרדף ל, כסיל', ומדור
הכסיל (הכוכב כסיל) הוא במרום. ביטוי מעין זה אנו מוצאים במחברות עמנואל: כסיל וזול
כסיל (ברארי, עמ' כ"ט).

שיר כ'

השיר הוא שיר בפני עצמו, סוניטו, אבל עפ"י טה"ד מספר שורותיו נסמן כמו המשך של
מספר הש. של השיר י"ט.

ש. 1 (21) איך נעצוצ ירום עלי תדהר?

נעצוצ הוא מין שיח של קוצים הסובב את האילנות מלמטה למעלה, אבל כמובן בגובה
קטן (ראה בישעיה ז', י"ט, ונ"ה, י"ג) ותדהר הוא אילן גבוה סמל מ"א, י"ט, וס', י"ג) והמשורר
אומר שערך שירת מתגורר לשירתו, או לשירת אחיו הוא כערך נבחות הנעצוצ לגבהות התדהר.
תדהר הוא לנעיל תדהר בש. 5.

ש. 5 (25) איך הלטאה ככפיר תדהר?

ר"ל גינצבורג כותב במקום הנ"ל: בלשון חכמים הלטאה הוא דבר קטן מאד, עי' למשל
פסחים ג', ב': ... חר אמר הניעני כזית וחר אמר הניעני כזנב הלטאה. אבל סמל יש רק ראה
על זה שזנב הלטאה הוא דבר קטן מאד, אבל לא על הלטאה עצמה. כנראה כוונת המשורר
היא שהלטאה היא שרץ (ויקרא י"א, ל') ויודעת לדלג במהירות, אבל אי אפשר לדמות את
קפיצותיה לקפיצות הכפיר, כך אין לדמות את שירת מתגורר לשירתו. תדהר מלשון: דהרות
אביריו (שופטים ה', כ"ב).

(לחטוף עני), המלה, וממ' נמצאת **ש** לא י'ד; הפסקה של הדלת נמצאת באיוב ט"ז י"ט (הארץ).

ש. 32 נהרי שלומות דללו גם חרבו

רמז להפסקים בישיעה מ"ח י"ח וי"ט ו', והמשורר מתאונן על החכמים שבזמנו שהם לא רק לא בקשו לעשות שלום בין אדם לחבירו, אלא גם עוררו קנאה בינם לבין עצמם (עיין ש. 33). המו"ל מעיר: שלומות לשון רבים מן שלום, וזה מבטא רגיל במליצת הפיטנים. אנו מוצאים באמת אצל ר"י הלוי כמה שירים המתחילים ב,שלומות' ו,שלומותי' ליד, וכן: בלתי שמוע קול ש ל ו מ ו ת יך (דיואן, מהר' בראדי, ח"ב, שיר ד').

ש. 34 לא פתחו פיהם למו אלם

המו"ל מעיר: עדה"כ תה"ל ל"א, ח'. יש כאן טה"ד וצ"ל: משלי. אבל ל' נראה שהמשורר כיוון להמאמר: כגון זה פתח פיה לא לם הוא (כתובות ל"ו, א', ובמקומות אחרים).

ש. 35 כל אוהבי צדיק (עיין בש"נ) וטוב יאשמו.

הקבלה להפסק: ו ש נ א י צדיק יאשמו (תהלים ל"ד, כ"ב); וטוב' הוא כאן ע"ר: בחר ו טוב (ש"א ט', ב').

ש. 42 גם שאלו (עיין בש"נ) ל'י

שאל' במשמעות, בקש' דורש, ממני' אלא שכנראה התיר לו המשורר שימוש זה בשביל המשקל, מכיוון שנמצא: שאל לו לשלום.

ש. 46 איך לה פני יפיה (כפו) [נפֿפֿן] יועמו?

המו"ל שהיה לפניו נוסח מוטעה התקשה במירוש המבטא, ובאמת הוא על דרך המאמר: באוחה שעה נהפכו פני כל שונאי דוד כ ש ו ל י ק ד ר ה (שבת ל', א').

ש. 56 (לגוי כמו זה) [בגוי אשר כזה]

נוסח כה"י הוא עדה"כ בירמיה ה' כ"ט, אלא ששינה לצורך המשקל את השוא, בגוי' לפתח, אבל, כזה' הוא נגד המשקל, ואולי צריך לנקד, כזה' בשוא, ולא הקפיד על שוא יתיר.

ש. 58 לא האמינו דל ורך (אם) [יוס] צמו.

ר"ל, גם ביום צום שלהם לא נתנו צדקה, לפי שאמרו **אמינו** מאמינים שהמבקש הוא דל באמת.

שיר י"ד

ש. 1 שורו (ורהו) [וראו]

ראוי הוא נדרף ל,שורי, אבל, רהוי הוא נדרף ל,פחדו, עיין להלן שיר י"ז, ש. 10.

ש. 14 נוהל עתך גול שאין לו השבון.

בתלמוד זה נקרא: גול ש לא נ י ת הן להשבון (כ"ב ל"ה, ב'); המשורר אומר, שאבוד זמן לבטלה זהו גול שאין לו השבון, לפי שזמן הוא דבר שאי אפשר לקנותו. בקשר עם זה, כראי אולי להביא פתגם ר' שניאור זלמן מליאדי, מיסרה של חסידות חב"ד, שנמסר לכותב טורים אלו ע"י אחד מצאצאיו (בחורף של שנת תרנ"ד) שכמדומה לא נרשם עדיין בשום ספר, היינו שהטוב שבספרי מוסר הוא השעון.

שיר ט"ו

ש. 8 גם 9 נפשו בטוב תלין

המו"ל מעיר: עדה"כ א י ו ב כ"ה, י"ג; יש כאן טה"ד וצ"ל: תהלים.

ש. 12 ואם לשוב לאחר הזמן אשביע?

המו"ל מעיר: כמו שעשה יחזקאל מלך יהודה; יחזקאל' טה"ד, במקום: חזקיהו, או יותר נכון: ישעיהו הנביא.

ש. 24-28 לך תערננ נפח – ואם ימצאו, מטרה ומי זהב לך יצמאו.
 לי נראה הסדר שב, קול ענב, סי' מ'ו, שם בש. הא': יצמאו, ובב' יצמאו, והפירוש הוא
 שאדם האוהב כסף וזהב גם אם הוא צמא נפשו תערנו לזהב, והש. הב' הוא כפירוש המו'ל, אלא
 שצריך להוסיף ש, לך יצמאו' הוא עדה': הצאן ובקר ... וס צא להם וכו' (במדבר י"א.
 כ"ב).

ש. 33 ראו לאור הלך פעמים שבע
 כוונתו לו' המתכוין שמנו הקדמונים; הלך' הוא מן: בהלו (איוב כ"ט, נ') והמשורר, או
 אחיו (אם שיר זה הוא ליעקב), מרבה להשתמש במלה זו בתור שם. גם עמנואל במחברותיו
 משתמש בה, למשל: יש לי שכנה תחפיר השמש ב ה ל ה (בראדי, עמ' קנ"א), ועוד.
 ש. 50 ורדה לאשמים
 ר"ל רד שאולה, לפי התרגום לישעיה נ"ט, י'; השוה גם להלן שיר ס"ח ש. 8.

שיר ח'

בהערה ראשונה של המו'ל לשיר זה ישנו ב' טה'ד; במקום: השע'ה ... התמ'ה, צ'ל
 השע'ח ... התמ'ח, עיין בריאון, עמ' XXII; חוץ מזה צריך להוסיף Add קודם 27095.
 ש. 1 שישו בני מעי, ואל תתעצבו,
 זיווג של פתגם חלמודי (ב"מ פ"ג, ב') עם מלים מקראיות וכן גם להלן עמ' 32, ש. 9.
 נכיות בפושרים ולא תירא מהם המסים, ע"ש.

שיר י"ב

ש. 2-3 בתוך הסער בלחי פלוני העברת תער
 המו'ל מוסר לנו שבכ"י של בריט. מוז. הנוסח הוא ה ש ע ר. אין ספק שזהו הנוסח הנכון.
 הפירוש הוא: הכית אותו לחי בפני כל עם ועדה, השווה את הפסוק בש"א ט', י"ח.
 'בתוך הסער' אין לו שום משמעות כאן.
 ש. 5 כחך יישר אשר שברת
 לפי מאמר החלמוד בבב"י ד, ב'.
 ש. 9 על זאת קהלתי (עיין בש"ג) זמרות תען
 ר"ל, הקהלה שהמשורר דר בתוכה ושהמאורע אירע ■■ תשמש על זה.

שיר י"ג

המו'ל מביא בהערותיו (עמ' 227) כתובת הנמצאת בראש כ"י שלו והמיחסת את השיר לר"י
 פראנסיס. אותה הכתובה בעצמה מלה במלה נמצאת בכ"י שלנו ובכ"י ברלין (עיין מ"ש, עמ' 22,
 אות ל). מזה נראה שלג' סופרים אלו היה מקור משותף, והסופר של כ"י ניויורק לא מלבו הוציא
 מלים אלו.
 ש. 19 רק בשאל תחת (צבאה) [צביה] ירמוגן
 המו'ל מעיר: ובכ"י, צביה' שאינו מובן. המלה צב'יה, שפירושה צבא, נמצאת בישעיה
 כ"ט, ו', אלא שהמשקל דרוש כאן יתד. צריך לנקד: בשאול.
 ש. 27 זמן בונד,
 המו'ל מעיר: מבטא רניל בשירה הספרדית. באמת אנו מוצאים אצל ר"ש בן גבירול
 ואצל ר"ש הנגיד שירים המתחילים במבטא זה. זמן = fate.
 ש. ■■ להם לברם נתנה ארץ וכל- ■■ דל ועני לחטף זממו.
 המו'ל מעיר על ב' המלים האחרונות: עדה'כ תהל' ל"א ח'. יש כאן טה'ד וצ"ל: י' ט'

(ואפסע) [ואטען] על פניכם שעל?

ש. 54

המיל אומר: ו.שעל' בא במובן אנרוף. ולי נראה שאין צורך להוציא המלה מפשוטה, אלא נטע' הוא כאן במשמעות קבע', על דרך: וכמשמרות נטועים (קהלת יב, יא), והמסורר אומר שידרוך על פניהם וישבור את עצמות חטמיהם עד שישארו רכים כמו עונות (ש. 53), ועל פניהם ישארו רושמי פסיעותיו.

שיר ה'

אפעה בשושנה [ובציץ] [ומוצץ] ארס;

ש. 12

ר"ל האפעה מוצא גם בשושנה ארס, כך אויבי אחיו מוצאים רע בדבריו של זה, ו' ומוצץ', בשביל המשקל. המסורר חזר על רעיון זה במכתם קס"ב, ע"ש. הביטוי 'מצץ ארס' נמצא גם להלן בשיר ו' ש. 30.

שיר ו'

ידידי נגיד חמודי ודודי כבודי והודי שמע נא נאמי,

כל בית בשיר זה מחולק לד' טורים. ג' טורים הראשונים שבכל בית יש להם חרוז משותף, אלא שכל בית ובית יש לו חרוז בפני עצמו. חרוזו של הטור הד', כאן 'מי', הוא משותף לכל השיר. שיר כזה יש לו לפי' חרוז שכוב (של ג' הטורים הראשונים) וחרוז זקוף (של הטור הד'). המסורר מכנה אותו, ואת השירים הקרובים אליו בבנינים, במ"ש (עמ' 47): שיר מחולק, ויש שקוראים אותו שיר מרובע, שהוא על הפסקים הרבה... ויש שקוראים אותו שיר קסור'. הוא מביא דוגמה משיריו לבניין זה רק את המכתם קע"ו, אע"פ שבאותו עמ' עצמו הוא מביא בקשר אחר את המכתם שלו: בוערים לזמן, ג"כ על בניין זה. הכינוי שיר מחולק נמצא אצל ר' סעדיה ה' דנאן ב, מלאכת השיר' שלו (מהר" נייבאר, עמ' 18) ובס. שקל הקדש, פרק ט"ז (הנספח לס. הרקדוק לשון למודים): הוא נוהג טעם על השם: לפי שיש לו הפסקים וכו'. שיר מרובע' נמצא בס. צחות לראב"ע (פירדא, י' ע"א). הכינוי שיר קסור לשירים כאלו לא נדמן לידי כותב טורים אלו.

בניין זה חביב מאוד על המסוררים. על בניין זה כתובים שירו של דונש לפני תשובותיו על מנחם, שני השירים של תלמידיו מנחם, כמה משירי ר"ש בן גבירול, בתוכם האזהרות שלו, כמה משירי ר"י הלוי, ביחוד במחלקה קול בוכים' (מהר" בראדי, ח"ב). ראב"ע מרבה להשתמש בבניין זה, למשל בשירו הגדול: נדוד הסיר אוני, בפתיחותיו לספריו מאונים וצחות, בשירו שלפני פירושו לקהלת ושלאחריו. אנו מוצאים אותו אצל המסוררים האיטלקיים: עמנואל הרומי, למשל, בשירו: יהודה את חשקי (מחברות, ברלין, 1796, עמ' ק"י) ואצל שמואל בן משה ענו, מן המאה הט"ז, בכמה משיריו, למשל: לבבי יקונן (דר. ברנשטיין, משירי ישראל באיטליה, עמ' י"ח), שהוא על משקל שיר זה. טוריו הקצרים של שיר זה מחזקים את הרושם המוסיקלי שלו.

שיר ז'

ש. 2 ופנע (בכ"י שלנו: ושפלי, כמו שפיל לסיפיה דקרא, ברכות י, א', ויור, שפלי- לצורך החרוז) בים השיר ותבקעהו.

המיל אומר שבכ"י שלו ג"כ נאמר: וטפל (אולי: ופלו), או: וטבל. ר"ל וינצבורג מציע (אנואל, XV, עמ' ט') לקרוא, וטבע' ומביא זה בקשר עם הפתח הגרמני Tauch im Meer des sink, טבע משמעותה טבל, וטבע משמעותה טבע, טבעה שפינתו בים, וכשארם כבר טבע בים שוב אינו בוקע אותו. בכלל המסורר משמש בים הזמיר, למשל בס' קליא ש. 10 וקס"א ש. 7.

72 ■

שיר ב'

6. 7

20 .7

ש. 45-46. נינים וכרדים... יהיו מתי מספר ואנשי ישר.

שִׁיר ב'

המסורר ר' (יעקב) חורז כאן רעש עם כעס ותעש, מה שאסור לעשות לפי דעת אחיו ר' עמנואל (מ"ט, עמ' 42), אבל גם זה עצמו חורז כך בשיר ס"ד ש. 10, 12, 14. גם הביטוי, שר (או: שור) רעש אינו מחזור.

23 17

ש. 24. שוים, כאלו ברפוס גרפסו.

36-35 20

ש. 38 שירו (בכ"י של המו"ל: שירים), אדנים, איר ואיר גנילה

אין לזה מסמעות, אבל לפי הנוסח: שרם, אדם (עיי' בש"ז) זה מוסב על 'יבא אליהו' הנזכר ב"ש. הקודמת, ואע"פ שהמשורר אומר ב"ש. ³⁴ משיח'ו בגוף ראשון, התייר לעצמו לשנות את הנופים, דבר הנוהג הרבה במסר.

הערות וביאורים

שיר א'

- ש. 1 עשנות לכבי
המיל מעיר: עשנות - עשנות (איוב י"ב, ה'). הניקוד הרגיל הוא: לעשנות, בשורק.
ש. 2 נם כי כבר ימים אני הפעם,
הצירוף. כבר ימים' אינו שכיח, אבל המשורר משתמש בו גם במקום אחר, עיין בראדי
(מ"ש, עמ' 21, אות ה').
- ש. 3-7 כי כארי בין בהמות היער, ככפיר בעררי צאן אהי בשער.
עדה"כ בטיחה ה', ז'. ביטוי זה אנו מוצאים גם להלן בדיואן (עמ' 32 ■ ■ ■ מלמטה). החרוז
הוא כאן: יער, שער, לפי המבטא הספרדי, וכן להלן (ש. 15-16) יוקים - שקים. המיל מעיר
על תופעה זו כמה פעמים, אלא שכראי להוסיף שהמשורר אומר בפירוש שחרוזים כאלו הם
מותרים, ח"ל: ודע שנהפחה עם הקמץ בין המשוררים שוות יחד, וכן הצירי והסגול וכן השורק
וג' נקודות (מ"ש, מהד' בראדי, עמ' 41, וכן בכ"י).
- ש. 9 כן כאשר ■ ■ ■ בעת יגיע
המלה. כן' היא כאן יתירה ובאה רק בשביל המשקל. שמש משמש פעמים גם בלשון זכר,
למשל בבראשית י"ט, כז', וכאן השתמש בו המשורר בלי' בשביל המשקל וחציו בש. 12).
- ש. 10 שערי קדם
בתנ"ך: שער הקדמים (יחזקאל מ, מ"ד), ושמי קדם (תהלים ס"ה, ל"ד).
ש. 12 ולאור חצציו
ר"ל, של השמש, עדה"כ: חצציו יתהלכו (תהלים ע"ז, י"ח), ולפי פירוש ראב"ע הם
ברקים.
- ש. 13 ■ ■ ■ זמירי זהרו יופיע,
ר"ל ■ ■ ■ זמירי יופיע, הסמוך קודם לנסמך, עדה"כ: החכם עיניו בראשו וקהלת
ב', י"ד).
- ש. 15-16 ונהי בחגו השיר כמיומים ■ ■ ■ אני, הם כוכבי שמים.
צריך לנקד: וְנָהִי (במדבר י"ג, ל"ג). חגו נמצא רק עם ■ ■ ■ (איוב כ"ב, י"ד), והמשורר
אומר ■ ■ ■ הוא ויתר המשוררים יהיו יחד בחגו, ■ ■ ■ יוכחו הכל שיחסו אליהם הוא כיחס ■ ■ ■
אל הכוכבים.
- ש. 30 קלא מפנק מאסור לא ילא:
צ"ל: מאסור לא ילא, מקביל לכלא מפנק: מאסור וכו' היה משמעותו שהמנונה על כך
לא ילא מאסור אנשים. לדוח החרוז כתב המשורר. ילא' במקום ילאה'.
ש. 35 יתר שאת על כל (ב) [נ]ילך קמת,
ר"ל, עליית על כל בני גילך, עדה"כ: הילדים אשר כנילכם (דניאל א', י').
ש. ■ ■ ■ טוב שכלך
ר"ל, שכלך הטוב, עדה"כ בש"א כ"ה, ג'.
- ש. 47-48 דעי חדל! לא זאת תהי הדרך, כי זה לזה יהיו לברם ערך.
המיל מפרש: ערכן של השושנה והלבנה יסאר לבדו ובודד מפני שלא יגיע לערך הכלה,
ולי נראה שהמשורר אומר שאין למצוא ערכה של הכלה בדבר שחזק מהם, אלא צריך להעריך
אותה אל החתן, לפי שהם לברם יש להם ערך זה לזה.
ש. 51 ורב חניה
גם להלן, שיר ג' ש. 13 וע' ש. 4, משתמש המשורר בחנים, לשון רבים. ■ ■ ■ זה נמצא
לה

כתב יד

דפוס

שיר קעז

לצור

5 לציר

בקעח אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

מכתם קעט

תכונתי (עיי' בה' המו"ל ובהערותי)

2 תבונתי

המכתמים קפ-קפג אינם נמצאים בכ"י

במכתם קפר אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

מלואים III-I איתם נמצאים בכ"י

בV-I אין ש"נ

V, 2

שרי

1 שרי

בכ"י הש. 2, 3 הן מחולפות

| דפוס | עמ' 296 | כתב יד |
|--------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| 4 יודעים | | מבינים |
| 5 וימלך ב | | וימלך לבי |
| 7 אמיתי | | אמת יאמרו |
| 8 אידי המאפל | | אידי המאכל |
| 12 מתושלה | | ... וקורות ביתך ר"ל מאורעות |

שיר קסו

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 דודי | גם בכ"י שלנו: דוד (עיי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 3 בית תחבר | בי תתחבר |
| 10 אם ילאך | |
| רגלי | ... ילאוך רגלים (ירמיה י"ב, ה') |
| 18 טעם שירים | |
| תוכל | שעם שרים ... (השוה הושע י"ב, ה') |
| 20 על כן | גם ... |
| 27 שירך תנעם | שירתך ... |

שיר קסח

| | |
|-----------------|---------|
| 10 גם יפי | ויפי |
| (15) 14 יראת יי | ... האל |

שיר קסט

| | |
|---------|--------|
| 7 ליקום | לי קום |
| ■ גם | כן |

במכתם קע אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

בקעא אין ש"נ

מכתם קעב

1 וטובה תיקון זה של רבניצקי מתאשר עפ"י כה"י

בקעג וקעד אין ש"נ

מכתם קעה

■ בחבקו מחבק (עיי' בה' המו"ל)

מכתם קעו

2 תהי נא אהובה תהי היא ...

| דפוס | קסא | כתב יד |
|------|-------------|----------------------------|
| 5 | וידו | והודו |
| 7 | ביס ... בצי | כיס ... כצי |
| 8 | בכנף | ככנף |
| 9 | אחריו | אמריו (אמריו יש כבר בש. 8) |

במכתם קסב אין ש"נ

מכתם קסג

| | | |
|---|------|------|
| 1 | בשיר | כשיר |
|---|------|------|

מכתם קסד

בכ"י כותרת: שיר לאלינועם בתחילת ספרו

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 2 | חוץ ממרור ... מיץ ממרור | לד לו תו (מם הא' של ממרור צריך לנקד |
| | לד לו תו | לפי"ז בפתח. עיין בה' המו"ל) |
| 3 | במררוה | במרמחה |

שיר קסה

| | | |
|---------|-----------|----------------------|
| 5 | אהי | אהיה (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 11 | בין | כן |
| 12 | כדור | ברור |
| עמ' 295 | ה' לש. 20 | |
| 2 | שהוא | שהיא |
| 5 | האמת | אמת |
| ■ | כדור | ברור |

שיר קסו

| | | |
|----|------------|--|
| 2 | ל אין יגעת | לריק ... (יש. מ"ט, ד'. עיי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 16 | עליהם | אליהם |

עמ' 295 הערה לש. 28

| | | |
|---|-------------|-----------|
| 1 | זאת | זו |
| 2 | הסומא - הוא | |
| | החלום | ... החולם |

עמ' 296

| | | |
|---|------------|------------|
| 1 | נראה בעי'ן | נראה לעי'ן |
| " | עינו החלום | החולם עינו |

דפוס

כתב יד

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| שיר (קנט) קנה, בכ"י כותרת ח"ל: שיר באופן אחר | |
| 10 שאנה משלי | שא נא משלים |
| | בכ"י החרוזות ד' וה' הן מחולפות |
| הערה א', מדברים | ה יו מדברים |
| הערה ג', ושמעו | |
| לדבריו | ליתא |

שיר קס

כותרת, וכוח – שירה וכוח

35 חסדי חסד

54 מיין הלקח ... הרקח

(יין הרקח)

נמצא בש. 52)

56 החן חן

60 דודים דודים

63 שתרצה שתחפוץ

73, 74 דודי דוד

בכ"י כתוב קודם ש. 73: י"ר, קודם 74, י"ט וקודם 75: י"ר י"ט יחד

85 לא תתאחר גם בכ"י שלנו: לתתאחר (עיי' בה' המו"ל)

88 מפשעם מרשעך

97 בכסילות בסכלות

100 מוסיף דעה יוסיף ...

109 יקר הוא ... מכבוד

145 עשן אורים ... אודים (ישעיה ז', ד')

עמ' 202, הגהה

בסוגרים ליתא

173 ובגן עדן ... עדנך

174 על אל

184 הופיע מופיע

194 שרץ, עקרב שרץ ... (דברים ח' ט"ו)

206 ליתא

211 טאטארוק"א טאטארוק"א

שיר קסא

2 הלא כלא (עיי' להלן בהערות)

4 בדרכי כדרכי

| | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|
| דפוס | קנה | כתב יד |
| 38 ולירות | לִירוֹת (הנקוד שלי; זכריה ב', ד') | |
| 60 ועוגב'י נביאיו | | |
| הם | ועזב... היום (עי' בה' המו"ל) | |
| 70 כדאי (בדלת | עֲדָן (הנקוד שלי) | |
| ובסוגר) | | |
| הערה א, שיר ד' | שיר ו' | |

ה' ג' מוסבת בכ"י על ש. 23

שם, הנגרים ונגרים

ה' ד' מוסבת בכ"י על ש. 28

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| שם, להש"ץ | מלה זו נמחקה שם |
| שם, בכולם | ליתא |
| שם, שימצא | אשר נמצא |

שיר קנו לא נמצא בכ"י

שיר קנו

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2 כזבוב תדמה לזבוב... | |
| 4 ואמר | ויאמר |
| 6 תהלך | תהלך |
| 8 זה | הוא |
| " כזבך | כזבים הוא |
| 35 רובע | השערתו של המו"ל מתאשרת ע"י כה"י |
| 47 בעונים | בעונים |
| 50 יסרח וישרע | יסרח מה שרע |
| 59 וכי | הכי |
| 61 מאהלך תעד | ... תגוד |
| הערה א', חגי | אחג'ם |
| שם פקד | פקד |
| הערה ד', שבר | שיבר |
| הערה ה', והיה | היה |
| הערה ו', מוסבת בכ"י על ש. 38 | |
| שם, אנשים ונשים | לנשים ואנשים |
| שם, לאיש אחר | לאחר |
| הערה ז', בשיר | בשירי |
| הערה ח' מוסבת בכ"י על ש. 47 | |
| הערה י' המקום | והמקום |

| דפוס | קנב | כתב יד |
|-----------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| 18 בצבי | | גם בכ"י שלנו: כצבי (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| " כמכשפה | | כמכשפה |
| 19 י ר ח זיוה | | י מ ח זיוה |
| " תבכה | | תבכה (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 20 עתיד כבנו(ת) | | עתיר כבנו |
| 21 לטמיון | | לטמיון |
| " מסלעה | | מסל-עה |
| 22 נקם נקם | | נקם נקם |
| 25 השע | | תיקון זה של רבניצקי מתאשר ע"י כה"י |
| 26 החל | | תיקון זה של המו"ל מתאשר ע"י כה"י |
| 28 עטי | | עטי |
| " כי | | פי (וכן אצל מורטרה) |
| 31 ערי עלי אשרי | | ערי אלי אשרי |
| 34 פה | | פה |
| 35 פנות פנות | | פנות פנות |

שיר קנג

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 3 ירגעו | יורגעו |
| 5 בשרו | בושרו |
| 6 אחר | גם בכ"י שלנו: לאחר (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 8 ב ד ת ברית | בדס ... |
| 9 אחרי | אמרו |
| 14 מאמיניו | מאמיט'ו (עי' בשיר קנ"ו, ש. 3) |
| 21 כף | כף ל כף (לפי המשקל) |
| 30 נפרצו | נפורו |
| 31 ויתגלעו | והתגלעו |
| 32 חנף ל ב א יך | |
| אסמיו מ ל א ו | ... לבב אסמיו נמלאו |
| 38 שחחו | חקונו של רבניצקי מתאשר ע"י כה"י |

הערה ג' מוסבת בכ"י על ש. 19. כנראה נחלפו הערות ב' וג' זו בזו

שיר קנד לא נמצא בכ"י

שיר קנה

| | |
|------------|--|
| 4 ואחריו | אמרך |
| 6 והמדות | גם בכ"י שלנו: והח(?)ידות (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 31 בשלחנים | בשלחנם |

כח
דפוס
קמז
כתב יד
מיכאל וילנסקי
[כח]

הסדר בכ"י הוא שונה מבנדרפס; לאחר ש. 12 באה ש. 27
עם כחובת: כת נביאים, אבל אי אפשר לעמוד בדיוק על
הסדר, לפי שהשורות הן שם בערבוביה

שיר קמח

בכ"י כותרת ח"ל: שיר לחן שיר לאילת אהבים
מהר (עי' בה' המו"ל) 5 יה

שיר קמט

ישימחו (מוסב על "שב עם צעיר ימים" שבש. הקודמת) 9

שיר קנ

1 גשה ידיד כן בכ"י 476, אבל בכ"י 480, במקום שנמצאת ש. זו לדוגמה:
קרב בני
" ובי
4 דחי
6 ובי... בלי וכי... בלא.
7 רעי בגל': רעי בל' חכמים
8 ו לא פדות בלא...
14 יקסה בכ"י שלנו: מכוסה (עי' בה' המו"ל)
15 האלהים אלדים
1 מלמטה, לבבי לבי

עמ' 178, ש. 1 לא יעזרו

כח לא יעזרו... (דניאל י, ח')
3 לצון ליצנות
" אף תיקונו של רבניצקי מתאשר ע"י כה"י (עיין בה' המו"ל)

מכחם קנא

1 וייקר וייקר

שיר קנב

■ עלה עלה
12 מה לעדה קה...
13 תדרש דמיה... דפיה (לפי העניין ולפי המשקל)
15 זהור עוד (עי' בה' המו"ל)

דפוס

כתב יד

בשיר קמה אין ש"נ

שיר קמו

| | | |
|---------|---------------|---|
| 1 | בחורים | הבחורים |
| 2 | ברורים כלם... | |
| | נמרים | |
| | ומהדרים | ברורים מהדרים |
| 3 | מזמרים | מזמורים |
| 6 | ראשו | ראשם |
| 7 | כספר | בשפר |
| | כותרת, ארייטא | ארייטא |
| | " ריציטאטיוו | ריציטאטיוו |
| (14) 15 | על | עלי |
| | | בין הש. 16 ובין הש. 17 יש בכ"י שורה חדשה: לא עוד לעג |
| | | וקלם |
| 32 | מנות | מעות |
| 43 | אחיו דלפון | דלפון אחיו |
| 68 | גם | גיל |
| | | בין ש. 69 ובין ש. 70 יש בכ"י ש. חדשה: הודו אל מי נוצח |
| | | (באופן זה יש בחרוזה „עלזו" 20 ש.) |
| | | הש. 91 שהיא, הכפלתה של הש. 90 חסירה בכ"י, אלא |
| | | שהסופר השאיר שם ריוח(?) |

עמ' 167 כותרת א',

| | |
|--|---------------|
| המתחלת | המתחילה |
| גמר (בשיר זה אין יתדות) | 105 (110) גמר |
| הש. (115) 110, שהיא הכפלתה של ש. 1, חסירה בכ"י | |

שיר קמו

כותרת, 2 מחוז...

| | |
|------------|----------------------|
| שלח | מטרופולין של טוסקאנה |
| שם, 3 בשני | בשתי |

עמ' 170

13-12 שבעתים אל

חיקם...

לשכני (עדה"כ בתהלים ע"ט, י"ב)

כו מיכאל וילנסקי [כו]

דפוס קלו כתב יד שופע 5 שומע
 בכ"י באה הש. 26 גם לאחר ש. 17, אלא "אויטי" במקום
 "קויטי" בב' הפעמים (עי' בה' המו"ל)

שיר קלח

אליהו 10 אליה (וכן בשאר הפעמים שנוכר בשיר שם זה)
 לקראתו 17 לקראתם (מוסב על "בניך" שבש. 15)
 כפות 18 כפיו (עי' בה' המו"ל)
 יעיר 37 יעש

לאחר ש. 37 יש בכ"י זה ש. חדשה: אור צדקו לעד יופיע;
 המו"ל מעיר שגם בכ"י בריטיש מוזיאום נמצאת ש. זו אלא
 שם. "לפניו" במקום "לעד" בטעות, לפי שבשיר זה אין יתרות.

שיר קלט

בכ"י כותרת: שיר כנסת ישראל כת משוררי'. ש"נ אין

שיר קמ

הכותרת כתובה באיטלקית כמו בהערות המו"ל
 אוחילה 7 אוחילה

בשיר קמא אין ש"נ

שיר קמב

לגנב 8 לקנות

שיר קמג

ככה 7 לכה (הניקוד שלי; עי' בה' המו"ל)
 מרר 10 מרד (?) (עי' במקום הנ"ל)
 אלימו 20 עלימו בא (עי' במקום הנ"ל)
 בין ש. 20 ובין ש. 21 יש בכ"י ש. חדשה: ובארצם ימש חשך

שיר קמד

אל תשמח לי 7 כן גם בכ"י במקום שנדפס כל השיר, אבל ב. מתק שפתים"
 אויבתי במקום שחרוזה זו מובאת לדוגמה: תשמחי (מיכה ז', ח')
 ועל פתרום 32 על...
 אם בדר 43 כי אם... (השוה ש. 5 וש. 23)
 צורי 70 צור

דפוס

כתב יד

עמ' 145

| | | |
|----|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 3 | בזמנינו | ... זה |
| " | וסתרי התורה | |
| | מעני כל רז | ...התורה נסתרו מעיני כל חי |
| 5 | לא תדרוש... | |
| | אל תדרוש | אל תדרוש...אל תחקור |
| 7 | לאיש איש עד | |
| | ימות משה | מאיש ולאיש עד מרע"ה |
| 12 | כלו ימיהם | יב(כ?) לו... |
| 13 | צונו | צווינו |
| 15 | ואשר | אשר |
| 17 | בדרך | בצדק |
| 18 | מקולות | |
| | מחצצים | מקול... (שופטים ה', י"א) |
| 19 | המה | הם |
| 24 | ואין בידם ספק | אין ספק בידם |
| " | חרס להתגדר | |
| | בו | ... להתגדר... (איוב ב', ח') |
| 27 | לוולתו | ליתא |

עמ' 146

| | | |
|---|------------|-------------------------|
| 3 | הלכה | ההלכה... |
| " | דוד... ז"ל | תם בכמוהר"ר דוד... זצ"ל |

שיר קלה

| | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 3 | בפיהם | בפיהם |
| ■ | כהלם הפעם | ... פעם (ונכון לפי המשקל וגם ראה בישעיה מ"א, ז') |
| 9 | כבש | כשב |
| | | בסוף השיר בכ"י: עקיב"א נשי"א פר"ס (-יעקב פראנשים) |

שיר קלו

בכ"י יש כותרת: תחינה. אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קלו

בכ"י כותרת: שיר לחן Belta Se il Seren di tua

תוחל

תחל 4

דפוס עמ' 142 כחב יד

5 מלמטה, בסודות

ע מ ו ק י ם

ו ב ד ב ר י ם ... עמוקות ודברים

4 מלמטה, הזרים

והרקים זרים ורקים

3 מלמטה, ראש

חמתו

שם, אין ל ה ם ב ה ם ... (עי' במקום הנ"ל, יש כאן

ל ה ם דעת ערבוב של ב' נוסחאות)

עמ' 143

1 כי תחת ... ה' שתחת ... אל

2 חכמים החכמים

שיר קלב

2 כנף זמיר

כנת ... (עיין להלן בהערות)

6 גם בכ"י שלנו: יחשה (עי' בה' המו"ל)

זמת (עי' להלן בהערות)

12 גם בכ"י שלנו: כברזל (עי' בה' המו"ל)

עמ' 144

1 האמת לבני ושמ המדבר) האמת

2 התשבחות השבחות

6 קמו לעזרת ה' קמו לעזרת ה' (עי' במקום הנ"ל)

7 ללמד ... יהודה ליתא

9 עתה ועתה

11 אחי אחי החר"י

7 מלמטה, פירינצי,

ואח"כ פירנצי (וכן במקומות אחרים) אח"כ

6 מלמטה, ר' ליתא

שם, שהרא"מ שהרב מזרחי (עי' במקום הנ"ל)

3 מלמטה, לפי

שאינה מצויה

אצלנו למי שאינה ... אצלו (עי' במקום הנ"ל)

| דפוס | עמ' 137 | כתב יד |
|------------|---------|--------------|
| השירה | | אחרי רוח ... |
| מלמטה, והא | | והנה |

1

שיר קלא

| | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--|
| 6-1 | הן בכ"י כמו בנוסח ההערות | |
| 11 | אחי | גם בכ"י שלנו: אחיה (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 15 | עת | את (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 23 | וּזְכָפִי | גם בכ"י שלנו: ובפי (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 25 | בבית | בביתי |
| 26 | בתוך ונבל | אינו ברור אם כמו בנדפס או: בתוך (כנראה נשתנתה האות ך"ל-ף) ונבל (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 27 | שור | שור (הנקוד שלי) |
| 28 | מסבל | גם בכ"י שלנו: משכל (אויב י"ז, ד'. עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 42 | ירגז | גם בכ"י שלנו: ירגש (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 44 | חשמרן | חשמרם (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 49 | אך | אף |
| 50 | כחוץ הטבע | גם בכ"י שלנו: כחק השנ?בע (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 55 | עשה | ידע, ובגל' רשימה: חיבה הזאת חסרה וכתביה מדעתי |
| 56 | עור, אדפסה | עד אדפסה ל י ס פ ר (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| | והזפסר | חוך |
| 67 | צוף | גם בכ"י שלנו: מלי (עי' במקום הנ"ל, ואין צורך לתיקון) |
| 76 | מני | ולנואלי דמי (הניקוד שלי) |
| 81 | ולנואלי, רעי | לדורים |
| 83 | לדורים | |
| 91 | יחי רוחי בים | יחי רוחי כיים (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 93 | צמאים | גם בכ"י שלנו: צמים (עי' במקום הנ"ל ולהלן בה') |
| 95 | נעם | טעם |
| 98 | לא ... | להגות (הגות' נתוספה ביד מאוחרת) |
| 100 | ילעיגו | גם בכ"י שלנו: תלעיגו (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 102 | תכלינה | גם בכ"י שלנו: תכהינה (בר' כ"ז, א'. עי' במקום הנ"ל) |

עמ' 142

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| 10 | מלמטה, מה ... | |
| | ומה הגיע עליהם גם בכ"י שלנו: אליהם (אסתר ט', כ"ו. עי' בה' המו"ל) | |
| 7 | מלמטה, לבם | |
| | פתוח כפתחו | גם בכ"י שלנו. פתוח' ליתא (עי' בה' המו"ל) |

| דפוס | קכח | כתב יד |
|---|-----|----------|
| 8 יקראו | | יקראו |
| 10 יקראו | | יקראוהו |
| 11 אשרי העם | | ... הגוי |
| 13 בתי | | ליחא |
| " נמצאה | | נמצא |
| 4 מלמטה, ידו כביר ידו מצאה כביר (איוב ל"א, כ"ה) | | |

עמ' 136

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| 1 משלו | את משלו |
| 6 מלמטה, ז"ל | ליחא |

בשיר קכט אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קל

| | |
|----------------|---|
| 1 אל | גם בכ"י שלנו ליחא (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 5 חוננני | חנני (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| " לדעת | גם בכ"י שלנו: וטעם (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 6 לגוד | לנוס (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 7 לנפשי | גם בכ"י שלנו: נפשי (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 8 והזמות | המות |
| 14 אף | את (עי' להלן בהערות) |
| 15 תהם מארץ | תסחם ... (והניקוד שלי, השוה יחזקאל כ"ו, ד') |
| 19 ממעלם | גם בכ"י שלנו: ממעללם (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 21 עמי יהלכו | גם בכ"י שלנו: בי יהלכו (עי' במקום הנ"ל) |
| 23 ינוסו צוררי | ינוסו צוררי |

בדפוס השיר מחולק לו' חרוזים, ד' שורות לחרוז, בכ"י -
לג', מסומנים באותיות א'-ג', ח' שורות לחרוז

עמ' 137

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 6 מלמטה, החרי"ף | אז... |
| 5 מלמטה, ישובו | יבשו |
| 3 מלמטה, קצהו | תראה |
| שם, אחרי ואשר רוח | ... תראה וכלו לא תראה (עי' בה' המו"ל) |

כתב יד

דפוס

עמ' 132

| | | |
|----|----------------|---------------------|
| 7 | א ד ס גדול | גדול |
| 8 | לא נהיה | לא היה |
| 12 | נהירא | נהירין |
| 13 | י פ ו מי | |
| | יכויבך (השוה | |
| | איוב כ"ד, כ"ה) | אפוא ... |
| " | שמעו עמים כלם | ליחא |
| 15 | בסולם | לסולם |
| 17 | מאחיו | מאמו |
| 24 | ש ל ח ו שאלות | |
| | מ ה ס | ש א ל ו שאלות מ ת ס |

עמ' 133

| | | |
|----|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 5 | ו ל א תלך | ו א ל תלך |
| 10 | לא אוסיף לדבר | ... אוסיף עוד לדבר (דברים ג', כ"ו) |

שיר קכו

| | | |
|------------|---------------|--|
| 1 | תמיד | במ"ש (כ"י): במאד (אבל כאן כמו בדפוס) |
| 3 | אָסמך... בקרב | אָסמך... ובקרב (עיין בהערות המו"ל: גם „ובקרב" הוא נגד המשקל) |
| 5 | דוחק | דחק |
| 7 | מ-יום | מי יום (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 10 | הבנות | הכנות |
| 12 | שנתי | שנתי (ישעיה ל"ח, ט"ו) |
| 19, 31, 32 | | כמו שנחקן בהערות המו"ל |
| 21 | הגדות | אגדות |
| 33 | ארושות | חרושות (עי' בה' המו"ל. השוה ירמיה י"ז, א') |
| 35 | באדי"ה | באהיה |

קכח

| | | |
|---|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 2 | מבה"כ | מבית המדרש (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 4 | לך | לה (ר"ל להשירה הנוכרת קודם לזה) |
| 5 | והעתיקה | ואעתיקה |
| 8 | שכלם שועלים | שכלים שוללים (!) |
| " | צבאות | ליחא |

במכתם קכר אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קכה

| | | |
|----|------|-------|
| 2 | כאשר | באשר |
| 7 | תגע | תפגע |
| 11 | נאים | טובים |

עמ' 129

| | | |
|---|-------------|-------------------------|
| 6 | מלמטה, תכסה | ה א ה ב |
| | | ... אהבה (משלי י', י"ב) |

עמ' 130

| | | |
|----|---------------|---------------|
| 11 | בהמות ה ב י ת | הייתי |
| 8 | מלמטה, ועשה | אונך כאפרכסת |
| | למלי | למלי |
| 7 | מלמטה, על | על ה כ ת פ ים |
| | כ ת פ ים | |

עמ' 131

| | | |
|----|------------------|--------------------------|
| 5 | סכלתי | סכלותי |
| 7 | כי מה הם | שמה שהם |
| 11 | גימטריאות | גמטריות |
| 13 | שקשים | קשים |
| " | יאמר | יאמרו |
| 14 | כ ל העם | וכל ... |
| 9 | מלמטה, בשבתך | ע ל ה כ ס א |
| 7 | מלמטה, דרוש | תדרוש |
| 5 | מלמטה, בטובו | בשכבר |
| 4 | מלמטה, ו א ו ל ם | |
| | א' לאו דמסתפינא | ו ה א ל ק י ם א' ... |
| 3 | מלמטה, קבל | מבלעם (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| | עם | |
| *2 | ולכנס | ולכנוס |

כתב יד

דפוס

עמ' 122

- 4 מלמטה, אבי
ו א ח י ... ואמי

1 מלמטה, ואחר כך ... כן

עמ' 123

- 3 פ ע ס שלש פ ע מ י ס שלש
4 דרך ע צ ב ... עוצב (תהלים קל"ט, כ"ד)
7 ויאכל ויטול ידיו ויאכל
11 לשבוע שמחות שובע... (תהלים ט"ז, י"א)
12 לבוש בגדי

במכתם קכא אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קכב

- 3 נותן ת ה ל ה ... תפלה (נכון לפי המשקל וגם ע' באיוב א', כ"ב)
4 אעל יועל (ועי' בה' המו"ל)
24 עולתה עולה נעלתה ...
27 יום קברותי ... קדרותי
34 יצא הנס יבא ... (עיין בהערות להלן)

עמ' 125

- 13 הנשים, דבר יך הנשים דברים
14 משלים ממשלים קמשלים משלים (הניקוד שלי)

שיר קכג

- 11 נותן ... ת ה ל ה נותן... ת פ ל ה (נכון לפי המשקל, ע' למעלה קכ"ב ש. 3)
20 אן ימלט אן
יפלט הסדר: יפלט, ימלט
30 שויתיה...
חותם על לב שמתיה ... חותם ... (שה"ש ח', ו, אבל המשקל דורש שויתיה)
33 נשכב תחת גילה ... כילה (עיין בהערות להלן)

עמ' 127

- 7 לאשר לא זכה למה שלא זכה
10 מלמטה, לינכונה אלי ... (איוב מ"ב, ח')
7 מלמטה, ואילו ואם

קי אין ש"נ

קיא לא נמצא בכ"י

מכתם קיב, בכ"י יש כותרת: שיר

2 אַל אַל

מליצותי אז אַל מליצתי (הניקוד שלי)

3 מהם לשון קדש מתק לשון...

בכ"י יש כתובת בסוף השיר (פירוש על מארון ואומירו):

Marone civi Vergilis marone היה משורר בלשון רומי

ed Omera היה משורר גדול בלשון יון (השוה עם הכתובת

בהערות המו"ל)

מכתם קיג הוא אחד עם כג, כמו שמעיר המו"ל

קיד-קיו אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קיח

1 אַמך יומך (עי' בה' המו"ל)

7 שחר שחר (עי' להלן בה')

עמ' 119 ש. 16 הוצא הוציא

שיר קיט

1 הוי אוי

7 בשלי בגל' כה"י יש הערה ח"ל: ר"ל בשל' ובהשקט מל' לדבר

אתו בשלי (ש"ב ג, כ"ז)

עמ' 120 ש. 2 מלמטה,

כמהין ופטירות פטריות וכמהין (שנוי הסדר בשביל החרון)

עמ' 121

2 ולהכין ולהביא (המרכא טעונה לפי זה מחיקה)

שם, בכל השוקים

ובמצרים... והחצרים

שיר קכ

5 נבון משערי נבון ומש - ערי (נכון לפי המשקל)

12 לציון בני כציון ביום (עי' להלן בהערות)

13 הלא (השוה בראשית כ"ז, ל"ו)

16 המלוכה מלוכה (נכון לפי המשקל)

דפוס

כתב יד

בציונים צא-צה אין ש"נ

ציון צו

מיון

2 ביין

בציונים צו-צח אין ש"נ

בציונים צט-קא אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר קב

כתובת, יחברו ליתא

2 אקח לכתבו ע ל

ניר ... עט ... (עי' בה' המו"ל)

3 בעוד בעת

7 כי אם כי הם

המכתמים קנ וקד אינם בכ"י

מכתם קה

1 דור, אל

תהיה נזר דוד אל תהי אחר נזר (עדה"כ ביש' א', ד)

2 נראה וראה (עי' בה' המו"ל)

מהארס מן הארס "

מכתם קו

1 בני נהי ולא נהי ולא בני

בין ש. 1 וש. 2 בכ"י ונהפוך הוא

2 ולא נהי בני בני ולא נהי

מכתם קו

2 וישים עט ...

רכובו וישים ע ב ... רכובו (עדה"כ בתהלים ק"ד, ג')

3 אעשה נא אעשה נא (נכון לפי המשקל)

מכתם קח, כמו שמעיר המו"ל, הוא לאלחריזי, אבל הוא נמצא

גם בכ"י שלנו

מכתם קט

4 זה בה

דפוס

כתב יד

שיר עד

- 4 ומחול כ ב ד ו ומחול ע צ מ ו (עדה"כ בירמיה ט"ו, ח')
 14, 15 יכלה כלה, ובגל': ג'ל להניה יכלה וכן בזה (כלומר בש. השניה)
 16 ד מ ו ד' מ ו

שיר עה

בכ"י הכותרת היא רק בת מלה אחת: קינה

- 2 וממרת אחריה ... אמריה
 16 דבר דברי
 24 מקל תפארה ומקל ...
 (ירמיה מ"ח, י"ז)
 26 שדודים טרודים
 30 נפל נפלה (מוסבת על התורה)
 31 תוקעים בבכיה
 השערת רבניצקי שצ"ל: גועים ... מתאשרת ע"י כה"י
 בין הש. 30-31 ישנן בכ"י ג' שורות ח"ל:

עניי עמו בבכי ואנחה כי אול מקליהם משאת וארוקה
 נפשמ לעפר ארץ שקה אשה וקנות ביונות קוננות
 עין נפל ביתן כי נגדעה הקורה אשה וכו' (הניקוד שלי)

שיר עו

- כתובת, מיננטי מנייטו
 6 כ מ ו יום ז"ה במו ...

במכתמים עז ועח אין ש"ג הכדאים להרשם

השירים עט ופ אין בכ"י

בציונים פא-פז אין ש"ג

ציון פח

- 3 ציוני ציוני

בציון פט אין ש"ג הכדאים להרשם

ציון צ בכ"י בלא כותרת

- 2 בהצותיו בהצותו (תהלים ס, ב')

דפוס

כתב יד

שיר סט

- 1 ולא
3 ולא כליתי
- בכ"י שלנו כך (עי' בה' המו"ל)
ופי כלאחי (עי' בה' המו"ל ובה' להלן)

שיר ע

- כתובת, שתילים
4 ושערורה
13 ב ל הפוכה
17 יוכלון
20 בטנן
25 ו ס ב כ י ערי
27 ש מ ע ו נ י אמרר
- שחולים (עפ"י ט"ס נקוד על המלה)
גם בכ"י שלנו: ושערוריה (עי' בה' המו"ל ויפה תיקן)
בלי ...
יוכלו
בטנם
גם בכ"י שלנו: ושבחי ... (עי' בה' המו"ל)
ש ע ו מ נ י אמרר ... (יש. כ"ב, ד')
- בבכי
36 הלא
43 כמידיו
46 נרצפה
48 מפי
68 הנסרו ...
ב ה ב ל י הזמן
- הוסרו ... ב ח ב ל י ...

שיר עא

- כתובת, הסדר בכ"י הוא: נפלה ... גדולה באישון ...
ואפלה
חנה
6, 5 חנא
7 ותכה כף ל כף ... אל כף (עדה"כ ביחוקאל כ"א, י"ט)
הסוגר של 11 והדלת של 12 חסרים בכ"י בסיבת דילוג
יציר
24 יצור

מכתם עב

- בכ"י לשון הכתובת היא: על מצבת מרת חנה אשתי בלשון
איטלקי גראציה תנצב"ה
נבעתי (דניאל ח', י"ז)
נפשי (עי' להלן בהערות)
- 1 נכנעתי
3 אשתי

מכתם עג

- כתובת, על מות על מצבת דוד
גם בכ"י שלנו: כי נא (עי' בה' המו"ל)
- 4 חנא

| | | |
|------|---------------|------|
| יד | מיכאל וילנסקי | [יד] |
| דפוס | כתב יד | |

מכתם סא

| | | |
|---|--------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | יפהפיה | יפפיה |
| 2 | תעשי | בכ"י שלנו: תעשה (עי' בה' המו"ל) |

שיר סב

| | | |
|---|----------|---|
| עפ"י טה"ד מספר השורות מן 5 ואילך אינו מכוון וצריך לפחות אחד מן הגרסא, אבל כאן נרשם המספר כמו שהוא ברפוס | | |
| 6 | שרד | שורד (טה"ד, לפי שהמו"ל מראה מקום לירמיה י', כ') |
| 16 | ברית הפר | גם בכ"י שלנו: הפר ברית, שלא לפי המשקל (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 24 | אמרה | אעשה |
| 70 | יעלה | תעלה |

שיר סג

הכותרת בכ"י היא מפורטת יותר וז"ל: שיר נגד שירי ענבים מתחרט ומתנחם כי עשה אותם, סדר השורות הוא שם מעורבב: פעמים צריך לקרות אותן מלמעלה למטה ופעמים מימין לשמאל

השירים סד-סו אינם בכ"י

שיר סז

| | | |
|--|------------|--|
| בכ"י נחוספו בכתובת לאחר הדברים שנרפסו בדיואן המלים: וזאת הקינה נרפסה (עי' בה' המו"ל) | | |
| 9 | וזמרתיו | וזמרתיו (עיין בהערות המו"ל. צ"ל: וזמרתו) |
| 10 | הו | או |
| 22 | ימץ | ימץ |
| 30 | ושמ"ו או"ן | ושמע"ו הו"ן |
| " | אוקים | אחקיים (וכן בכ"י ד. קויפמן, עיין בצפה"ב, שנה א', עמ' 147 הערה) |
| בסוף, בן... ליתא אדוניו | | |

שיר סח

| | | |
|----|----------|--------------------------|
| 6 | חסק | תישק, ובגל': ל' הבערה |
| 18 | וקפור | וקפו |
| 46 | לשם תובל | ביום תבל (עי' בה' המו"ל) |

| [יג] | מתוך כתבי יד | יג |
|--------------------|--|----|
| דפוס | כתב יד | |
| | שיר (נג) נא | |
| 6 הצניע | תצניע | |
| 7-8 יעלה יופיע ... | ... תופיע ... ותאיר (הניקוד צריך ממילא להיות: יעלה) | |
| 12 אורם | אורה | |
| 13 חנה | חנה | |
| | מכתם (נד) נב אין ש"נ | |
| | שיר (נה) נג בכ"י אין הכתובת שישנה בכ"י של בריטיש מוזיאום ובכלל הנוסחאות הם שוים לאותם שבכ"י ניו יורק | |
| 1 אהבה | גם בכ"י שלנו אהבי (עי' בה' המו"ל) | |
| | שיר (נו) נד | |
| | לפני שיר זה וכן לפני שני השירים הסמוכים בכ"י כתובת: סוניטו | |
| | שיר נה | |
| 2 אזכיר | אזכור | |
| 3 ה כ י בוערת | תהי ... | |
| 13 שני לבות | שתי ... (עיין להלן בהערות) | |
| | שיר נו | |
| 4 כממזרת | כמממזרת (עיין להלן בהערות) | |
| | שיר נז | |
| 2 הושיע | תושיע (עיין בה' המו"ל) | |
| | שיר נח | |
| 6 וגבחתו | בגבחתו | |
| | שיר נט | |
| | אין ש"נ הכראים להרשב | |
| | מכתם ס | |
| 3 שלמה | שלח (הניקוד שלי) | |

| יב | מיכאל וילנסקי | [יב] |
|------|---------------|-------------------------|
| דפוס | מג | כתב יד |
| 6 | יחרפוני | יבישוני (עי' בה' המו"ל) |
| 10 | כיום | ביום (עי' בה' הנ"ל) |
| " | נשארתי | נותרתי (נשארתי בש. 13) |

שיר מד

| | | |
|---|----------|--------|
| 12 | זמירי זה | ... נא |
| בסוף השיר בכ"י כתובת זו"ל: המר והנכאב בדמעתו מתבוסס | | |

שיר (מז) מה

| | | |
|----|------|----------------------------------|
| 3 | צחות | תיקון זה של המו"ל מתאשר ע"י כה"י |
| 21 | יום | אם |

שיר (מח) מו

| | | |
|----|------|-------|
| 10 | אבקש | אבקשה |
|----|------|-------|

במכתם (מט) מז אין ש"נ

שיר (נ) מח

| | | |
|---|-----------------|--|
| בכתובת שלפני השיר, שהמו"ל פרסם אותו בהערותיו, נתוסף בכ"י, אורחים" לאחר מלון"; שם, במעשה" במקום, כמעשה". | | |
| 1, 3 | מלי | חילי (!) |
| 6 | מְרור אָל | מְרור אכל (עדה"כ באיוב ט', י"ח; הניקוד צ"ל ממילא: אָל) |
| 7 | גבורתי ... יחיה | גבירתי ... אוכל |
| 14 | יתנני | יתנוני |
| 32 | בדרך | בערך |
| 47 | כל | די |

שיר (נא) מט

| | | |
|----|--------|---|
| 13 | כי אתה | תיקון זה של המו"ל (עי' בהערותיו) מתאשר ע"י כה"י, אלא ששם חסרה, כ"י הדרושה לפי המשקל |
|----|--------|---|

לפני שיר (נב) נ יש בכ"י כתובת: סוניטו

בשיר לא אין ש"נ הכדאים להרשם

שיר לב

11 (12) ותעל שם ותעט שם לשלל ...

לשלל ... ושבי (עיין בהערות המו"ל)

וצבי ובהערות להלן)

13 (14) בשיירי (נכון לפי המשקל, אלא שצ"ל: בשיירי)

שיר לג

1 האוילים בוז דוד אוילים ... (עי' בה' המו"ל)

5 נחפזו נרמו (עי' בה' המו"ל)

6 הנוסח בכ"י כמו בקול ענב (עי' בה' המו"ל)

10 ועל אחי ומור ... (עי' במקום הנ"ל)

14 בוערים בוקרים (עי' במקום הנ"ל)

השירים לד-מא אינם בכ"י

שיר מב

עמ' 241 (שם נדפס החלק הפרוץ, הקדמה לשיר)

15 כרם חמר ... חמר (ישעיה כ"ז, ב')

16 ועלתה נצה ותעלה ...

(השוה בראשית מ', י')

17 והבשילו

אשכולותיה

ההשכלה ... אשכולות ההשכלה

18 כמו פניו

חרולים כסו ... (משלי כ"ד, ל"א)

20 מהם ישתה מאו שתה

21 ועמך צאן

מרעיתך ... וצאן ... (תהלים ע"ט, י"ג)

22 ואתה (עיין להלן בהערות)

23 תירושך משמח ... המשמח (שופטים ט', י"ג)

26 את חברך את אשר תברך (במדבר כ"ב, ו')

שיר, 3 לאשפות לאשפון (!)

6 היית היום (נכון לפי המשקל)

שיר מג

1 לוחמים נלחמו (עי' בה' המו"ל)

כתב יד

דפוס

שיר כג

בכ"י יש כותרת על השיר: על דבר אמת

שיר כד

8 פוֹנִיִם הִדְרִינוּ הַפֶּעַם ... (צ"ל: הוּעַם)

11 חִלִּיךְ חִלִּיךְ

שיר כה

1 יחשיך יחשיך

2 בְּנֵי חֶפְתָּ – מִתִּי ... (עיין בהערות המו"ל)

שיר כו

בכותרת המלה „ופסק" ל' בכ"י (וכן גם בכ"י ברליון, עיין

מ"ש עמ' 51)

שיר כז

כותרת, מקלסל מקול קול (עיין להלן בהערות)

שם זכז זכז

5 טפל טפל (עיין להלן בהערות)

שיר כח

בכ"י יש כותרת ח"ל:

„חבִּי כִמְעַט רִנֵּעַ עַד יַעֲבֹר זַעַם" (ישעיה כ"ז, כ')

4 ויכונו ויכונו

7 חליך חליך (עי' בה' המו"ל)

8 חבה חבה (עי' בה' הנ"ל)

שיר כט

1 במאסך במאסך

2 לבל ט ע מ ך ... שמערך (עיין להלן בהערות)

3 בתוכך בתוכך (הנקוד שלי)

מעים מעיו (נכון לפי המשקל)

12 מפוער מפוער

השיר ל' הוא בכ"י המשכו של הקודם ומחולק לשני חלקים בעלי ג' שורות.

5 אשיבה אשירה

דפוס

כתב יד

שיר טז אינו בכ"י

שיר ז

(8) 7 זמירם זמירם הם (נכון לפי המשקל)

שיר יח

1 לצביה אל צביה (כך גם באוצר השירה וכו' לדוידזון)

עמ' 32

| | | |
|----|-------------|----------------------------|
| 5 | אשומט | אשומט |
| 6 | דעה | דעת |
| 15 | נשא הו על | |
| | אברתו | ישאהו ... (דברים ל"ב, י"א) |
| 13 | מלמטה, שאין | כי אין |
| 6 | מלמטה, לו | |
| | ו לי תאזה | |
| | לעינים | אלו ואלו ... |

שיר יט

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 2 | כבית צדוק | ככת ... |
| 3 | וביתוס | בני סלוא בנו ... (עי' להלן בה') |
| | בין הש' 3-4 יש בכ"י עור ש'. | |

ח"ל: קאלו הם אבי השיר ושירי
 קבן סורר קבן סובא וזולל (הניקוד שלי)

| | | |
|---|------------------|-----------------|
| 9 | ואדלה מי | ואדלה מ באר ... |
| | באר חידות | |
| | הש, 12 חסרה בכ"י | |

שיר כ

| | | |
|--------|---------------|---------|
| 4(24) | ויעל שבלול | בהר ... |
| | סהר | |
| 13(34) | מלאה צוף מלאת | ... |

שיר כא אינו בכ"י

שיר כב

7 כי עינך תעיף בו ... (השוה משלי כ"ג, ה')

שיר יב

בכ"י יש כתובת על גבי השיר ח"ל: שירה שלוחה מאת המחבר
לאיש חיל רב פעלים אשר העביר תער על פני איש רע
מעללים ומוסר ממנו של ישראל

9 תהלתי זמירות

תען קהלתי ... (עיין להלן בהערות)

שיר יג

| | | |
|----|-------------|--|
| 4 | גבוה לב | נבוהי ... (באותה ש. 'ידיהם', בלשון רבים) |
| 8 | יחלצו | ויחלצו (אפשר לנקד: ויחלצו) |
| " | את מלחמות | גם בכ"י שלנו: אל ... (עיין בהערות המו"ל) |
| 15 | רביד חשכמו | ... חשקמו |
| 19 | צבאה | צביה (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| 35 | צדק | צדיק (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| 39 | ישמח | שמח (עדה"כ בשמות ד', י"ד) |
| 41 | נחתמו | גם בכ"י שלנו: נעקמו (עיין בהערות המו"ל. אולי צ"ל: נעלמו) |
| 42 | שלחו | שאלו (עיין בהערות המו"ל ובהערות להלן) |
| 46 | כפז | כפך (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| 51 | כי קט מעט | |
| | נשלו שאון | |
| | חילם והם | כי עט (צ"ל: עוד) מעט נשלם ... חילם ותם |
| 56 | לגוי כמו זה | בגוי אשר כזה (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| 58 | יתלכדון | יתלכדו |
| 66 | זמ | יום (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| 70 | אף | אך |

שיר יד

| | | |
|---|--------------|---|
| 1 | שורו ורהו | בכותרת השיר נתוספו בכ"י באחרונה המלים: בר מנן |
| 9 | העצבון עיבון | ... וראו (עיין להלן בהערות) |
| | | העזבון עצבון |

שיר טו

| | | |
|----|------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | יגיע | יגיע וגם (שני הנוסחאות נגד המשקל) |
| 3 | שור | יישיר |
| 6 | על | עלי (נכון לפי המשקל) |
| 32 | האל | ידו"ד אל |

| [ז] | מתוך כתבי יד | | ז |
|------|--------------|-----------------------------|---|
| דפוס | ז | כתב יד | |
| 4 | ותפצעהו | ותפדעהו (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | |
| 30 | מוצצו | מצצו | |
| 42 | תהס | יהיה (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | |

שיר ח

| | | | |
|--|----------------|--|--|
| נמצא בב' מקומות בכ"י: בס' מתק שפתים = I ובתור שיר בפני עצמו = II | | | |
| 2 | גם כי עדן | ואם (I) | |
| 3 | רבות | רבת (תהלים קכ"ג, ד') בנל' I נרשם הנוסח של בריטיש מוזיאום בהוספת „אותי" אחר „לענה", לפי המשקל (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | |
| 7 | פצוי | פדות (עיין בה' הנ"ל) | |
| 8-6 | II כמו בבריטיש | מחזיאום (עיין בה' הנ"ל; „לו" במקום „לא") | |
| 12 | תהמי | חיקון זה של בראדי מתאשר ע"י כה"י (ע"י בה' הנ"ל) | |
| 14 | לעולם | I לעולמים (ע"י בה' הנ"ל) | |

שיר ט

| | | | |
|--|----------|---------|--|
| ב' הנוסחאות של הכותרת שבהערות המו"ל נמצאים בכ"י בשינויים קטנים | | | |
| 18 | יתמו ימי | יתם זמן | |

שיר י

| | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|--|
| | | | I = נמצא בשני מקומות: במתק שפתים רק החרוזה הא' |
| | | | ובתור שיר בפני עצמו = II |
| 5 | בזמן זה עוד אקו זה אקוה בזמן (I) II | הזה" במקום ,זה" (עיינ' בהערות המו"ל) | |
| 7 | נטו ימי בחרות נסו . . . | | |
| 9 | כלו בעשן . . . כעשן (בכמה כ"י עתיקים: כעשן, עי' בתנ"ך גינצבורג) | (תהלים ל"ז, כ') | |
| 13 | התרוממי | התקוממי | |
| 16 | באשר | כאשר | |
| 27 | אחרי | אחר (ב' הנוסחאות נגד המשקל) | |

שיר יא

| | | | |
|--|-------|--------------------------|--|
| בכ"י יש כתובת לפני השיר: כמ"ש אלינועם (= עמנואל פראנסיש) בשם חכם אחד | | | |
| 14 | שאדיה | שאדי (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | |

כתב יד

דפוס

שיר א

| | | |
|--|--------|----|
| חושו | גשו | 5 |
| תיקונו של רבניצקי מתאשר ע"י כה"י (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | שבחות | 19 |
| תודיעו | הודיעו | 21 |
| כגילך | בגילך | 35 |
| שלאה ובגל' ביד אחרת: נ"ל שלימה | מלאה | 44 |
| מיוחס | מיחד | 61 |

שיר ב

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|----|
| כאשר | באשר | 1 |
| ברור (מוטב: לרור) | כבר | 6 |
| אלי (לפי המשקל) | לי | 24 |
| | רוח נדיבה | 59 |
| רוח ... נו ס ס ה (ישעיה נ"ט, י"ט) | נו ס פ ה | |

שיר ג

כותרת

לא שקיפוס

| | | |
|---|--------------|----|
| לאשקפ"נס עבר"י (אותיות, יעקב פראנסיש') | עברי | |
| כמשוד | כמשד | 22 |
| יוחסין (לפי המשקל, עיין להלן בהערות) | יחסין | 23 |
| גם בכ"י שלנו ליחא (עיין בהערות המו"ל) | צבעי | 28 |
| שרם אדנם (עי' בהערות המו"ל ולהלן בהערות) | שירי, אדנים, | 38 |
| מלי (הניקוד שלי) | משלי | 41 |
| יעיף | יעף | 43 |
| גם בכ"י שלנו: ואטע (עיין בהערות המו"ל ובהערותי) | ואפסע | 54 |

שיר ד אינו בכ"י

שיר ה

| | | |
|--|-------|----|
| גם בכ"י שלנו: ומוצץ (עיין בהערות המו"ל ולהלן בהערות) | ובציץ | 12 |
|--|-------|----|

שיר ו

| | | |
|---------------|---------------|---|
| אטומים נחונים | נחונים אטומים | 2 |
|---------------|---------------|---|

שיר ז

| | | |
|------------------------|------|---|
| שפלי (עי' להלן בהערות) | ופנע | 2 |
|------------------------|------|---|

ד.

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| יֹם מֵת צָדִיק | מֵת אֶל עֲמוֹ, |
| עַל בֶּן עָלְיוֹ | נָשָׂא נְהִיָּה. |
| גַּם עַל רָשָׁע | נִשְׁפּוֹךְ בִּקְיָה, |
| יַעַן לֹא מֵת | כִּי אֶל עֲצָמוֹ. |

ד.

ש. 1, יום מת וכו', לכאורה המלה "אם" מתאמת כאן יותר, ואולי זהו ט"ס.
 ש. 2, נשא נהיה - רמז לירמיה ט', י"ז. המלה נהיה לא נמצאת במקרא, אבל המשורר משתמש בה, למשל, בשיר ס"ח ש. 20 וגם משוררים אחרים משתמשים בה וחוזים אותה עם "בכיה" כמו כאן (עיין במלון בן יהודה ערך זה, אלא שהוא מנקד: נְהִיָּה). המשורר אומר שצריך להתאבל על כל מת: אם הוא צדיק - על חסרונו המורגש, ואם הוא רשע - על המת עצמו, שאין איש מרגיש בהעדרו. במכתם ק"ט המשורר מביע את הרעיון ההפכי.
 מכתם זה נמצא גם בכ"ז ברלין ובודלי, ראה אוצר השירה וכו' לדוידזון בערכו.

ועתה אני עובר אל רשימת שינויי הנוסחאות ואל הערותי. כשאני מעתיק בשביל הערותי את טופס השירים שאני מעיר עליהם, אני נוהג הרבה פעמים, כשיש שני, לשים את הדפוס בסוגרים עגולים ואת נוסח כה' בסוגרים מרובעים, אפילו במקום שב' הנוסחאות הם שקולים, כדי להבדיל ביניהם.

גורו מְנוּ אִישִׁים עַד לֹא יִבֶּשׁ מַעֲיָן, נִקְצָץ אֵילָן.
שְׁמַעוּ אֶל קוֹל קוֹרָא שׁוֹבֵב עֲצָה טוֹבָה קִמְשַׁמֵּעַ לָן.

ג.

וְאֵין בְּךָ דְּבַר אֱמֶת וְאֵיךְ אֶקוּ לְךָ זְמַן?
בְּרוּם זָבוּל זָבוּל בְּסִיל, וּבּוֹר שְׂאוֹל לְבַר תָּמָן,
וְרֹאשׁ בְּפִי צָבִי תָשׁוּ, בְּפִי חֲמוֹר דְּבֶשׁ וְזָמָן.

נותן לך, הוא נעשה ערב קבלן; ע"ד ההפרש שביניהם, עיין במשנה
תורה לרמב"ם הלכות מלוה ולוה, פכ"ה.
ש. 4, גורו מנו – עדה"כ בתהלים כ"ב, כ"ד; "מנו" במקום "ממנו", לדוחק המשקל...
"מנו" מוסב על המות הנזכר קודם, עפ"י המאמר: לעולם ירגיו
אדם יצר טוב על יצר הרע... אם נצחו מוטב ואם לאו יזכור
ל י ו ס ה מ י ת ה (ברכות ה', א').
שם, עד לא... אילן – ראה בכורים פ"א, מ"ו, ר"ל קודם שיחלש ויזקן האדם.
ש. 5, עצה... לך – ביטוי תלמודי, ר"ל, מכיוון שתענוגי עוה"ז אינם נצחיים,
מוטב שיעשה האדם תשובה ויוותר על אלו מהם ברצונו הטוב, כשהוא
עדיין במבחר כוחותיו ויקבל ע"ז שכר בעוה"ב. בעלות ר' עמנואל
על השיר נראית לי למסופקת (עיין בכ"ז שיר ק"ס, ש. 85).

ג.

ש. 1, ואין וכו' – המשורר פונה אל הזמן, אל הגורל, ואומר, איך אני יכול לקוות
לך ולבטוח בך, מכיוון שאין בך דבר אמת וצדק (השוה תהלים
מ"ה, ה').
ש. 2, המשורר מפרש דבריו ומראה על העול הנעשה בעולם. אנו מוצאים שהכסיל
זבולו (מעונו) ברום וזבול (ורקיע), רמז להכוכב כסיל שהוא ברקיע
(בשויון זה בין כסיל לכסיל כבר השתמשו רבים לפניו. ידועה היא
בדיחתו השנונה והעוקצת של ראב"ע על אבן ג'נאח: ואני אומר אם
כסיל אחד בשמים רבים הם בארץ והוא אחד מהם, פירשו לעמוס
ג', ט"ו, ועיין להלן בהערותי לשיר י"ט, ש. 16), ומצד השני תזמן
לצדיק (ולבר) צרות ויסורים (בור שאול). "תמן", על דרך: וימן
להם המלך (דניאל א', ה').
ש. 3, המשורר ממשיך את תלונתו, "תשו" מוסבת על מה שלפניה ושל אחריה;
אחה נותן ראש ולענה (דברים כ"ט, י"ז) בפי איש נחמד ואהוב
(צבי, על דרך: בארץ הצבי, דניאל י"א, ט"ז), ובפי חמור דבש וכו'.

לבראדי, עמ' 47), 2. כנור קחי ונבל (שם, עמ' 53), את הד' האחרים שלא נתפרסמו עדיין לפי ידיעתי, הנני נותן כאן מנוקדים על ידי עם הערות משלי.

א.

אִם יִפְרַח אִישׁ בְּתֶמֶר אוֹ יִשְׁנֶה בְּאַלְהָ אוֹ אֱלוֹן
אֶל־תִּשָּׂם אֶת־לִבָּךְ לוֹ כִּי הִנֵּה מָקוֹם הִנֵּה מְלוֹן.

ב.

הָאִישׁ שׁוֹכֵב עַל מַטָּת שֵׁן סוֹף סוֹף שָׁכַב אַרְצָה וְלֹן.
רְבוֹת בְּנוֹת עָשׂוּ חֵיל הַיּוֹם הֵן עַל עֶפֶר מְשָׁלֹן.
כִּי הַמָּוֶת, בְּכָל מִשְׁחִית, עַל מוֹתָנוּ עָרַב קִבְּלוֹן.

א.

- ש. 1. אִם יִפְרַח וכו' – רמז להפסוק בתהלים צ"ב, י"ג.
שם, ישנה ... אלון – רמז להפסוק הקודם ולהפסוק בישעיה ו', י"ג; "אלון" בשביל המשקל, על פי חוקי הדקדוק – כאלון.
ש. 2. אל תשם וכו' – עדה"כ בש"א ט', כ', ר"ל אל תסיק מזה מסקנה שהמצב הנוכחי הוא מתמיד.
שם, הנה מקום – שמות ל"ב, כ"ח.
שם, הנה ... מלון – מלון" כנוי לקבר לפי שישינים שנת עולם, עיין במלון בן יהודה ערך "מלון". משמעותו של הפתגם היא: היום כאן ולמחר בקבר.

ב.

- ש. 1. האיש ... שן – רמז להכתוב בעמוס ו', ד', ר"ל. גם האיש השוכב על מטת שן לא יחיה לנצח.
שם, שכב ... ולן – עדה"כ בש"ב י"ב, ט"ז.
ש. 2. רבות ... חיל – משלי ל"א, כ"ט.
שם, היום ... משלן – חידוד כפול: רמז לאיוב מ"א, כ"ה (שם: אֵין עַל וכו') וגם למשלי אפר (שם י"ג, י"ב), ר"ל שהבנות שעשו חיל לפנים היום הן נמשלות לעפר ואפר.
ש. 3. ערב קבלן – כשאדם אומר לחבירו על שלישי: הלוחו ואני ערב, הלוחו ואני פורע, הוא נעשה ערב בעד השלישי, וכשהוא אומר: תן לו ואני

שירים שתחילתו של האחד נעוץ בסופו של השני, בלא שום הפסק ביניהם. כדי לתת להקורא מושג כל שהוא מש"נ המובאים להלן, אסתפק בדוגמאות מועטות.

כ"ד, ש. 8, פונים הדרינו וסר צלם; בכ"י: הפעם; ט"ס, וצ"ל: הועם;

כ"ט, ש. 2, אלך לבל טעמך – שמעך

קל"ב, ש. 2, כנף זמיר אחי – כנת (מן, כנה");

קנ"א, ש. 15, ממצבה זהור לא זזה – עוד;

קס"ז, ש. 3, לא אמנע ממך בר כל עוד בית תחבר – בי תתחבר;

שם, ש. 18, טעם שירים תוכל – שָׁעֵם שָׁרִים וכו'.

כ"י אחד, סי' 480, מכיל את הס' מחק שפתים לר' עמנואל, חבור יודיע דרכי השיר¹ וספרי הוֹכּוּחִים שלו: וכוח רכב ובענה, וכו', וגם שירים אחרים שלו, מאותם שאין להם שייכות לשבתי צבי. מלבד זה – הרבה שירים לר' יעקב אחיו (בכללם גם השיר הידוע: אשרי הגוי נ"א העם) בחר לו יה, השייך לסוג השירים על שבתי צבי, שני מכתמים לאלהריזי (סי' ק"ח בדיואן) ועוד ד' שירים לד' משוררים שונים. אחד לר' יוס טוב ואלואזון, שנתפרסם ע"י ד. קויפמן (צפה"ב, כרך א', עמ' 146), אחד לר' יוסף ברוך קוים שנתפרסם ע"י א. ב. פיפירנו בקול עגב (ליוורנו, 1846, סי' ל"ב), אחד לר' דוד נייטו ואחד לרמ"ח לוצאטו; ב' השירים האחרונים נתפרסמו ע"י דר. ברנשטיין בספרו: משירי ישראל באיטליה (סי' קי"א וקכ"ה) מתוך אותו כ"י ניריורק עצמו ששימש לו מקור להוצאת הדיואן. כה"י שלנו כתוב בכתיבה רבנית איטלקית מאמצע המאה ה"ח. חלקים של שירים מועטים הם מנוקדים בו. כה"י השני (סי' 476), בקורסיבה איטלקית ממחציתה הראשונה של המאה ה"ח, מכיל את רוב השירים שב, צבי מודח². מקצת השירים הם מנוקדים שם.

שירים אחדים הדפיס אולי המשורר בעצמו; הוא אומר (סי' קי"ד): מהם קצתם לדפוס הוצאתי, אבל אפשר גם לפרש דבריו, שהכין אותם לדפוס, שמצא אותם ראויים לזה. לא חסרו כנראה גם נסיונות להדפיס את שיריו ואת שירי אחיו, ר' יעקב. שטיינשניידר מודיע לנו בקטלוג ברלין שלו (סי' 56) שהכין שבשם משנת 1771 היה נועד בשביל ביה"ד. המשורר בעצמו השתדל להדפיס את ה, צבי מודח³; במכתבו לשני אחיו (קובץ על יד, מקיצי גרדמים, תרמ"ה, עמ' 136) הוא אומר: וקראתי החבור צבי מודח אשר אני שולח לכם, והגני מצוה אתכם לבל יבא החוצה עד אשר יניח ה' לי להביאו על הדפוס. אבל לא איסתיעא מלתא; השירים הסתמיים לא היו כנראה דבר בעתו, והשירים שבצבי מודח היו דבר בעתו יותר מדאי. בכל פנים שיר אחד שבדיואן, סי' ס"ז, בוודאי כבר נדפס קודם שנכתבו שני כה"י, שלנו ושבנירירוק, עיין בש"נ.

מן השירים שנתפרסמו בדיואן חסרים בכ"י 480 כ"ג שירים (ובכ"י 476 ב' שירים). כמעט כל החסרים נתפרסמו לא עפ"י כ"י ניריורק אלא עפ"י מקורים אחרים, חוץ משיר ד' הנמצא בכ"י ניריורק ובכ"י ברלין וחסר בכ"י שלנו (ביחס לעיד אחדים מועטים אי אפשר לברר את מקורם). תחת זאת נמצאים 6 מכתמים בכ"י שלנו החסרים בדיואן, ואלו הם: 1. בוערים לזמן קראו נאמן (נתפרסם במ"ש

מתוך כתבי יד

מאת

מיכאל וילנסקי, סינסינטי.

I.

דיואן לר' עמנואל בן דוד פראנסיש, יוצא לאור... עם הערות ומבוא מאת ד"ר שמעון ברנשטיין. הוצאת "דביר", תל אביב, תרצ"ב, XXXVI עם 304 עמ'.

דר. ברנשטיין נהג במהדורתו זו מנהג שאר מהדורותיו שלפניה ושלאחריה. הוא לא הסתפק בזה שמסר את הטכסט (מנוקד) עם שינויי נוסחאות של ב' כה"י שהשתמש בהם ושצירף לו הערות וביאורים חשובים, אלא השתדל להראות במבואו על המקום שתפסו הדיואן והמשורר בין תופעות אותה התקופה באיטליה, וגם על הקשר שבין אותה התקופה ובין התקופות שלפניה ושלאחריה. ובכל מקום שאתה מוצא את דבריו של הדר. ברנשטיין אתה קורא אותם בהתענינות, אפילו כשלפעמים אין אתה מסכים לדעתו. מעלה יתירה יש לדיואן זה של השירים שבו יש לא רק ערך היסטורי, אלא לפעמים גם ערך פיוטי. משוררנו יודע להביע רעיונותיו בתמונות. הוא אומר, למשל:

אוהב אני לך, אוהבי, אומרת, | אם לא בפיה, בהניג עיניה; |
כי כן, כבלשון ובשפתים, | חשק ימלל גם בניב עינים. |

(שיר ב', ש. 53-57).

איש היודע לחרוץ חרוזים כאלו, ניצוץ של משורר יש בו, וכמעט שאחה עומד ומתפלא, איך רב בישראל, השקוע בראשו ורובו בד' אמות של הלכה הקרה והיבשה, "יתיוון" כל כך.

כותב טורים אלו נזקק לספר זה בעיקר כדי להשוות אותו עם שני כ"י קניין בית הספרים של היברו יוניאן קולידזש, שמציאותם לא היתה ידועה לדר. ברנשטיין, וע"כ לא היה יכול להשתמש בהם, אלא שלאח"כ הוספתי גם כמה הערות משלי שרשמתי בדרך קריאתי. נוסח כה"י שטענות נראית לעיין לא רשמתי בש"נ. דר. ברנשטיין לא פרסם את השירים על סדרם בכ"י ניריורק, אלא חלק אותם למחלקות, וכל השירים השייכים למחלקה אחת פרסם ביחד; כנראה גם סדר השירים בשני כה"י, שלנו ושל ניריורק, אינו שווה. התוצאה היא שרק לפעמים רחוקות באים שני שירים בכ"י שלנו בסדרו של הדיואן. מלבד זה נמצאים לפעמים בכ"י שלנו שני

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